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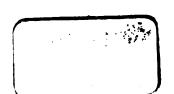
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

IN

A COURSE OF LECTURES,

DELIVERED

AT FOUNDERS' HALL, LOTHBURY, LONDON.

BY

WILLIAM JONES, M.A.

AUTHOR OF

THE "HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES," "LECTURES ON THE APOCALYPSE,"
"BIBLICAL CYCLOPÆDIA," ETC. ETC.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

LECTURE LVII.

Retrospect—Corrupt state of the church of Rome, from the ninth to the fourteenth century—Illustrated by quotations from Catholic writers. On the profligacy of the Clergy, from St. Bernard—Cardinal Cusanus—Nicholas of Clemangis—Marsilius of Padua—the Cardinal of Lorraine—Ambassador of the Duke of Bavaria—Charles IX. King of France.—Intolerable arrogance of the Popes, from Augustin Steuchus—Politianus, &c.—Their Blasphemy, by Cardinal Baronius—Raynaldus—Faulus Jovius, &c.—Their Dispensations, by John Gerson—Decretals of Gregory VII.—Prostitution of Ecclesiastical Functions—Simony—Deposition of Princes—Claim to Infallibility, &c.

In the preceding course of Lectures I have briefly narrated the sanguinary proceedings of the court of Rome towards the various sects which, from time to time, had risen up to bear their testimony against its numerous corruptions and manifold abuses, and more especially, the sects of the Albigenses and Waldenses, whose history I deemed it expedient to prosecute, without intermission, to the end of the seventeenth century, at which time the total dispersion of the churches of their communion, in Piedmont, by the armies of Louis XIV., may be said to have extinguished the light which for so many centuries had shone throughout those favoured valleys and the south of France.

In the present course we shall have to trace the conflict betwixt vol. 111.

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truth and error, light and darkness, the kingdom of Christ and the man of sin, in various other countries, our own among the rest; and to lay a proper foundation for it, I shall occupy the present lecture with an attempt to sketch a view of the state of Christendom at that particular juncture when a reformation began to dawn upon the benighted nations of Europe.

I have often had occasion, in the course of these lectures, to remind my hearers of the divine simplicity which characterized the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, as instituted by him and his apostles, recommended by their sermons, exemplified in their conduct, and enjoined upon his disciples in their writings. have seen the various steps by which a departure from this ancient order of things took place, and what professed to be the church of Christ became framed according to the platform and model of secular empires. Our forefathers beheld an almost innumerable class of dignitaries, or church officers, elevated by pompous titles, ecclesiastical canons, honours, pre-eminences, and privileges, upheld by the riches and splendour of the world, and the whole depending on a sovereign high-priest, who had impiously usurped the place of the Lord Jesus Christ, lifted up himself above the whole church, as its rightful monarch, claiming the prerogatives of Deity-one whose words must be laws, and his laws oracles; who assumed to reign, not only over the external actions of men, but to lord it over their souls and consciences also, demanding implicit obedience and subjection to whatever he dictated.

In this motley compound of things secular and sacred, this heterogeneous mixture of worldly pomp and grandeur with the humbling doctrine of the cross, they found something very foreign to the scriptural representation of the church of Jesus Christ; and the more thinking part of them could not but call to mind the Saviour's own words to his disciples before he left the earth: "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors: but it shall not be so among you; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger, and he that is chief, as he that doth serve."* To the pastors, elders, or bishops, of such a community,

^{*} Luke, xxii. 25, 26.

the apostle Peter would never have said, "Feed the flock of God which is among you—not as being lords over God's heritage." From such a corrupt state of things, it was but too manifest that the spirit of the world had got full possession of the church, and had blinded their eyes so as to make them forget what pastors or bishops were in their first institution, and what they ought to be. The greater part of the bishops were become lords, properly so called, and some of them had even become sovereign princes. It would not be very easy under such a constitution of things to watch over the flock, much less to repel the doctrines, customs, and maxims, which have a tendency to favour or advance that lordly domination.

Covetousness and ambition generally go hand in hand: they nourish and mutually sustain one another. Our forefathers consequently saw them reigning together among ecclesiastics during a long tract of time; and great and loud were the complaints to which they gave rise. In fact, the avarice of the court of Rome became proverbial, insomuch that the clergy were reproached with an insatiable greediness of heaping up riches. Of this, indeed, the immense treasure they amassed, the care and caution which they exercised to hinder an alienation and procure an increase, are a sufficient proof. "They feed on the sins of my people," said St. Bernard, who lived in the twelfth century,-"that is to say, they require money for their sins, without making any other account of the sinners. Which of the clergy may you not observe far more careful to empty the purses of those who sit under them than to destroy their vices?"-"An ungovernable appetite of those lands that are annexed to the churches," said Cardinal Cusanus, "engrosses the hearts of the aspiring bishops, so that we see them do that openly after their promotion which they secretly coveted before. All their care is for things temporal, while they are unconcerned about what is spiritual. But this was not contemplated by the emperors; they little thought that the spiritual affairs of men would be engulphed in the temporal, when they gave those possessions to the churches."+

^{* 1} Peter v. 3.

[†] Bernard in Cant. Serm. 77. Nichol. Cusan. lib. iii. de Concord. Cath. c. 29.

We cannot reasonably wonder that to the sin of covetousness there was annexed a great and scandalous neglect of the functions of the ministry. A preaching bishop was so rare a thing during a long succession of ages, that it was rarely to be met with. The care of the poor, visiting the sick, comforting the afflicted, instructing the ignorant, studying the scriptures, and the various other duties pertaining to the pastoral office, were, if not totally abandoned, at least extremely neglected. The whole was almost reduced to a routine of lip-service, repeating the formularies of a liturgy, which very few of the people understood, and this would generally apply to the priest himself. Hence the complaint of Nicholas de Clemangis, archdeacon of Bayeux, who flourished in the beginning of the fifteenth century, that, "the study of the holy Scriptures and those who taught them were derided by all, and that which is yet more amazing is, that it is chiefly the bishops who scoff at them, preferring their own traditions to the ordinances of God." "Now a-days," says he, "the office of preaching, which is so admirable and so glorious, and which heretofore belonged to the pastors only, is considered by them so vile that there is nothing which they account more unworthy of their grandeur, or which brings more reproach on their dignity." They openly avowed that it belonged only to the begging friars to preach, and not to them.

No wonder that ignorance was one inevitable consequence of such shameful neglect of duty on the part of the ministers of the church. This ignorance was both great and general; the fact is attested by the barbarism of the schools, by the matter and style of the greatest part of the books that were written from the tenth to the fifteenth century, and by the express testimony of "The church of God," saith St. Bernard, various authors. "every day, in divers manners, finds by sad experience in what great danger she is, when the shepherd knows not where the pastures are, nor the guide where the right way is, and when the very man who should speak for God, and on his side, is ignorant what is the will of his Master." Marsilius of Padua, also, in the fourteenth century, thus describes matters in his time. these days, when the government of the church is corrupted, the greatest part of the priests and bishops are but meanly instructed

in the holy Scriptures, and I dare say they are incapable of deciding the doubts of their faith. For ambition, covetousness, and canvassings to obtain the temporal benefices, occupy their time and attention, and they purchase in effect by their services or their prayers, by their gold or by their favour, all the dignities of the age. God is my witness, and great numbers of his faithful also, that I remember to have seen many priests, many abbots, and many prelates, so void of knowledge, that they have not known how to speak even according to the rules of grammar."*

Those who have any knowledge of ecclesiastical history cannot be ignorant of the lamentations that all honest men then made, and the appalling descriptions they have left us in their writings of those times. One may read St. Bernard, for the twelfth century,-Cardinal Hugo, for the thirteenth,-William, bishop of Mendo, for the fourteenth, -and for the fifteenth, Werner Rollewink, a Carthusian monk of Cologne, in justification of what has now been said, and for the sixteenth, which was the age of the Reformation, who does not know that it was extremely corrupted? One of the matters so vehemently complained of by the ambassador of the duke of Bavaria before the council of Trent on the behalf of his master, and upon which he so much insisted, was the dissolute lives of the clergy! He declared that "he could not describe their horrible wickedness without offending the chaste ears of his audience"—that the prince, his master, must remonstrate with the council, "that the correction of points of doctrine would be vain and unprofitable if they did not first correct their manners,—that the whole body of the clergy was defamed by reason of their luxury,—that while the civil magistrate would not suffer a layman to have a concubine, yet among the clergy it was so common a thing to have them, that amidst a hundred priests not more than three or four could be found who either kept not whores or were not married, the one secretly, and the other publicly." +

"It is with shame that I speak it," said the cardinal of

[†] History of the Council of Trent, book vi.



[•] Bernard, de verbis evangel. "Dixit Simon," &c., p. 1000. Marsil. de Pad. Defens. pacis, part ii. cap. 20.

Lorraine, in an oration which he made to the same council, "but it is also with a sensible displeasure that I mention the lives we have led. We are the cause that have swelled this storm so high; let us cast ourselves into the sea; and since you have our confession, punish us after what manner you please." A little before this, he had said, "that the troubles wherewith France was agitated were the effect of a just judgment of God, and that they had drawn that judgment on themselves by that corruption of manners which was to be found among all orders of men, and by the subversion of all ecclesiastical discipline." royal master, Charles IX., in the instructions which he had given the cardinal how to deport himself before that august assembly, the council of Trent, had expressly put down this article, "that his majesty, with the most extreme regret, was constrained to complain of the lascivious lives of the ecclesiastics, who brought so much scandal and corruption amongst the common people that to him it seemed necessary it should very speedily be provided against."

Now, if such was the character of the clergy of those days, it is not difficult to divine what that of the common people must have been; for men of such impure manners could be ill qualified to be guardians of faith and piety. Indeed, those who have looked into the histories of Luitprand, of Glaber, Matthew Paris, Platina, Baronius, and many others, must be aware, that from the ninth century and onwards the see of Rome has been most frequently filled with pontiffs whose lives and actions have been a scandal to the world. Every one knows the complaints with which Europe rang, not merely against the popes, but against all that they call the court of Rome, the corruption of which was looked upon as the cause of a similar state of things throughout Christendom. Thinking men naturally reasoned that persons whose lives were so licentious could not have much concern about the glory of God and the salvation of their fellow-creatures, or that a court which for many ages had been accused of being the very focus of vice, could at the same time be the centre of faith and holiness.

Another striking feature in the complexion of the Romish hierarchy at this period, was the intolerable pride and arro-

gance of those who filled the papal chair: requiring their feet to be kissed with a submission beyond what was yielded to kingsmaking themselves to be borne on men's shoulders-and to be served by the greatest princes, or by their ambassadors—to wear a triple crown-and be adored upon the altar, after their election. And what shall we say of those proud titles which they affected to have given them-blasphemously arrogating the very titles of the Most High, of which take the very words of the canon law: "It evidently appears that the pope, who was called God by Constantine, can be neither bound to anything, nor loosed by any secular power; for it is manifest that a God cannot be judged by men." To the same purport writes Augustine Steuchus-viz., "that Constantine called the pope God, and that he acknowledged him to be so; and he assures us that on this account it was that he made that excellent edict in his favour-he would rather say, that false donation. He adored him, says he, as God, as the successor of Christ, and of Peter, and rendered him in every possible way divine honours, worshipping him as the living image of Jesus Christ."* So also Clement VII., who was an anti-pope, with his cardinals at Avignon, in a letter which they wrote to Charles VI., made no scruple of calling him a God upon earth; for thus they write: "Seeing there is but one only God in the heavens, there cannot and ought not of right to be more than one God on earth."+ After the same manner Angelus Politianus, in an oration which he made for those who were sent as deputies from Sienna to Alexander VI., ascribes divinity to him. "We rejoice among ourselves," says he, "to behold you raised above all human things, and elevated even to divinity itself, seeing there is nothing next unto God, which is not set under you."

And what could our forefathers think of that plenitude of power which the flatterers of the pope attributed to them? Thus, for instance, the Glossary of the Decretals remarks, "that every one said of the pope that he had all divine power, coeleste arbitrium; that by reason thereof he could change the nature

Distinct. 96, Canon 7, Aug. Steuchus, de fals. Donat. Constantini.
 + Froissard, tom. iii. fo. 147.

of things, applying the essential properties of one thing to another—that he could make something of nothing, that a proposition which was nothing he could make to be something—that in all things which it should be his pleasure to do, his will might serve him for a reason—that there is none who could say to him, why dost thou do that?—that he could dispense with whatsoever was right, and make injustice to become justice, by changing and altering of that which was right: and, in fine, that he possessed a plenitude, a fulness, of power."*

And what shall we say of those titles which the popes arrogated to themselves, of being the spouses, or husbands, of the church, and the vicars of Jesus Christ? "The church, my spouse," said Innocent III., "were not married to me if she did not bring me something: she has given me a dowry of inestimable value, the fulness of all spiritual things, the greatness and spaciousness of temporals, the grandeur and abundance both of the one and the other. She has bestowed on me the mitre in token of things spiritual; the crown for a sign of the temporal,the mitre for the priesthood, the crown for the kingdom; substituting me in his place who had it written on his vestment and on his thigh - King of kings, and Lord of lords."+ Precisely after the same style, Martin V. thus entitles himself, in the instructions which he gave to a nuncio whom he sent to Constantinople, as Raynaldus relates: "The most holy and most happy, who has heavenly power, who is the lord of the earth, the successor of Peter, the Christ or anointed of the Lord, the Lord of the universe, the Father of kings, the Light of the world, the Sovereign High Priest, Pope Martin." ‡

And what, again, shall we say to the blasphemous conduct of the popes in arrogating to themselves, or allowing others to apply to them, such passages of scripture as only and immediately respect God himself and his Son Jesus Christ? Baronius relates, that Alexander III. making his entry into the town of Montpellier, a Saracen prince "prostrated himself before him, adoring him as the holy and venerable God of the Christians," and

^{*} Decretal, Greg. lib. 1. tit. 7. Can. Quanto. in Glossa.

[†] Itineray. Ital. Part ii. de Coron. Rom. Pontif.

I Raynaldus, ad ann. 1162.

that those who were of the pope's train, ravished with admiration, spake one to another in the words of ancient prophecy, "all the kings of the earth shall worship him, and all nations shall do him service." So also in the council of Lateran, a person complimented Leo X. with an application of those scriptures: "God has given you all power both in heaven and earth. Weep not, daughter of Zion: behold the lion of the tribe of Judah, of the stock of David." It is related also of the people of Palermo, that they prostrated themselves at the feet of pope Martin IV., and made their addresses to him in the very words which the priests apply to Jesus Christ before their altars: "Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: thou that takest away the sins of the world, grant us thy peace." ‡

The arrogant pretensions of the popes, claiming authority over emperors and kings, making their crowns to depend on their pleasure, to dethrone them, give away their kingdoms to others, and absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, is in strict keeping with what has now been said. Every reader of history knows what the decisions were that Gregory VII. made in a council held at Rome, in the year 1076, against the emperor Henry IV. whom he had deposed, and whose subjects he had absolved of their oaths of allegiance. Those decisions may not improperly be designated the papal dictatorship. Let the reader take a specimen of their articles, as set down by cardinal Baronius. in his Annals, ad ann. 1076. "That the bishop of Rome only could wear the imperial ornaments—that all princes were wont to kiss the feet of the pope alone—that his name alone ought to be mentioned in the churches—that there was but one chief name in the world, which was that of the pope—that HE had a right to depose emperors—that his decrees could be made void by none, whosoever he were - but that he alone could make void all others—that he could release the subjects of wicked princes from their oaths of allegiance." The decretals are full of the like -

Baronius, ad ann. 1162.

t Concil. Lateran. Sess. 7 and 9 in nat.

¹ Paulus Jovius, in Philippo iii.

[&]amp; See my History of the Christian Church, vol. i. ch iv. sect. 2.

attempt of pope Boniface VIII. upon Philip the Fair, one of the kings of France. This pontiff went so far as to absolve the subjects of the latter from their oath of allegiance, and finally to give away his crown to the emperor Albert.* Happily, however, in this instance, the sovereign pontiff met with a disappointment, and moreover was punished as he deserved; the subjects of the French king took part with their sovereign, and served him with great zeal. On the death of this pontiff, Platina makes the following remarks: "Thus died this Boniface, who thought of nothing less than of terrifying emperors, kings, and princes, and indeed all other men, that he might the more readily inspire into them a religious awe and deference; and who pretended to give and take away by force whole kingdoms, to overturn and re-establish all men by the mere motion of his will."+

The failure of Boniface in his scandalous attempt to wrest the sceptre out of the hands of the king of France, and transfer it to other hands, could not fail to have a powerful tendency to open the eyes of men to the insolent pretensions of the court of Rome. It impressed thinking men with the conviction that those who made their very religion subservient to their ambition, especially when they saw that their ambition had no bounds, had a peculiar interest in feeding the people with their superstitions; for they were such as enslaved their souls, where true piety would have ennobled and rescued them from the yoke that the papal system sought to impose. But if the reader would see how far the claims of the priesthood went, he should read what Augustin Steuchus, who was librarian to the pope, has written; for he ascribes to the popes the very same temporal rights, and in the same latitude, too, in which the old Roman emperors possessed them; and he also proves from the register of Gregory VII., that Spain, Hungary, England, Denmark, Russia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Arragon, Portugal, Bohemia, Sweden, Norway, Dacia, all belonged, heretofore, to the popes; and that all that Pepin, Charlemagne, Henry, and other emperors, gave to the church, brought him not any new rights, but only put him in possession of that which the

See Dr. Rankin's History of France, vol iv. p. 56—82.
 † Platina, in vita Bonif. 8.

violence of the barbarians had wrested from him, at the subversion of the empire in the fifth century.

The usurpations of the papal chair over the whole body of the church, claiming authority to decide all matters of faith, to make new laws and abrogate old ones, to dispense with ancient constitutions when it suited their purpose so to do, to convene councils, and transfer them from one place to another; to authorize or to condemn them; to judge the world, without being themselves subject to the control of any-in a word, of making all things to depend on their power, and binding all churches to submit themselves to its decisions in whatever relates to matters of faith and rules of discipline, and that not with a bare external obedience merely, but with the real acquiescence of their consciences-was an impious assumption of pretended sovereignty, and ought to have roused a spirit of resistance long before it did. of this they were accustomed, even as they still do in their bulls, to place in the front "the fulness of their power," and to subjoin this clause, "that no man should dare to be so rash as to infringe upon, or go contrary to, their decrees, under penalty of incurring the indignation of God, and the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul." That such arrogant assumptions as these should occasionally rouse opposition can excite no surprise; and accordingly we find that now and then a strong resistance to these pretensions of the court of Rome was made, that some councils laboured to repress them, and that the French clergy, ever jealous of their liberties, opposed the usurpation. The opposition, however, rarely met with the success that might have been expected; for the popes almost always found means to elude them, though they could not fail to rouse the prejudices of men, by daily discovering to them more and more of the corruption of the see of Rome.

There was another thing also not a little calculated to awaken inquiry and open the eyes of men to the iniquitous practices of the court of Rome, and that is, the dispensations which the popes were wont to grant in the affair of marriage within the prohibited degrees, against the express words of the divine law, and also in the case of vows, which they themselves held to be lawful, and in divers other matters. "What do we think we ought to say," asks Gerson, "of the easiness whereby dispensations are given by

the pope and the prelates, to lawful oaths, to reasonable vows, to a vast plurality of benefices, against all the minds, or even to a universal gainsaying of councils, in privileges and exemptions that destroy common equity? Who can reckon up all the ways in which they serve themselves to loosen the force of ecclesiastical discipline, and to oppose and destroy that of the gospel? Who can read without some commotion what Innocent III. has written? viz. "that by the fulness of his power he was lawfully authorized to dispense with that which was beyond all equity." And that which the glossary has subjoined, "that the pope can dispense against an apostle, against the canons of the apostles, and against the Old Testament in the case of tithes."*

The manner in which ecclesiastical functions were dispensed in the church of Rome, in those days, was none of the least of the enormous abuses that then prevailed. These were given most frequently to persons altogether unworthy and incapable of discharging the duties of the office, and sometimes to children, to the great scandal of Christianity, and it was a loud and long subject of complaint. Let us hear the renowned St. Bernard on this point. Thus he describes the matter:—"They prefer little school-boys and young children to church-dignities, because of the nobility of their birth. So that you may see those that are just got from under the ferula, go to command priests, who were yet more fit to escape the rod than to be employed in government, for they are far more sensible of the pleasure of being freed from their masters than of that of becoming masters themselves. Those are their first thoughts, but afterwards growing more bold, they very soon learn the art of appropriating the altars to themselves, and of emptying the purses of those that are under them, without going to any other school than that of their ambition and their covetousness."+ "How few are to be found now-a-days," said Nicholas de Clemangis, "who have either read, or know how to read, the holy Scriptures, otherwise than by first beginning to read? They have never touched any other part of the Holy Bible than the cover, although in their instalment they swear that they know it all." ‡

Joan. Gerson de Eccles. potest. Consid. 10, Decretal, Greg. lib. iii. tit. 8. cap. 4.
 † Bernard, Epist. 42.
 ‡ Nicol. Clemang. de corrup. Stat. Eccles.

The practice of simony, too, which was universally exercised in the church of Rome, was one of its crying evils. Observe what Æness Sylvius, himself afterwards a pope, narrates on this subject. "The court of Rome," says he, "gives nothing without money. It sells the very imposition of hands, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and will grant the pardon of sins to none but such as will part with their money."* "The church that Jesus Christ has chosen for his spouse, without spot and blemish," says another writer, "is in these days a warehouse of ambition and traffic, of theft and rapine. The sacraments and all the orders, even to that of the priests, are exposed to sale. For money they bestow favours, dispensations, licenses, offices, benefices. They sell pardons of sin, masses, and the very administration of our Lord's body. If any one have an inclination to a bishopric, he need but to get himself furnished with money, -yet not a little sum, but a great one, must purchase such a great title. He only needs to empty his purse to obtain the dignity he seeks, but he may soon after fill it again with advantage, by more ways than one. any one desire to be made a prebendary, or a priest of any church, or to have any other charge, it matters not whether his merits, or his life, or his manners, be known, but it is very requisite it should he known how much money he has; for according as he has that, he will find his hopes to succeed." + Such were the complaints made by honest men in the time referred to, and one might make a large volume of them if the corruptions of the church in those days were not so generally known in ours. In fact, a treatise has been published t for the purpose of propounding the rates of the apostolic chamber, and the taxes enjoined for penances, which alone declares more than it will be necessary to lay before the reader in this place! In that book, not only rules for the despatch of business, but every sin also, every crime, has its set price, and as there is nothing to be done without money, so there is nothing which money cannot do.

This is a fruitful topic, and were it necessary to enlarge upon it, a multiplicity of other things of equal enormity present themselves, to augment the sum, and still more darken the appalling

[•] Æneas Sylv. Epist. lib. i. cap. 66. † Nicholas de Clemang. de Præsul. ‡ Chancellerio.

picture. I might adduce the nefarious practices of the Roman see to draw into its grasp the control of all sublunary affairs, monopolizing the riches of the western world-I might speak of the underhand canvassings and anomalous practices to which it had recourse in the election of popes, the scandalous schisms that have sprung from the collision of parties, and election contests; the bloody wars that the Roman pontiffs stand accused of having kindled among the potentates of Europe; their intrigues, and the dishonest ways whereby they are said to have promoted their own selfish interests by engaging the kings and grandees of the world in their behalf, with their machinations to elude the demands of a reformation. All these things sufficiently discover much more of the spirit of the world than the spirit of Jesus Christ, and must convince all unprejudiced persons of the extreme corruption of the fountain which sent forth such bitter streams.

And be it observed, that the things to which I have adverted in the present lecture are all of them independent of what may be called doctrine and discipline, or external government, of the church,-I mean, their masses and sacrifices, their solemn feasts, distinction of meats, their altars, tapers, sacred vessels, and censings; their fasts throughout the year, their mystical figures, and various other imitations of the Levitical law, things much more conformable to the ancient Jewish worship than to the primitive order of things. The rites and ceremonies of the church of Rome, as hath been convincingly shewn by Dr. Middleton, in his "Letter from Rome," are evidently borrowed partly from the temple-worship of the Jews, and partly from that of the pagan temples, and are a motley mixture of both. I might here particularize their use of holy water, or water consecrated for sprinkling their places of worship, as well as private houses, and the funerals of the dead,—the blessings and the sprinklings, the use of spittle in the baptism of children, the invocation of saints, their canonization, their patronages, and ordering of their charges and employments,—their images and pictures, their Agnus Dei's, -their feasts for all saints, -their numerous processions and rogations,—their visiting the shrines and reliques of saints, setting up the sign of the cross where four ways meet,—their anniversaries for the dead, and swearing by their reliques,—all these are evidently the remains or imitations of ancient paganism. The effects produced on the minds of men by an attention to this endless round of idle ceremonies, all borrowed from the rites of the pagans, with many others that might be added, such as their rosaries, chaplets, holy salt, pilgrimages, and monastic vows, was obviously to fill them with superstition. They were the cause of a thousand abuses among the people, and made way for lying forgeries, and, which rendered them still more odious, they fomented and encouraged a distaste for works of true and solid piety—ever busying their minds about such idle mummery as I have described, and persuading them that they had sufficiently acquitted themselves of their duty by an attention to these extraneous matters—thus infusing into men's minds false notions of God, as if all his worship consisted in such trumpery.

In fact, it is manifest from passages that are to be found in the writings of some of the ablest of the Romish clergy, that the monstrous abuses which had crept into the church and which were continually accumulating, had in process of time grown into a mass of enormities which was staggering and appalling to many among themselves. Thus, for instance, cardinal Baronius, in his Annals, is forced to conclude his history of the ninth century: "It was an age of affliction to the church in general, and particularly so to the church of Rome, as well by reason of the complaints it had against the princes of the west and east, and the schism of Photius, as by reason of intestine and implacable wars, which had then begun to be formed within the very bosom of that church." He declares that "this age was deplorable and dismal above all that had preceded, because those who ought to have been watchful in the government of the church, not only slept profoundly, but the very same persons laboured all they could entirely to drown the apostolicship." And as regards the tenth century, its history is so well known that there are few persons who will not acknowledge that it was buried in darkness more gross than that of Egypt, so that it will be needless here to produce the proofs. The eleventh was scarce a whit better, and Baronius begins the history of it by remarking, that such was the universal corruption of manners among the ecclesiastics, that "it made way for the prevailing opinion that the times of antichrist were at hand, and the end of the world approaching." Infatuated mortals! they little thought that they themselves, the clergy at least, formed a great part of that very antichrist; for what could be more at variance—what a greater contrast to the holy and heavenly religion of the Son of God, than the mass of abominations which "the holy, catholic, apostolic church of Rome" at that time exhibited. *

But Baronius was not the only writer who complained of the corruption of the church in those days. A German bishop who published a book under the title of "Onus Ecclesia," thus writes: -" I am afraid that the doctrine of the apostle touching the qualifications of a bishop is but very ill observed in these days, or rather that we are fallen into those times which are noted when he said 'I know that after my departure ravenous wolves will come among you, not sparing the flock.' Where may one see a good man chosen to be a bishop?—one approved by his works and his learning, and any one who is not either a child or man of the world, or one ignorant of spiritual things? The far greater number come to the prelateship more by underhand canvassings and vile practices than by choice and lawful means. The disorders which may be seen in the disposal of ecclesiastical dignities sets the church in danger of perishing; for Solomon says, 'There is an evil which I have seen under the sun, as an error which proceedeth from the ruler, when a fool is raised to high dignity.' It is on this account that I said that bishops ought to excel in knowledge, to the end that by their instructions and their preaching they might govern others profitably. alas! what bishop have we now-a-days that preaches, or has any

[•] Mr. Gibbon, in his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, comparing the church of Rome with that of Constantinople (the Greek church), thus speaks of the former: "Her avarice was oppressive, her despotism odious, less degenerate, perhaps, than the Greeks; in her worship of saints and images, her innovations were more rapid and scandalous; she had vigorously defined and imposed the doctrine of transubstantiation; the lives of the Latin clergy were more corrupt; and the eastern bishops might pass for the successors of the apostles if they were compared with the lordly prelates who wielded by turns the crosser, the sceptre, and the sword." Hist. x. 284.



care of the souls committed to him? Besides, there are very few that are contented with one spouse alone,—that is to say, with only one church, and who seek not to appropriate to themselves more dignities, more prebends, and yet, what is more to be condemned, more bishopricks. Our bishops are feasting at their own tables when they should be at the altar; they are unwise in the things of God, but they love the wisdom of the world; they are more intent on temporal affairs than on the work of Jesus Their bodies are adorned with gold, while their souls are defiled with filth; they are ashamed to meddle with spiritual things, and their glory lies in their scurrilous humour and carriage. Hence it was that Catharine of Sienna told them, through the blindness which had come upon them, they placed their glory in that which was really their shame; and that, on the contrary, they held those things to be a reproach to them in which their honour and their salvation depended,—viz. in humbling themselves under the mighty hand of God. Furthermore, they have no love for any but sinners; they despise the poor; and notwithstanding what the canons of the church may forbid, they keep about their persons, pimps, debauchers of women, flatterers, buffoons, players, where they should have had wise and holy men. In fine, instead of the law of Truth, the law of Vanity is in the mouths of the bishops; the lips of the priests preserve knowledge, but it is that of the world, and not of the things of the Spirit of God.

At present, continues the same writer, the state and dignity of the bishops may be known by their earthly riches, by their secular affairs and sordid cares of the world, by their troublesome wars and their temporal dominions. Alas, the Lord Jesus said plainly that his kingdom was not of this world; he withdrew himself alone into a mountain when he knew that they went about to make him a King. How then is it that he who professes to hold the place of Jesus Christ not only accepts dominion, but seeks it: and that he whom Jesus Christ has taught to be "meek and lowly of heart," should riot in pleasures, in luxury, in violence, and in pride, in haughtiness, riches, and rapine? The bishops have renounced hospitality; they neglect the poor of Jesus Christ, but they make themselves fat, and feed their dogs and other beasts as if with a fixed design to be of the number

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of those to whom Christ shall say, "I was poor and ye relieved me not,—Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire."—What bishop is there, he asks, who does not more love to be a rich lord, and honoured in the world, than to help the poor? The whole study of their lives is after the things of this world: they love to array themselves after its fashion; which made St. Bridget say, "that the bishops took the counsel of the devil, who said to them, Behold these honours which I offer you, the riches that are in my hand! I dispense pleasures—the delights of the world are sweet; you must enjoy them.'" The same saint further observes, that "the covetousness of the bishops is a bottomless gulph, and that their pride and luxurious lives was an unsavoury steam, which rendered them abominable before the angels in heaven and before the friends of God upon earth."

I shall close the present lecture with an extract from a sensible writer of our own country,* who lived about the middle of the last century. "The condition of the greater part of the laity was such in England, in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, that, to those who live in a better and more enlightened age, it must appear amazing that mankind should ever have been sunk into such a degree of stupidity, ignorance, and superstition. The Christian religion, in itself plain, rational, and consistent, unencumbered with trifling and superstitious ceremonies, and calculated to promote the best interests of mankind, was so obscured and disfigured, that scarce any traces of its original beauty were discernible. Instead of being employed to advance these excellent ends, to which it was so admirably calculated, it was, by the artifices of wicked and designing priests, made an instrument of fraud, injustice, and oppression.

The clergy of those days, instead of instilling into the minds of the laity, the principles of piety, integrity, benevolence, and universal virtue, which are the essence of true religion, were employed in inculcating a blind submission to the determinations of the pretended infallible church; an implicit subjection to the clergy, and the papal see; the observance of penances and pilgrimages; the worshipping of saints and images, praying for the

dead, a superstitious reverence for ridiculous relics, the belief of the doctrines of purgatory and transubstantiation, and the necessity of auricular confession, extreme unction, and other similar absurdities. To all these may be added, masses without number, and pardons, dispensations, and indulgences, for any immoralities, however atrocious, if the offenders had but money enough to purchase them.

A religion of this kind must naturally be expected to have had but little tendency to promote real piety and virtue. It evidently had not. The manners of the people in general, as well as of the clergy, were exceedingly licentious and wicked, at the same time that they professed the highest regard for what they called religion; which was, indeed, consistent with the greatest immoralities. "The most abandoned among them," says an ingenious writer, "men who were familiar with crimes that humanity is startled at, would, at the hazard of their lives, defend the immunities of the church, a consecrated utensil, or a donation made to a convent."

It is difficult to conceive, how men, endued with any degree of reason, could be brought to believe that the favour of heaven was to be obtained by such ridiculous observances, whilst they lived in open violation of the obligations of morality. But that they did so believe is manifest: and we may see evidence of it even at this day, in the deluded votaries of the Romish church; for popery is still, in a great degree, the same. Many of the poorer and more ignorant Roman catholics in this country, who are extremely wicked and licentious in their lives, may yet be observed to be superstitiously observant of their absurd rites and ceremo-Some among them appear even to think it less criminal to commit a robbery than to eat flesh in Lent. "Popery," says a very sensible writer, "introduces an endless train of senseless and silly, yet showy and sanctimonious observances, the parade of which plays so perpetually on the popular imagination, as to leave neither leisure nor disposition for minding anything more rational or more real. So many sacraments, fasts, and festivals, however saperfluous, absurd, and burdensome; such indefatigable saying and hearing of prayers, though in an unknown tongue; such continual crossing and counting of beads, though perfectly childish:

such external grimaces and bowing to images, though rank idolatry;—all this, and a great deal more of the same kind, being mixed up with infinite solemnity, so intoxicates the unguarded populace that they fancy themselves wonderfully devout and holy, for being out of measure superstitious."

At the period of which we are treating, the clergy, by means of the influence they had obtained over the minds and consciences of men, had extended their temporal power to a very great height. Priests of every degree claimed an exemption from all civil jurisdiction whatever; so that, were a clergyman guilty of a crime, however atrocious, of theft, perjury, blasphemy, or murder, he was not to be tried by any civil magistrate. As for the sovereign pontiff himself, he assumed a power, not only of determining absolutely all matters of faith and opinion, but even of deposing princes, kings, and emperors; and the subjects of any prince, against whom this reverend impostor had fulminated the sentence of excommunication and deposition, were authorized to rebel against him, and even to kill him. "A heretic," said they, "has no right to his crown; and when he is excommunicated, it is no sin for any one to kill him."*

On this account, the princes of Europe, whatever might be their private sentiments, were extremely unwilling to incur the

[•] How often the popes thought proper to exercise this their pretended power of deposing princes, though the subjects of such princes did not always join heartily in putting in execution the denunciations of the pontiffs, may appear by the following list of kings and emperors deposed by different popes.

Pope Zachary I. deposed Childeric, king of France. Gregory VII. deposed Henry IV., emperor. Urban II. deposed Philip, king of France. Adrian IV. deposed William, king of Sicily. Innocent III. deposed the emperor Philip. Innocent IV. deposed John, king of England. Urban IV. deposed Mamphred, king of Sicily. Nicholas III. deposed Charles, king of Sicily. Martin IV. deposed Peter, of Arragon. Boniface VIII. deprived Philip the Fair; and on this occasion, to justify what he had done, he published in his bull, which is now part of the canon law, the following decree: "We declare and pronounce it, as necessary to salvation, that all mankind be subject to the Roman pontiff." Pope Clement V. deposed Henry V., emperor. John XXII. deprived the emperor Lodovick. Gregory IX. deposed the emperor Winceslaus:—and Paul III. deprived Henry VIII., of England. Could any reasonable man desire a greater proof of the pride, arrogance, and presumption, of the Roman pontiffs?"—Bensett's Memorial of the Reformation, p. 34.

displeasure of the papal see. If a prince was excommunicated. and an interdict laid on his dominions, the clergy from that moment refrained from the exercise of their ordinary functions; extreme unction and the baptism of infants were no more administered; and the dead were carried out, and put into the earth, without priest or prayer. These things had a prodigious effect upon the superstitious minds of the common people, and afforded ample scope for the enemies of any prince who happened to fall under such a censure, to act against him with great advantage. The most spirited princes, therefore, frequently temporized, concealed their sentiments, and submitted to very mean compliances, rather than draw upon themselves the indignation of the pope, from which they knew that fatal consequences might ensue. In short, the arrogance and pride of the popes arose to the most insupportable height: they treated, not only the ordinary laity, but even sovereign princes themselves, with the utmost insolence and contempt; at the same time that many of them were, in their private conduct, remarkable for nothing so much as the vicious course of their lives. Thus the men who arrogated to themselves the claim of INFALLIBILITY,* who pretended to be God's vicars upon earth—to be the sovereign judges of truth, the heads of the Christian church, and the unerring guides of Christians—were frequently monsters of perfidy, blasphemy, lust, pride, and cruelty: a disgrace, not only to religion, but to humanity! If such was the head of the church, it could not be expected that the inferior clergy should be remarkable for their piety or virtue: they were, indeed, in general, much otherwise; they were very ignorant and very profligate. And as respects

[•] It must ever be an unanswerable argument against the infallibility of the church of Rome, that several popes were by their successors excommunicated, their acts abrogated, and the sacraments which they had been in the practice of administering, pronounced invalid. No less than six popes were expelled by others who usurped their seats; two were assassinated; and the infamous Theodora, by her credit in the holy city, obtained the popedom for the most avowed of her gallants, who assumed the name of John X. Another of the same name, a bastard son of Pope Sergius, was called to St. Peter's chair, and to the government of the Christian world at the age of twenty-one. If such were the men who arrogated to themselves titles and attributes peculiar to the Deity, can we wonder at the greatest enormities among laymen?



the laity, they became, in consequence of such doctrines and such teachers, at once wicked and superstitious.

The rapacity, however, of the agents of the papal see was so great, that in spite of the ignorance and superstition which prevailed, many individuals cried out against such scandalous exactions. It appears that the money collected in England by the pope's agents, on various pretences, amounted to two-thirds more than the produce of the royal treasury! Add to this, that the disposal of most of the benefices in England, as you may remember I have formerly detailed in the thirty-fifth lecture, was claimed by the pope, who generally bestowed them upon foreign ecclesiastics, and these, by virtue of the pope's dispensation, enjoyed the emoluments without even residing in the kingdom, while their benefices were often farmed out to the English, who served the cures for very small salaries. Many complaints of these grievances had been exhibited to the court of Rome, but without effect. Such was the state of things with regard to religion, in our own country, as well as abroad, at the time of Wycliffe's appearance.

LECTURE LVIII.

Dawn of the Reformation—Biography of Wycliffe; his education and studies—Defends the University of Oxford against the begging friars-Becomes Warden of Canterbury Hall-Is ejected by Archbishop Langham, and appeals to the pope-Commences hostilities against the clergy-Exposes their wickedness, and becomes Reformer-Has an interview with the pope, and pleads the cause of his country—His impressions of the corrupt state of the Papacy-Denounces the pope as Antichrist-Is patronized by the Duke of Lancaster—Cited to defend himself at St. Paul's— Confused result of the meeting-Wycliffe persecuted for heresy-Schism in the papacy—Wycliffe's illness and visit from the begging friars-Translates the Bible into English-The catholic priesthood enraged at this-Wycliffe attacks the doctrine of Transubstantiation-Rouses Dr. Barton, vice-chancellor of Oxford; and Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury-Who cite him to a public audience—Remarkable earthquake—His accusers baffled—Retires to his living at Lutterworth-Pope Urban issues a bull, which Wycliffe ridicules-Is seized with palsy, and dies-Estimate of his character. A.D. 1324-1384.

JOHN WYCLIFFE, the morning star of the Reformation, was born at the village of Wycliffe, about six miles from the town of Richmond, in Yorkshire; but the day of his nativity, and even the year in which he was born, are neither of them ascertained by his biographers, though all are agreed that it was about the year 1324. His father, there is reason to think, was rector of the

parish, and designing his son for the clerical profession, sent him to Queen's College, in Oxford, then recently founded. He did not, however, in that new established house, meet with the advantages for study which he expected, and therefore removed to Merton College, which was then esteemed one of the most learned societies in Europe. His application to his studies in this seminary of learning was very great; he is said to have committed to memory the most abstruse parts of the works of Aristotle. His attention appears chiefly to have been engaged by the logic of that acute philosopher, in which he was so conversant that he became a most subtle disputant, and reigned in the schools unrivalled. He then proceeded to his theological studies, and made himself a master of all the niceties and subtle distinctions of what is commonly called school-divinity, which was well calculated to display the acuteness of his parts, and to distinguish him above his fellow-students; and which was the fashionable study of the times. The superior penetration of Wycliffe, however, soon enabled him to discover the unprofitableness of these studies. He chose, therefore, a more simple and more rational mode of inquiring after truth; he took the plain text of scripture into his hands, uncorrupted by commentators and scholastic divines, and endeavoured to discover the true and genuine sense of the sacred writings, without regarding, or implicitly assenting to, any prevailing or established system.

By this method of investigating truth, Wycliffe attained that noble freedom of thought by which his writings were afterwards so much distinguished, and which procured him among his contemporaries, according to the fashion of the times, the title of the Evangelic Doctor. To these studies he added that of the civil and canon law, and is said to have been well acquainted with the municipal laws of his country. As Wycliffe continued thus to extend his knowledge, he increased also in reputation; and he was respected, not only as an able scholar, but as a man of piety and virtue, a sincere inquirer after truth, and a bold defender of it.

Wycliffe drew upon himself the public attention in a more particular manner, by his defence of the university against the begging friars. These religious, who first settled in Oxford in

1230, had made themselves very offensive and troublesome to the University, by setting up a different interest, aiming at a distinct jurisdiction, fomenting feuds between the scholars and their superiors, and in various other respects, so that the University was obliged to curb and restrain them by severe statutes. By these means the foundation of an endless quarrel was laid between them. The friars appealed to the pope, and the scholars to the civil power; and sometimes one party prevailed, and sometimes the other, so that the cause became so general, that an opposition to the friars was considered as a test of a student's attachment to the University.

Whilst things were in this situation, the friars had gotten among them a notion, which they zealously propagated in Oxford, and wherever they came, that Christ was a common beggar, that his disciples were also beggars, and that begging, by their example, was an institution of the gospel.

Wycliffe, who had long despised these friars, on account of their useless and lazy lives, considered this a fair opportunity of exposing them. He therefore drew up and published a treatise against able beggary, in which he pointed out the difference between the poverty of Christ and that of the friars, and shewed the obligations which all Christians lay under, to labour in some way or other for the good of society. He also proved the friars to be an infamous and useless set of men, who wallowed in luxury, and were so far from being objects of charity, that they were a disgrace, not to religion only, but even to human society. This piece made a great impression on the generality of the people, and also increased his reputation with the learned, as all men of sense and freedom admired the work, and applauded the spirit of the author.

The University from this time began to consider Wycliffe as one of her principal champions; and in consequence of the reputation he had acquired, he was soon afterwards preferred to the mastership of Baliol college. About this time, Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, having founded Canterbury-hall, in Oxford, established therein a warden and eleven scholars. The Warden, whose name was Wodehall, was a monk, as were also three of his scholars; the rest were seculars. The archbishop,

who was unwilling to irritate either party, thought proper to divide his favours in this manner. Wodehall, though brought from a distant monastery, interested himself immediately in the quarrel which was subsisting at Oxford; and having vexed the seculars who were incorporated with him, by all the methods in his power, he became next a public disturber, by making it his employment, to raise and foment animosities in colleges, and disputes in the convocations. The archbishop, hearing of his behaviour, and finding, upon examination, that the complaint against him was justly founded, made an apology to the University for placing so troublesome a man among them, and immediately ejected both him and the three regulars, his associates. Archbishop Islip's next care was to appoint a proper successor, and for this purpose he applied to Wycliffe, whom he was very desirous of placing at the head of his new foundation. Wycliffe thought proper to accept of the proposal, and was accordingly chosen warden of Canterbury-hall about the year 1865.

He did not, however, enjoy this dignity peaceably for any continuance: he soon found himself involved in difficulties in consequence of it. He was scarcely established in it, when Archbishop Islip died, and was succeeded by Simon Langham, bishop of Ely, a prelate who had spent his life in a cloister, having been first a monk and afterwards an abbot. The ejected regulars took advantage of this favourable opportunity, and made immediate application to the new archbishop, not doubting of his good will to their order. Langham readily espoused their cause, ejected Wycliffe and the regulars, his companions, and sequestered their revenues. So manifest a piece of injustice raised a general outcry, and Wycliffe's friends advised him to appeal to the pope, who, they told him, durst not countenance such a proceeding. However, Urban V., who was then pope, not choosing openly to interest himself on either side of the question, appointed a cardinal to hear the cause. Archbishop Langham was cited; he put in his plea, and each side accusing and answering by turns, protracted the business to a considerable length.

An affair, however, happened whilst this matter was in agitation, which brought it to a speedy conclusion. To understand this, it will be necessary to look back to the reign of King John,* who, having drawn upon himself the displeasure of the papal see, had the sentence of excommunication and deposition pronounced against him, and his crown given by the pope to the king of France. The pope also laid an interdict upon John's dominions, and the king of France made great preparations to invade them. King John was very far from being attached to the Roman see; however, being a tyrannical prince, and hated by his own subjects, he was terrified with the dangers that surrounded him; and therefore, to reinstate himself in the favour of the pope, meanly resigned his crown to Pandulph, the pope's legate. The haughty legate treated John with the utmost insolence and arrogance; and, after detaining the crown two days in his own possession, restored it to him on this condition,-" That he and his successors should hold the kingdom of England and lordship of Ireland, from the see of Rome, at the annual tribute of a thousand marks of silver." This tribute had been constantly paid from the time of King John to the reign of King Edward III., and the popes, from the time of John's resignation, seem, in many respects, to have considered England only as a conquered country. Edward had, however, for some time, thought proper to discontinue the payment of this tribute. This measure was extremely disagreeable to the court of Rome, and the pope threatened; but Edward was a prince not easily intimidated. He called a parliament, laid the affair before them, and desired their advice; and they were speedily resolved, that King John had done an illegal thing, and had given up the rights of the nation; at the same time they advised the king not, by any means, to submit to the pope; and promised, if the affair should bring on consequences, to assist him to the utmost of their power. Whilst the parliament was in this manner disputing the authority of the Roman pontiff, the clergy, and particularly the regulars, very zealously defended it, both by speaking and writing; and endeavoured to prove his undoubted right to his revenue by a variety of arguments. Amongst others, a monk, of more than ordinary ingenuity and learning, listed himself in this cause, and published a treatise,

[•] See Vol. ii. Lect. xxxiv. p. 94, &c.

written with great spirit and plausibility, in defence of the pope's claim; and his arguments met with so many advocates, that the minds of the people were kept in suspense. Wycliffe's indignation was excited, at seeing so unworthy a cause defended with so much ability; he therefore undertook to oppose the monk's book, and executed his design in so masterly a manner, that it was not only well received, but considered as unanswerable. Wycliffe's reply to the monk's book, he maintained, amongst other things, that the pope had no right to impose a tax upon England, which he had never conquered by force of arms, nor delivered from any tyranny; and that as to King John, how sovereign a prince soever he might be esteemed, yet his power did not extend so far as to make his crown tributary for the sake of his own particular interests; or that if he could, yet the tribute ought not to continue longer than his life, nor pass to his successors, who had not, as he had done, murdered their nephews, and consequently ought not to be reduced to the necessity of purchasing so dear an absolution from those censures which they had It could not be imagined, that Wycliffe's never incurred. conduct in this affair could be of any service to his suit at Rome: it manifestly was not; for a very short time after his book was published, his suit was determined against him.

It has been insinuated, by the enemies of Wycliffe, that his chief motive for opposing popery was his resentment against the court of Rome for determining his suit relative to the wardenship of Canterbury-hall against him. This insinuation will, however, appear to be totally void of foundation, if it be considered that his reply to the monk's book in defence of the pope's right to the tribute-money, was prior to the determination of his suit. Indeed, his appearing so openly against the papal see, at the same time when he had such a cause depending at Rome, is the strongest evidence which could possibly have been given to his integrity.

Wycliffe, notwithstanding the loss of his wardenship, still continued at Oxford; and his friends, about this time, procured him a benefice there. And the divinity-professor's chair falling vacant soon after this, he took a Doctor's degree, and was elected into it, the University complimenting him with this both as a

compensation for his loss, and a reward for his merit. This situation appears to have been very agreeable to Wycliffe, as it afforded him an opportunity of throwing some light, as he imagined, upon some important subjects of religion. He was now fully convinced, by a long course of reasoning, that the Romish religion was full of errors. He was first led into this train of thinking by the loose and immoral lives of the monastic clergy; and he was confirmed in it by his researches into antiquity. It was, however, a bold undertaking, and what required the utmost caution, to oppose errors of such long standing, which had become so deeply rooted, and so widely spread. He determined, therefore, at first, to go on with the popular argument with which he had begun, and to prosecute his attack upon the monastic clergy.

In consequence of this resolution he inveighed against them in his public lectures with great severity. He represented them as a set of men, who professed indeed to live like saints, but who had so far degenerated from their original institution that they were become a scandal to their founders. Men might well cry out, he said, against the decay of religion, but he could shew them from whence this decay proceeded. Whilst the preachers of religion never inculcated religious duties, but entertained the people with idle stories and lying miracles; whilst they never enforced the necessity of godliness, but taught their hearers to put their trust in a bit of sealed parchment, and the prayers of hypocrites, it was impossible, he said, but religion must decay. Such treacherous friends did more hurt than open enemies.

Wycliffe further observed, that a regard for religion was not to be expected from such men: they had nothing in view, he said, but the advancement of their own order. In every age, they had made it their practice to invent and multiply such new opinions and doctrines as suited their avaricious views. Nay, they had, in a manner, set aside Christianity by binding men with their traditions in preference to the rule of Christ; who, it might well be supposed, left nothing useful out of his scheme. In this sensible and spirited manner, did Wycliffe open the eyes of men to a number of abuses, which were before hidden in the darkness of ignorance and superstition.

Hitherto, however, he had not avowedly questioned any established doctrine of the church, contenting himself with only attempting to loosen the prejudices of the vulgar. But he now began to think of attacking some of the fundamentals of popery. He proceeded in this design with his usual caution; he thought it sufficient at first to lead his adversaries into logical and metaphysical disputes, to accustom them to bear contradiction, and to hear novelties. In the seminaries of learning at that time, scarce anything passed but learned arguments on the form of things, on the increase of time, on space, substance, and identity. In disputations of this kind, he artfully intermixed and pushed as far as he durst, new opinions in divinity, in order to sound the minds of his hearers. And at length, finding that he had a considerable party in the schools, and was listened to with attention, he ventured to be more explicit, and by degrees to open himself at large.

Wycliffe began with shewing the little regard which ought to be paid to the writings of the fathers after the tenth century. At that time, said he, an age of darkness and error commenced, and doctrines and opinions then took their rise, among which, the honest inquirer after truth could never satisfy himself. The errors in matters of opinion which had crept into religion, were the first subject of his inquiry; many of which he traced out from their earliest origin, and with great acuteness and accuracy pointed out the progress they had made as they descended through the ages of superstition. He next proceeded to the usurpations of the court of Rome, which was a favourite topic with him, and on which he was very copious and very warm. He insisted on these and many other similar subjects, with a strength of reason far superior to the learning of those times, and with great freedom and spirit.

This vigorous attack upon the church of Rome, occasioned the clergy to raise a violent clamour against him; and the archbishop of Canterbury, who took the lead, determined to prosecute him with the utmost vigour. The church had, however, slept in its errors through so many ages, in consequence of the extreme ignorance that had been long spread over every part of Europe, that it was not prepared for an attack; heresy being now

a new crime. Nevertheless, they searched records and examined precedents; and at length, with some difficulty, Wycliffe was deprived and silenced. It was a very fortunate circumstance for our reformer, that there was in England at this time no law in force for the burning of heretics.

The oppressions of the court of Rome were at this time severely felt, and heavily complained of, particularly the power which the pope assumed, and which has been before alluded to; of disposing of almost all church preferments, even rectories or vicarages of any value. A memorial was presented to the parliament, shewing, that by the death and translation of bishops, the pope extorted five times the yearly revenue out of a single see, and by that means drew out of the kingdom twenty thousand marks a year; that the pope's agents collected a sum equally large for the necessities of the holy see; that in the very year in which the memorial was presented, the pope had laid his hands upon the first-fruits of all the benefices in the kingdom; that he increased the number of the cardinals to thirty, among whom there were not above two or three well affected to England; that the pope's avarice was worse than the plague; that, in spite of the Statute of Provisors, there were persons every day provided with benefices by the court of Rome, and that there was no hindering it, but by banishing all those who should dare to accept of the pope's provisions: in short, that it was absolutely necessary to put a stop to these proceedings, unless they were willing to see England involved in a fatal state of slavery. The next step taken was, to send an embassy to the pope to treat of the liberties of the church of England; and at the head of the embassy were. the bishop of Bangor, and Wycliffe. They were met at Bruges, on the part of Rome, by the bishops of Pampelone and Semigaglia, and the provost of Valenza; and these agents, thoroughly practised in the policy of their court, spun out the negotiation with great subtilty and dexterity: some historians say it continued for two years. However, finding themselves hard pressed by their antagonists, and considering that it would be easier to evade a treaty when made, than not to make one in the present circumstances, they resolved, at last, to bring matters to a conclusion. It was accordingly agreed, that the pope should no longer

dispose of any benefices belonging to the church of England. No mention, however, was made of bishoprics, which was thought to be a voluntary omission in the bishop of Bangor; and this was the rather believed, because he was afterwards twice translated by the pope's authority.

But, notwithstanding that Wycliffe had failed in his endeavours to serve his country by this treaty, (which was indeed never observed), he made his journey serviceable to himself. He made good use of the opportunity which it afforded him, of diving into the real designs of the court of Rome, not in this affair only, but in all its other negotiations. He inquired into the ends which it had in view, and the means which it employed; and by repeated conversations upon these subjects with the ambassadors, he penetrated so far into the constitution and policy of that corrupt court, that he began to think of it in a much harsher manner than he had ever yet done, and to be more convinced of its avarice, ambition, and iniquity. However strong his conviction had long before been of the corruptions of its ministers and doctrines, he had never before thought so badly of its designs.

Returning home, filled with these sentiments, we find him in his lectures afterwards inveighing against the church of Rome with more warmth than before. 'The exemption of the clergy from the jurisdiction of the civil power, indulgencies, and the use of sanctuaries, were among the topics of his invective, and there are very few of the corrupt principles or practices of the Romish church which have been detected by the writers of later ages, that his penetration had not discovered at that early period; and though his reasonings wanted that accuracy and strength which may be found in the writings of later times, yet, when we consider the darkness and ignorance of the age in which he lived, and the little appearances there were of anything like real learning, even in the public schools, we have much more reason to be amazed at that force of genius which carried him so far, than to wonder that he did not go further.

The pope himself was frequently the subject of his invective; and on his infallibility, usurpations, pride, avarice, and tyranny, he declaimed with peculiar warmth. The epithet antichrist, which the pope has had so frequently bestowed upon him in later

ages, is thought by some to have been first given him by Wycliffe. He would frequently inveigh against the luxury and pomp of bishops; and would ask the people, when they saw their prelates riding abroad attended with fourscore horsemen in silver trappings, whether they perceived any resemblance between such splendor and the simplicity of primitive bishops? It does not certainly appear where these lectures were read, but most probably it was at Oxford, where Wycliffe, by this time, seems to have recovered his former station, and where he had yet a considerable party in his favour.

He was nevertheless frequently at court, where he continued to be in high estimation with the duke of Lancaster, (John of Gaunt.) It was expected by many that some considerable ecclesiastical preferment was intended for him, but no offer of this sort appears; whether he himself declined it, or that the duke thought an elevated station would only expose him the more to the malice of his enemies, is uncertain. The duke, however, took care to place him in a state of independency, by bestowing upon him the rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, whither he immediately repaired, and set himself conscientiously to discharge the duties of it. Wycliffe was scarce settled in his parish, when his enemies, taking advantage of his retirement, commenced a fresh and vigorous prosecution against him. Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, and Courtenay, bishop of London, were at the head of this. The primate Sudbury was, indeed, a man of great moderation for the times he lived in, and appears to have been brought into this prosecution against Wycliffe contrary to his inclination; for indeed he contributed nothing towards it but the sanction of his name. But Courtenay was a fiery bigot, and full of zeal against heresy; he therefore took the management of it upon himself; and having procured proper letters from Rome, he cited Wycliffe to appear before him on a fixed day, at St. Paul's, in London.

This summons was a very unexpected one to Wycliffe, who probably imagined that in the shade of retirement and obscurity he should have been sheltered from the malice of his enemies. He repaired immediately to the duke of Lancaster, to consult with him on the affair; and that prince did what he could

to avert the prosecution, but found himself unable to oppose a force which was composed of almost the whole body of the clergy. He resolved, however, to countenance him in the most open and honourable manner; and therefore the duke in person, accompanied by Lord Percy, earl-marshal of England, who appears to have been a proselyte to the opinions of Wycliffe, attended him to his trial, and encouraged him to defend himself with boldness, by assuring him that he had nothing to fear, and that the prelates who were to try him, notwithstanding their high stations, were but ignorant and illiterate persons compared to him. When they were come to St. Paul's, they found the court sitting, and a very great crowd assembled, through which the earl-marshal made use of his authority to gain an entrance. A very considerable disturbance was raised in the church by the arrival of such personages and their attendants, and the bishop of London, who was chagrined to see Wycliffe so attended, peevishly told the earl-marshal that if he had known before what a disturbance he would have made, he should have been stopped at the door. The duke of Lancaster espoused the earl's part, and told the bishop, with some warmth, that the earl-marshal should execute his authority, whether he would or not. Lord Percy then desired Wycliffe to sit down, saying that he had need of a seat, for he had many things to say. To this the bishop replied, "It is unreasonable that a clergyman, cited before his ordinary, should sit during his answer: he shall stand." "My lord Percy is in the right, (said the duke of Lancaster,) and for you, my lord bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant, I will take care to humble your pride; and not only your's, but that of all the prelates of England. Thou dependest upon the credit of thy relations; but far from being able to help thee, they shall have enough to do to support themselves." To this the bishop replied, "I place no confidence either in my relations, or in any man else, but in God himself, in whom I ought to trust, and who will give me boldness to speak the truth." Whether the bishop added anything to this, which more particularly irritated the duke of Lancaster, is not quite clear; however, the duke, who was greatly provoked, turned to Lord Percy, and said to him, in a half-whisper, that rather than take such usage from the bishop, he would pull him

by the hair of his head out of the church. These words were caught up by some who stood near, and being spread among the crowd, threw the whole assembly into a ferment in an instant. There was a general cry of the people from every part of the church that their bishop should not be so used, and that they would stand by him to their last breath. The confusion, in short, arose to such a height, that all business was at an end; the whole court was in disorder, and broke up without having taken any material step in the affair. But the tumult did not end here, for the duke of Lancaster went directly to the house of peers, and after inveighing against the riotous disposition of the Londoners, he passionately and imprudently preferred a bill, the very same day, to deprive the city of London of its privileges, and to alter This precipitate and ill-judged step put the its jurisdiction. whole city into disorder; the heads of it met in consultation, and the populace assembled in a riot, and assaulted the houses of the duke and the earl-marshal, who both left the city with precipitation, their lives being in the utmost danger from the fury of the people. These tumults, however, which continued for some time, were in some degree serviceable to Wycliffe, as they put a stop for the present to all further proceedings against him.

This declension of the duke's power encouraged the bishops to commence afresh their persecutions against Wycliffe. Articles of accusation were immediately drawn up, and despatched to Rome; and the pope engaged in this affair with the utmost readiness and alacrity, as appears evident from his sending on this occasion no less than five bulls into England; three of which were directed to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, one to the University of Oxford, and another to the king. The zeal of the holy father was, no doubt, greatly augmented by the consideration of the unfavourable tenets of Wycliffe with respect to the revenues of the papal see. With those bulls to the bishops, the pope sent a copy of the heretical articles, requiring those prelates to inform themselves whether Wycliffe really held the doctrines contained therein, and immediately to imprison him if he did so; or if they failed in that, to cite him personally to make his appearance within three months at Rome. He also enjoined the bishops to represent to king Richard and the council, that

Wycliffe's errors were not only dangerous to the church but likewise to the state. The pope had very little doubt of the success of these bulls, and the papal see had never been accustomed to contradiction; for, however despotic and unreasonable its commands, it had been customary for the greatest monarchs to obey them in the most implicit and submissive manner. a new scene of things was now opening, and a more liberal spirit began to prevail, to which the preaching of Wycliffe had already greatly contributed. The imperious pontiff must have been very sensibly mortified at the neglect with which, on this occasion, he was treated. The University of Oxford even deliberated whether it should receive his bull; and by what appears, it did not. And the regency were so far from being disposed to shew him any reverence, that at this very time they joined with the parliament in giving a very public and signal instance of their confidence in, and esteem for, Wycliffe; as if it were their design to make their contempt of the Roman pontiff as notorious as possible.

About the year 1378 there happened to be a very considerable schism in the catholic church. Some dissension arising between pope Urban VI. and the cardinals, the latter thought proper to dispute the validity of Urban's election, and to elect a new pope, who took upon himself the title of Clement VII. This schism divided all Europe, each state declaring for one or other of the two popes, more from reasons of state than from any consideration of the right of the contending parties. France, whose interest it was that the pope should reside at Avignon, sided with Clement; and for a contrary reason, England thought it more advantageous to adhere to the pope of Rome. Thus, by the different powers of Europe taking different sides in this contest, deluges of blood were shed, in order to determine which of these two infallible gentlemen had the most right to St. Peter's chair. Wycliffe considered this schism as a new argument against popery, and used it as such. He published a tract against the schism of the Roman pontiffs, in which he shewed what little credit was due to either of the contending parties; and as this tract was read with eagerness by people of all ranks, it contributed very much to open the eyes of the common people.

Towards the end of the year 1378, Wycliffe was seized with a

violent fit of illness, which it was apprehended might prove fatal to him. On this occasion, it is said, he was waited upon by a very extraordinary deputation from the begging friars, whom he had formerly attacked with so much severity, and who now sent four of their order, accompanied by four of the most eminent citizens of Oxford, to wait upon him. Having gained admittance to his bed-chamber, they acquainted him, that hearing he lay at the point of death, they were come, in the name of their order, to remind him of the many injuries which he had done them; and hoped, for his soul's sake, that he would do them all the justice now in his power by retracting, in the presence of those respectable persons, the many severe and unjust things he had said of them. Wycliffe, who was surprised at this solemn message, raised himself in his bed, and with a stern countenance, it is said, cried out, "I shall not die, but live to declare the evil deeds of the friars." At this the friars were driven away in confusion, struck with the sternness of his manner, and the unexpected force of his expression.

Wycliffe did recover from his indisposition, and soon after begun a work, which he had long intended,—viz., the translation of the scriptures into English; for he had ever considered the locking up of the Bible from the people as one of the principal errors of popery, and of the most dangerous tendency; but before his translation appeared, he published a tract, in which he shewed the necessity of freeing the scriptures from the bondage they lay under, and this he did with great force of argument. The Bible, he affirmed, contained the whole of God's will. Christ's law, he said, was sufficient to guide his church; and every Christian might there attain knowledge sufficient to make him acceptable to God; and as to comments, he said, a good life was the best guide to the knowledge of the scripture; or in his own language, "He that keepeth righteousness hath the true understanding of holy writ." When he apprehended these arguments to be sufficiently digested, his translation made its public appearance, much to the satisfaction of all judicious men.

Wycliffe is generally thought to have been the first who translated the Bible into English; others might probably have given detached parts of it, but he alone appears to have given an entire

translation of the whole. It does not appear that Wycliffe understood the Hebrew language; his method seems to have been, to collect what Latin bibles he could meet with, and from them make one correct copy, and translate from that. He afterwards examined the best commentators then extant, and from them inserted in his margin those passages in which the Latin differed from the Hebrew. The other writings of Wycliffe were remarkably elegant in point of language for the times in which he lived; but his translation of the Bible appears to have been literally exact; indeed, rather too much so, for his scrupulous adherence to the literal sense sometimes led him into manifest improprieties.

The publication of this work had not the least tendency to re-establish Wycliffe in the good opinion of his ecclesiastical brethren. On the contrary, an universal clamour was immediately raised against it; and after much consultation among the bishops and heads of the clergy, a bill was brought into parliament to suppress Wycliffe's Bible. The advocates for this bill set forth the alarming prospect of heresy, which this version of the scriptures opened, and the ruin of all religion, which must inevitably ensue, were it to be allowed a free circulation. The arguments, however, which were urged by Wycliffe and his friends, in defence of the utility of an English version of the scriptures, were so strong, that they silenced all opposition, and the bill was accordingly thrown out by a great majority.

We need be at no loss to investigate the reasons why the Roman-catholic priests have been at all times so extremely desirous of keeping the laity in general from the perusal of the scriptures; they are, indeed, sufficiently apparent. There is so little foundation in the sacred writings for the absurd and superstitious doctrines which they instil into their deluded followers, and of which they make so much iniquitous gain, that they must be very conscious they will not stand the test of examination. The declaration of our Saviour, on another occasion, may be applied to them, in this respect, with the utmost truth; They love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. Nothing can be more dangerous to the pretended authority of the papal see than the free and impartial study of the scriptures. Christianity itself affords not the least real ground for any priestcraft whatever, and

much less for that accumulated system of it which is exhibited in the Roman-catholic church. The clergy of Wycliffe's days had therefore reason to be alarmed at the publication of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. Their fears respecting the consequences of it were justly founded, for it had a natural tendency to endanger, in the greatest degree, what the greater number of them considered as the most substantial and important part of religion, the revenues of the church.

Before the clamour which was raised against Wycliffe, on account of the publication of his Bible, was in any degree silenced, he ventured to go a step further, by attacking the favourite doctrine of the Romish church—transubstantiation, which he did with great spirit and with great freedom, being, after a thorough examination, satisfied that it had no scriptural foundation. his lectures before the university of Oxford, in 1881, which he appears still to have continued every summer as divinity professor, he undertook to confute this error, and to explain the real design of the Lord's Supper. He endeavoured chiefly to establish, that the substance of the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper remained the same after consecration, and that the body and blood of Christ were not substantially in them, but only figuratively. He offered to defend these conclusions publicly in the schools; but the religious, who had now gained ground in the University, would not suffer any question of this kind to be debated; for they were extremely unwilling to submit so important a doctrine as that of transubstantiation, and which they could so well defend by the authority of the church, to the hazardous test of reason and examination. Wycliffe, however, without further ceremony, published a confutation of the doctrine in a professed treatise upon the subject.

Dr. Barton was at this time vice-chancellor of Oxford, a great enemy to heresy, and no friend to Wycliffe, of whom he always spoke with great bitterness. He therefore laid hold of this opportunity of persecuting him with much pleasure: he called together the heads of the University, and finding he could influence a majority, obtained a decree by which the doctrine of Wycliffe was condemned as heretical, and himself and his hearers threatened, if they persisted in their errors, with im-

prisonment and excommunication. Wycliffe was extremely mortified to find himself thus treated at Oxford, which, till this time, had been his sanctuary. However, he resolved to fly for protection to his generous friend the duke of Lancaster; and in hopes of his interest, to appeal to the king from the vice-chancellor's sentence. But even this resource failed him; for his appeal met with no countenance: the duke, who found his credit declining, and probably supposed his attachment to Wycliffe might be one of the causes, did now, for the first time, desert him; and when Wycliffe pressed this prince with religious motives, to induce him to interest himself on his behalf, he answered him coolly, that of these things the church was the most proper indge, and that the best advice he could give him, was to quit these novelties, and submit quietly to his ordinary. Wycliffs, thus exposed to the persecutions of his adversaries, had no other remedy but, conscious of his own integrity, to meet the storm with all the fortitude he was master of. It was a circumstance very unfavourable to Wycliffe, that Courtenay, who had been his most active enemy when bishop of London, was now promoted to the see of Canterbury, in the room of Archbishop Sudbury, who had been beheaded by the rebels under Wat Tyler. Courtenay very much approved what the vice-chancellor of Oxford had done, and therefore resolved to go on vigorously with the prosecution. The superstition of the new primate, however, afforded Wycliffe some respite, for he was so scrupulous in matters of form that he would not enter upon the public exercise of his office till he should receive the consecrated pall from Rome, which did not arrive till the May of the next year, 1382; and then, being duly invested, he cited Wycliffe to appear before him in the monastery of the Grey Friars, on the 17th day of the same month; so eager was the pious and conscientious bishop upon this business! Wycliffe being thus cited before the archbishop, refused to appear, alleging that he was a member of the University, and held an office in it; that consequently he was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. Fortunately for Wycliffe, the University was under a different influence than it had lately been; for the vice-chancellor was changed, and the determination of the majority was to support their member.

With this plea the archbishop was obliged to remain satisfied. But though he could not proceed against the person of Wycliffe, he resolved, nevertheless, to proceed against his opinions; and accordingly when the court met on the day appointed, a large collection of articles, extracts from his books and sermons, was produced. At the instant, it is said, that the court was about to enter upon business, the monastery was shaken by a violent earthquake. The affrighted bishops threw down their papers, and cried out that the business was displeasing to God; and hastily came to a conclusion not to proceed any further. The archbishop alone continued unmoved; he chid their superstitions fears, and told them, among other things, that if the earthquake portended anything, it was the downfal of heresy. This speech. together with the news that the earthquake had been general, dispelled their fears. Wycliffe would often speak pleasantly of this accident; and would call this assembly the council of the herydene; herydene being the old English word for earthquake. The court being again composed, entered warmly into the business: and after examining all the articles, came to a determination that some of them were erroneous, and some plainly heretical. This determination, which was afterwards published, was answered by Wycliffe, who shewed how much his enemies had in several points misrepresented him, and defended his tenets with such a spirit of truth and freedom that he gained many over to his party.

The archbishop took fresh offence at this audacity, as he called it, of Wycliffe; and being determined, if possible, to crush him, preferred a bill in parliament to enable sheriffs, upon proper information from bishops, to proceed as far as imprisonment against the preachers of heresy. This bill passed the lords, but was thrown out by the commons, who were by no means disposed to increase the power of the clergy. The archbishop, thus disappointed, applied to the king for his licence for the same purpose, which he imagined might serve instead of an act of parliament. Richard thought proper to agree to the primate's request, and immediately ordered letters patent to be made out, which granted the full power that he required. These unlimited powers were extremely disagreeable to the whole nation; and therefore, when the parliament met, which it did soon after, heavy complaints

came from every county to their representatives, setting forth how much the people thought themselves aggrieved by them. The members of the house of commons interested themselves in this affair with that warmth which became Englishmen and freemen on such an occasion. "These new powers," it was said, "were dangerous encroachments. If the liberties of the people were thus put into the hands of the clergy, the nation became subject to a new kind of despotism. Heresy was an unlimited word, and might bear as wide a construction as a bishop might choose to give it: nor could it be doubted, but it would often be made to signify whatever the pride and avarice of the clergy might think expedient." Filled with these sentiments, the commons petitioned the king against the licence which he had granted; and Richard, agreeably to the unsteadiness of his character, now revoked that licence to oblige the laity which he had before granted to oblige the clergy.

Thus was the zeal of the archbishop baffled a second time: but in another point he had better success, for he obtained letters from the king to the vice-chancellor and proctors of the University of Oxford, requiring them to make diligent search in their colleges and halls for all who maintained heretical opinions; particularly those condemned by the archbishop of Canterbury; and for all who had in their possession the books of John Wycliffe. Delinquents of this kind were ordered to be expelled the University; and the sheriff and mayor of Oxford were commanded to assist the academical magistrates in the execution of this order. The primate himself also wrote to the vice-chancellor, to enjoin him to publish, in St. Mary's church, the king's letter, and also those articles of the doctrine of Wycliffe which had been condemned. The vice-chancellor answered, that such a publication would be very dangerous to himself, and also endanger the peace of the University; as party spirit at this time ran very high in Oxford, where the seculars, who generally favoured Wycliffe, bore a principal sway. The zealous archbishop, in answer to this, called him before the council, where he was vexed and interrogated with so much of the insolence of authority, that he was brought to compliance, and everything was published in the manner the primate required. The fears of the vice-chancellor were, however, justly founded; for the secular clergy were so

violently incensed against the religious, that the University was filled with tumult and disorder, and all study was at an end. In short, the animosities of the two parties were carried to such a height that they distinguished themselves by badges, and were with difficulty restrained from breaking out into the most outrageous violence.

It does not appear that Wycliffe was, after these proceedings, brought to any public examination. He probably retired from the storm, for it is certain that at this time he quitted the professor's chair, and took his final leave of the University of Oxford, which, till now, he seems to have yearly visited. Thus the unwearied persecution of the bigoted primate did so far prevail as to oblige Wycliffe to retreat from the University to his living in Lutterworth. It was, however, by no means in his power to effect a complete extirpation of heresy; for the opinions of Wycliffe had been so universally spread over the nation, that a writer of those times tells us, that if you met two persons upon the road, you might be sure that one of them was a Lollard, or follower of Wycliffe. While these things were transacting in England, the dissension between the two popes continued. Pope Urban had published a bull, in which he called upon all those who had any regard for religion to exert themselves in its defence, by taking up arms for him against Clement, the rival pontiff, and his adherents; and promising, for the encouragement of the faithful, the same pardon and indulgences which had been always granted to those who lost their lives in the holy wars. This bull met with considerable encouragement in England, on account of Urban's having chosen an English ecclesiastic for his general. This was Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich; who is described, by Fox, "a young and stout prelate, fitter for the camping cure than for the peaceable church of Christ." And this reverend warrior having obtained an aid from the English parliament, and made his levies, set out upon his expedition, full of ardour and of holy zeal.

A war, in which the name of religion was thus prostituted, roused the indignation of Wycliffe, though now in the decline of life. He once more, therefore, took up his pen, and wrote against it with great spirit. In a very free manner he expostulated with the pope, and boldly asked him, "How he durst

make the token of Christ on the cross (which is a token of peace, mercy, and charity) a banner to lead on to slay Christian men, for the love of two false priests? and to oppress Christendom worse than Christ and his apostles were oppressed by the Jews. "When (said he) will the proud priest of Rome grant indulgences to mankind to live in peace and charity, as he does now to fight and slay one another?" This severe and spirited piece drew upon Wycliffe the resentment of Urban, and might probably have involved him in greater troubles than he had hitherto experienced; but soon after the publication of this treatise he was struck with a palsy; and though he lived some time, yet it was in such a way that his enemies now thought him below their resentment. He attended divine worship to the last, and received the fatal stroke of his disorder in his church at Lutterworth, in the year 1384.

Thus ended the life of John Wycliffe, who, for his superior penetration, the justness of his sentiments, and the undaunted spirit with which he engaged in the great cause of religious liberty, was a real honour to his country. Wycliffe appears to have been a man of exemplary piety and unblemished morals; and notwithstanding the number and vigilance of his enemies, they have none of them presumed to tax him with any immoralities. But though in his private character he appears to have been very respectable, yet it is his public character which principally entitles him to our attention and regard. In an age of ignorance and superstition he let in such a radiance of light that all the arts of the Romish church, and all the terrors of persecution, could never afterwards totally obscure it. And the propagation of his opinions had certainly the happiest effect in promoting that reformation which afterwards delivered this kingdom from ignorance, superstition, and ecclesiastical tyranny. By every true protestant, therefore, the memory of Wycliffe will ever be held in the highest honour. And the example of those illustrious men who have nobly and fearlessly laboured in the cause of truth and liberty, ought to animate us to exert ourselves to prevent any attempts which may be made by the zealous and indefatigable adherents of popery to involve us once more in the darkness and bondage of Romish superstition.

LECTURE LIX.

The disciples of Wycliffe termed Lollards—Rapid progress of the new opinions—Wycliffe's followers persecuted—William Sautre burnt—and Thomas Badly—Narrative of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham—The clergy impeach his orthodoxy to the king—He is sent to the Tower—Persecuted, tried, convicted of heresy, and burnt—Reflections on the spirit of the Romish church. A.D. 1400—1500.

ALTHOUGH the joy of the clergy at the death of Wycliffe was very great, it was not of long duration. They soon found that his doctrines had not died with him, but were propagated with great zeal and no little success by his followers, who passed under the name of LOLLARDS.* Many of those who were preachers travelled up and down the country on foot, in a very plain dress, declaiming with great vehemence against the corruptions of the church and the vicious lives of the clergy. These preachers were not only admired and followed by the common people, but they

Even to the present day, the derivation of this term remains a point of doubt and uncertainty. Clarke, in his Martyrology, p. 111, says, "About this time, A.D. 1210, the English, who now possessed Guienne, which bordereth upon the earldom of Toulouse, began to help the Albigenses, being stirred up thereto by Regasted Lollard, a godly and learned man, who by his powerful preaching converted many to the truth, and defended the faith of the Albigenses." He further adds, that "John le Meyer much commends this Lollard, who foretold many things by divine revelation, which, saith he, came to pass in my time, and therefore he putteth him into the rank of holy prophets. And as for his learning, it is evident by his Comment upon the Revelation, where he setteth forth many things that are spoken of the Roman antichrist. This worthy man was afterwards apprehended in Germany,

were also favoured and protected by some persons of rank and power in the state, particularly by the duke of Lancaster, the lords Percy, Latimer, Clifford, and others. By the zeal, activity, and eloquence of the preachers, under the protection of these great men, the new doctrines, as they were called, obtained such currency, that if we may credit a cotemporary historian, more than half of the people of England in the course of a few years became Lollards. The same historian, who was a clergyman, and a most inveterate enemy to the Lollards, acknowledges, that as Wycliffe excelled all the learned men of his age in disputation, so some of his followers, in a little time, became very eloquent preachers and popular disputants, which he charitably ascribes to the assistance of the devil, who, he says, took possession of them as soon as they became Lollards!

The clergy, alarmed and enraged at this rapid progress of the new opinions, attempted to put a stop to it by violence and persecution, which, indeed, have often been employed by power against truth. They procured, or at least promulgated, a statute—which is still to be found on our statute book, though it is said the commons never gave their assent to it—empowering and commanding all sheriffs to seize and imprison all the preachers of hersey. They also prevailed upon the king, in 1387, to grant a commission to certain persons to seize all the books or writings of John Wycliffe, Nicholas Hereford, John Ashton, and other heretical writers, and to imprison all who transcribed, sold, bought, or concealed, such books. By these methods, the clergy fondly hoped to interrupt the preaching and writing of the reformers, by which they chiefly propagated their opinions. It is, however, remarked

and being delivered to the secular power, was burnt at Cologne." A few pages afterwards I find the following short paragraph in the same volume. "Assectively, 1322, Lollard Walterss, from whom our English professors were called Lollards, was taken at Cologne, where he had privately preached, and through God's blessing, drawn many from ignorance and error to embrace the truth, and persisting constantly in his opinions, he was condemned and burnt alive." p. 124. The discrepancies in these two accounts are so many and palpable, that they are not easily reconciled. I find no evidence that there were two persons of the name of Lollard, at the distance of more than a century from each other, both preachers of the gospel, and burnt at Cologne for heresy. It is observable, too, that even the latter account fixes the martyrdom of Lollard two years before the birth of Wycliffe, who, therefore,

by the cotemporary historian, Knyghton, and that with no small regret, "that these laws and edicts were but slowly and faintly executed, because the time of correction was not yet come."

The first victim of their rage, and the first Christian that suffered death for the purifying his faith, in England, was William Sautre, rector of St. Osithes, in London. Before he obtained this living, he was minister of Saint Margaret's, at Lynn, in Norfolk, and while there, had incurred the suspicion of his bishop for heretical opinions. Not being, however, sufficiently confirmed at that period in the love of the truth, or wanting the fortitude to suffer as his principles dictated, he obtained the pardon of his diocesan, by a formal recantation of his supposed errors. But soon after his settlement in London, his mind became violently agitated with remorse at the recollection of his weakness; and feeling it impossible to obtain any peace of conscience till he atoned for his want of firmness and sincerity. he petitioned parliament for permission to address it publicly on the subject of his faith. The only answer he received to this petition, was an order to appear before Archbishop Arundel, who accused him in the convocation of saying, -that he would not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ himself: that if any man had avowed to make a distant pilgrimage, he had better give away the money such a journey would cost him, in alms; that the obligation of the clergy to preach the word of God was greater than that of their saving the canonical hours; and lastly, that the sacramental bread was still bread after it had been consecrated. Having asked for six days to deliberate on his answer to this accusation, he sent in a declaration at the

though he may have read some of his writings, could not possibly have seen him nor been instructed by him.

The learned Mosheim has a long disquisition on this name, too copious for insertion here; the reader will find it in vol. iii. p. 355—358, of his Ecclesiastical History. The substance is, that the name Lollard is equivalent to that of singer, or one who frequently sings; that it was not a name to denote any one particular sect, but was formerly common to all persons and all sects who were supposed to be guilty of impiety towards God and the church under an external profession of more than ordinary piety. Others, again, tell us, that the name of Lollard takes its derivation from the Latin word lollium, which signifies, in the plural, tares, or weeds, and that the reference is to our Lord's parable, Matt. xiii. 25, &c.

end of that period, of his entire assent to the truth of the doctrines which he was accused of holding; and, after an examination, which seems to have been but little needed, he was condemned to be degraded and burnt, with all the formalities in which his barbarous persecutors, according to the spirit of the times, delighted to indulge.

The execution of Sautre appeased, for a time, the thirst for blood which began to be felt among the ecclesiastical rulers of the kingdom. Nine years were suffered to elapse before the Lollards were again visited with capital punishment; they were not, however, left free in the interim from various kinds of oppression; and it is suspected, with great appearance of truth, that some of the most conspicuous among them were condemned to linger out their existence in prison. Thomas Badly, for whom the pile of martyrdom was re-lit, was an obscure individual, and could only have attracted attention when the spirit of intolerance was become so violent that no victim was sufficiently mean to escape its observation. This poor man, a tailor by trade, was consecutively examined by bishops and archbishops, by the duke of York, and the chief of the nobility, on the subject of his faith; and to all their questions he returned answers so calm and sensible, that they would have effectually protected him from violence had the judges not been previously determined on his destruction.

The presence of mind which Badly evinced at his trial was not greater than the admirable fortitude which supported him at his execution. The first dreadful feeling of agony which shot through his frame, as the fire rose around him, extorted from his lips a cry for mercy. This exclamation the prince of Wales, who was a witness of the execution, interpreted into a petition for pardon; and, with the ready but transient humanity which formed part of his character, he instantly ordered the flames to be extinguished, and the sufferer lifted from the barrel in which he had been placed. He then told him, that if he was ready to recant, he should not only be pardoned, but provided for by a pension for life. But no persuasion could induce the martyr to accept these proposals, and the pile having been again set in order, he cheerfully resigned himself to death.

About three years after this event, and upon the accession of

Henry V. to the throne, the attention of the government, as well as the church, was directed more seriously than ever to the suppression of the Lollards. The acknowledged head of the party. at this period, was the celebrated and victorious Sir John Oldcastle, or, according to the title which he enjoyed in right of his wife, Lord Cobham. As both the rank and the talents of this probleman, and the reputation he possessed at court, gave immense weight to his example and influence, he was regarded by Arundel and the rest of the clergy as the most dangerous of their enemies, and no means were left unemployed to effect his destruction. Henry, who, like his father, was fully convinced of the importance of conciliating the church, earnestly desired, if possible, to pursue measures which might enable him to retain the favour of his clergy, and at the same time avoid encouraging that disposition to sanguinary intolerance, which was but too rapidly gaining ground. But he was ill fitted to oppose the artful policy of the priesthood; and, urged into persecution, he soon consented to make enactments, which loaded the consciences of men with even heavier chains than they had borne under his predecessors. According to one of these, it was declared, that whoever they were that should read the scriptures in the mother tongue, they should forfeit land, cattle, life, and goods, from their heirs for ever, and be condemned for heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and most arrant traitors to the land.

"The most unhappily memorable act of Henry V.'s legislation, (says the late Sir James Mackintosh,) was the statute against Lollards, which condemns to be burnt all who, being convicted before the diocesan of falling into heresy, shall either refuse to abjure their impious errors, or relapse into them after previous abjuration. This persecution was formally carried into effect by a process de heretico comburendo, which necessarily issued upon a certificate of obstinacy or relapsed heresy by the diocesan, and which commanded the sheriff or other local magistrate to commit the offender against the divine majesty (alias the church!) to the flames. Some of our ancient lawyers lay it down that such was the punishment of heresy by the common law—an assertion easily made, but with difficulty brought to the test of evidence; which, in the lax language of a rude jurisprudence, imported, perhaps,

nothing more, than that before the statute heresy would not, or did not, pass with impunity."*

The laws against the Lollards were not suffered to slumber. Such, indeed, is the inherent malignity of such legislative war against bodies of men for religious belief, that they execute themselves by the evil passions which they beget towards their unhappy objects. A people speedily unlearns compassion, and even justice, to those who are pronounced by the lawgiver to be undeserving of trust. In the reigns of both the Henries, considerable numbers suffered death, in this country, some instances of which have been already adduced, and others remain to be brought forward.

Lord Cobham was, for some years, the leading patron of Wycliffe's disciples, and was, moreover, a sincere adherent to the religious creed of our reformer. His sufferings will disclose the temper with which the contest was carried on between the Lollards and the priesthood, to the period when the papal power was excluded from these realms. No event could have shewn more decisively the superior talents and the unblemished reputation of Lord Cobham, than his continuance in the favour of Henry IV., notwithstanding his known attachment to principles which required the most complete reformation of the church, or rather, of the clergy. But in 1413, Henry of Lancaster was no more, and as the young prince of Wales had hitherto passed his time in the lowest company, and in the most licentious pursuits, the change was thought to be pregnant with danger to the ecclesiastical state. That prince, however, was no sooner called to the throne, than his former associates and his former habits were alike abandoned. Well would it have been, had he possessed, at this moment, some more humane counsellors than were those to whom the royal conscience was surrendered. From having betrayed an unusual contempt for the institutions and the morals of society, he became the zealous advocate of the established religion. with all its follies and corruptions.

At this period Lord Cobham was exposed to the special resentment of the clergy, not only as having more than once abetted the most obnoxious tenets of Lollardism in the English parliament, but as having long maintained numerous preachers of that

^{*} History of England, vol. i. p. 355.

sect. These are described as having made the provinces subject to the jurisdiction of his grace of Canterbury, and those owning the authority of their lordships of Hereford, Rochester, and London, the principal scene of their itinerant labours. In addition to which, the wealth of this distinguished offender had been freely expended, to multiply copies of the writings of Wycliffe, and by this means the seeds of disaffection had not only increased in England, but were scattered through Bohemia, and other states of the continent. All this, too, had been done, in contempt of those solemn decrees which had doomed the preachers so encouraged, and the writings thus diffused, to become the fuel of the same fire. Nor had these maxims of intolerance obtained the sanction conferred upon them merely as an instrument of terror. The works of our reformer were diligently sought after, and committed to the flames.

It was accordingly determined, in a convocation of the clergy. with the primate Arundel at its head, that a prosecution of Lord Cobham, as the leader of the parties who were so obstinately allied in their opposition to the church, should be immediately commenced. But it was prudently suggested, that the pleasure of the sovereign should be ascertained before proceeding to act upon this decision, since the offender, in addition to his rank, was certainly respected by the court, and near the person of the king. A deputation was in consequence appointed to wait upon the monarch; and having exposed, in the royal presence, the peculiar guilt of the accused, it was urged as strictly necessary, if the piety or the recognised institutions of the land were to be preserved, that some signal penalty should be speedily inflicted. Henry expressed his disapprobation of the opinions and of the conduct imputed to Lord Cobham; but requested the suspension of all proceedings until he should have reasoned with him, adding, that should this milder effort be without effect, the punishment of the culprit must be left to the wisdom of the church. The knight listened to his sovereign with reverence, and returned the following respectful answer. "I am, as I have always been, most willing to obey your majesty as the minister of God, appointed to bear the sword of justice, for the punishment of evil doers, and the protection of those who do well. To you,

therefore, next to my eternal living Judge, I owe my whole obedience, and entirely submit, as I have ever done, to your pleasure, my life, and all my fortune in this world; and in all the affairs of it, whatever, am ready to perform exactly your royal commands. But as to the pope, and the spiritual dominion which he claims, I owe him no services that I know of, nor will I pay him any; for as sure as God's word is true, to me it is fully evident, that he is the great antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place." Henry was sorely displeased that neither his arguments nor his condescension could bring his faithful soldier to avow a return to orthodoxy; and, abandoned by the king, Lord Cobham was left to contend alone with the united strength of his clerical adversaries.

His home at this period was Cowley Castle, once the residence of his father-in-law, and situate about three miles from Rochester. The usual steps were taken by the clergy to induce his appearance before them, but in vain; and it was resolved to solicit the assistance of the secular arm to secure his apprehension, as "the seditious apostate, schismatic, and heretic, the troubler of the public peace, the enemy of the realm, the great adversary of all holy church." The persecuted knight now made a second appeal to the justice of his sovereign; but from the royal presence the ecclesiastical officers were allowed to conduct him to the Tower. After some days, he was brought before the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of London and Winchester, in the chapter house of St. Paul's. Arundel reminded the prisoner of the sentence which, as primate, he had been recently called to pass on him; at the same time informing him that the absolution which had been hitherto despised, might still be obtained on proper submission. But it was requested by the accused, that as he had no wish to protract inquiry, and as his opinions were certainly unalterable, he might be allowed to read from a document in his hand the sentiments which he entertained in relation to the articles on which he presumed himself to be suspected of error. This paper chiefly referred to the doctrine of the eucharist. to the nature of penance, the worship of images, and the custom of pilgrimage, and was, with some additional explanations, a

copy of that which he had recently presented to the king. all the points named, both the sentiment and language of this confession were in substance those of Wycliffe. By the prelates it was considered as in some respects orthodoxy, in others as requiring further explanation; and there were, moreover, several points unnoticed in that statement on which his opinions must be known. But it was avowed by the prisoner as his determination to communicate no more than the document before them "You see me in your power; do with me as you please;" was his simple and decisive language. Arundel was perplexed by this conduct, but presently admonished him that the things to be believed by Christians, were a matter which had been placed beyond controversy by the authority of the church; and that on the following Monday more explicit answers would be expected from him. The archbishop also informed him, that to aid his mind in the interval, care should be taken to make him acquainted with the judgment of the church on the questions at issue. On the morrow, a paper was received by Lord Cobham, which affirmed, in the grossest terms, and in the name of the church, the necessity of confession to a priest, the merit of pilgrimages, the propriety of the worship rendered to images and holy relics, also the supremacy of the pope, and the mysteries of transubstantiation.

On the day appointed he appeared before a formidable array of judges in the monastery of Dominicans, near Ludgate. Besides the prelates, the doctors, and the heads of religious houses, included in this assembly, was "a great sort more, of priests, monks, canons, friars, parish clerks, bell-ringers, and pardoners." These are described as treating the "horrible heretic with innumerable mocks and scorns." With these, also, were others, who were addressed by the prisoner as the people, being the laity, who were witnesses of the proceedings. The archbishop commenced by adverting to the absolution which had been so mildly proffered in several instances, only to be contemned, but which he was nevertheless prepared even yet to bestow, should it be sought in "due form and manner, as holy church had ordained." To this it was replied, that the judgment of men is frequently opposed to that of their Maker; and as the accused

had never wronged the archbishop of Canterbury, it was not from him that he was concerned to obtain forgiveness. While uttering these sentiments, he became deeply affected, and bending his knee to the earth, he raised his hands towards heaven, exclaiming solemnly, "I confess myself here unto thee, my eternal living God, that in my frail youth I offended thee, O Lord! most grievously, in pride, wrath, and gluttony, in covetousness, and in lechery. Many men have I injured in mine anger, and done many other horrible sins; good Lord, of thee I ask mercy." Rising from the posture suited to this act of devotion, he wept as he glanced on the people who were spectators of his injuries, and with an impassioned utterance he delivered the prophetic warning, "Lo! good people, lo !--for the breaking of God's law and commandments these men never yet cursed me. But for the sake of their own laws and traditions, most cruelly do they handle both me and other men. Both they, therefore, and their laws, according to the promise of God, shall be utterly destroyed." It may be credited, that the firmness of his adversaries was in some measure disturbed by this burst of feeling and intrepidity. A lengthened discussion now took place, and one to which the archbishop, the doctors, and the leaders of the religious, brought all their learning, their acuteness, and their passions, each uttering his pressing questions with a view to ensnare and overpower their victim. On being urged to answer distinctly whether the bread remained in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration were pronounced; his reply was an affirmative; and a smile then passed over the countenance of his opponents, as they concluded, "the people would now judge him to be taken in a great heresy." Still pressed with inquiries on this subject, and on the authority of the church, he remarks, "My belief is, as I said before, that all the scriptures of the sacred book are true. All that is grounded upon them I believe thoroughly, for I know it is God's pleasure that I should do so. But in your lordly laws and idle determinations have I no belief. For ye are no part of Christ's holy church, as your open deeds do shew; but ye are very antichrists, obstinately set against his holy law and will. The laws which ye have made are nothing to his glory, but wholly to your own vainglory and covetousness."

It is not surprising that such assertions should be loudly denounced as "exceeding heresy." Thomas Walden, the Carmelite, and a well known antagonist of Wycliffe, observed, that to affirm of any persons, and especially of superiors, that they are no part of holv church, must be presumption, according to the maxim, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." But it was retorted, "Christ said, also, in the self-same chapter of Matthew, that like as the evil tree is known by its fruits, so is a false prophet by his works, but that text ye left behind ye." To this and similar quotations of scripture, the same mendicant replied, "Ye make here no difference of judgments; between the evil judgments which Christ hath forbidden, and the good judgments which he hath commanded. Rash judgment, and right judgment, all is one with you. Such swift judges ever are these learned scholars of Wychiffe." The Carmelite had now touched a chord, to which the bosom of the prisoner could not but respond, "Well, indeed, (he said,) have ve sophistered. Preposterous evermore are your judgments. For as the prophet Isaiah saith, ye judge evil good, and good evil, and therefore the same prophet concludeth that your ways are not God's ways. And as for that virtuous man, Wycliffe, before God and man I here profess, that until I knew him and his doctrine, that ye so highly disdain, I never abstained from sin; but since I have learnt from him to fear my God, I trust it has been otherwise with me. So much grace could I never find in all your glorious instructions." Here the friar became indignant, and remarked, "It were not well with me that in an age so supplied with teachers and examples, I should find no grace to amend my life, until I heard the devil preach." This, it was said in return, is precisely the temper which led the pharisees to impute the doctrine and miracles of Christ to the agency of Beelzebub; and to be a part of the evil entailed on the church from the day in which she received the "venom of Judas." The archbishop inquired, what that venom meant; and the answer was, "Your possessions and lordships." These things are said to have made "Rome the very nest of antichrist, out of which come all the disciples of antichrist, of whom prelates, priests, and monks, are the body, and these friars the tail. Priests and deacons, for the preaching of God's word and the administering of sacraments, with provision for the poor, are, indeed, grounded on God's law,

but these other sects have no manner of support there, as far as I have read." It now became evident, that nothing but evil could arise from protracting this discussion; and the archbishop hastened to admonish the prisoner that the day waned; that much forbearance had been shewn him in vain; and that his escape from the most serious penalties could only be secured by an implicit submission to the authority of the church. The only effect of these appeals was an avowal of unaltered sentiment, and a repetition of the words, "Do with me as you will." The archbishop then rose, the clergy and the laity stood uncovered, and sentence was pronounced on "Sir John Oldcastle, knight, and lord of Cobham, as a most pernicious and detestable heretic," a sentence, which also prohibited any man from rendering him either "counsel or help," on pain of incurring the censures denounced against the favourers of heretics. It was further arranged that this decree should be published in the mother tongue from the pulpits of every diocese within the province of Canterbury. When the primate had pronounced the anathema of the court, Lord Cobham, with a composed aspect and a firm utterance, remarked, that he knew that sentence could affect the body only, adding, that with regard to the soul, he doubted not but "He who created that, would, of his infinite mercy and promise, save it." His eyes were then turned towards the people who had listened to his doom; but it was to exercise pity, and not to implore it. With an impassioned voice, he bid them beware of the men before him, if they would avoid the fate of the blind who follow the footsteps of the blind; and the few moments which preceded his being re-conducted to the Tower, were spent in entreating the divine forgiveness for his persecutors.

In this proceeding the passions of the clergy appear to have hurried them much beyond their discretion. No avowal of heretical opinions could be more decided or more notorious than was that of Lord Cobham, and yet a considerable interval passed, and the sentence of the law remained unexecuted. At length, whether by connivance, or by his own ingenuity, the prisoner escaped from the Tower, and embarking under the cover of the night, found an asylum on the shores of the principality.

His trial had taken place some days before the close of September, and on the night of the seventh of January, an event

transpired, which has proved a fruitful theme of misrepresentation and calumny. Of the orthodox writers, who were contemporaries, or more nearly contemporary with the occurrence, there is no one who, in describing it, is not materially at issue with himself and with his brethren.

Walsingham is noticed by Mr. Sharon Turner, as "the bitterest enemy of the reformers," and in consequence, as stating this transaction "most favourably to the king and his party." know not that I can do better than submit to the candour of the reader, the substance of Walsingham's ex-parte statements, as given by our more dispassionate historian. "Reports," he observes. were spread, that the Lollards were plotting to destroy the king and his brothers at Eltham. Informed of the design, the king went to his palace at Westminster, to be safer from its publicity. He was then told that many were assembling from all quarters in a field near St. Giles's, to act under their leader, Oldcastle, at a fixed day and hour. The king at night ordered his friends to arm, and then first mentioned what it was his object to do. He was advised to wait until day-break, that they might discern who were willing to act with him, or against him; and was advised by others to wait till he got an army together, if a formidable body was to be met. He listened to neither, because he had heard that the Lollards intended to burn Westminster Abbey. St. Paul's, St. Alban's, and all the other friaries in London. went, therefore, to St. Giles's, in the middle of the night, anticipating the projecting movements of the ensuing day. He found only a few persons there, who being asked what they wanted, said, the Lord Cobham. They were seized and imprisoned. They were surprised to find that no one came from London to join them. The king had ordered all the city gates to he shut and guarded; and if he had not taken this precaution, they would have come, ('prout-fertur') as it was reported, fifty thousand servants and apprentices against the king."

Such is the clumsy tale supplied by Walsingham on this subject, who is, nevertheless, the best authority to be adduced on this point by the enemies of the Lollards. Mr. Turner's observations on the passage are as follows:—" On this account we may remark, that it is a series of supposition, rumour, private information, apprehension, and anticipation. That the king was acted

upon by some secret agents, is clear; that the plots asserted were really formed, there is not evidence. The probability is, that Henry's generous and lofty mind was found to start at the violences which the bigotry of the papal clergy had resolved upon, and that artful measures were taken to alarm it into anger and cruelty by charges of treason, rebellion, and meditated assassination."

It was important to render the Lollards odious, both to the government and the nation, before proceeding to these desperate measures, which afforded the only hope of subduing them; and by this artifice, stale as it was in all its parts, the end proposed was too nearly obtained. An act was now passed, which identified heresy with treason; and Lord Cobham, who was apprehended about three years later, was sentenced to die according to the penalties of this frightful statute. At the place of execution he renewed his exhortations to the people to follow their priests, only as their life and doctrine should be conformable to the word of God. The proffered service of a confessor he rejected, affirming, that the duty of confession was one to be performed to God only; and while the surrounding clergy warned the spectators against praying for the sufferer, because evidently condemned of Heaven, the object of their enmity, in the spirit of a better faith, was heard interceding aloud for the salvation of his persecutors. To be hung in chains as a traitor, and at the same time slowly consumed to ashes as a heretic, was the sentence pronounced and executed on Sir John Oldcastle.

The men who knew the innocence and the worth of this illustrious sufferer would reflect on this deed of blood, and become more confirmed in their abhorrence of the usurpation from which it had proceeded. Their children, too, would naturally imhibe a deeper and a holier hatred of the power which such atrocities were employed to preserve.*

The treatment which Lord Cobham received from the bigoted clergy of this period, is a striking instance, among many others in the bloody annals of the catholic church, of the intolerant spirit of the Romish religion. Uncharitableness, bigotry, and a spirit of persecution, have indeed ever been the characteristics of

Vaughan's Life of Wycliffe.

popery. The Romish clergy, when divested of power, can, with great ease, assume appearances of charity and moderation; but appearances of this sort deserve no regard. For it is apparent, from the stubborn evidence of innumerable facts, that whenever the catholic church hath been in possession of a sufficient degree of power, its charity and moderation have ever been overbalanced by a flaming zeal for the defence of its own inventions, corruptions, and superstitions, and for the extirpation of what they call heresy; and that, to advance its own ends, it has seldom scrupled to employ the axe and the wheel, the gibbet and the stake.

Several of the Lollard preachers, discouraged by the defection of their patrons, recanted their opinions, and returned into the bosom of the church. Thomas Arundel, archbishop of York, who was a most violent enemy to the Lollards, obliged those in his province who recanted to take the following curious oath, which I give in the original language and spelling: "I ----, before you, worshipful fader and lord archbishop of Yhork, and your clergy, with my free will and full avysed, swere to God and to all his seyntes, upon this holy gospel, that fro this day forthword, I shall worship images, with praying and offering unto them, in the worship of the saints, that they may be made after; and also, I shall never more despise pylgremage, ne states of holy chyrche, in no degre. And also I shall be buxum to the laws of holy chyrche, and to yhowe as to myn archbishop, and myn other ordinaries and curates, and keep the laws up my power and meyntein them. And also, I shall never more meyntein, ne techen, ne defenden, errors, conclusions, ne techeng of the Lollards, ne swych conclusions and techengs that men clopeth Lollards doctrine; ne shall her books, ne swych books, ne hem or ony suspect or diffamed of Lollardary, receive or company with all, willingly, or defend in the matters; and if I know any swych, I shall, with all the hast that I may, do yhowe, or els your nex officers, to wyten, and of ther bokes, &c."*

From what has been said in this lecture, I think it is no unfair deduction, that, if there were no other arguments against the

Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. pp. 598, 599. Wood's History of Oxon, 190—192. Lewis's Life of Wycliffe, Anglia Sacra, tom. ii. p. 121. Walsingham, pp. 201—205. Biographia Britannica, Art. Wycliffe. Spelman's Council, tom. ii. pp. 629—636.



church of Rome than its intolerant spirit and the cruel persecutions which have been authorized by it, they alone would be sufficient to demonstrate the absurdity of its pretensions to infallibility, and to be the only true church. Who that has read the New Testament with attention can ever think that it is consistent with the mild, the amiable, the gentle spirit of Christianity, that the professors of it should persecute, torture, and put to cruel deaths, those who happen to entertain opinions different from themselves? The heavenly religion of the Son of God is divinely and excellently calculated to promote among mankind the kind offices of humanity, benevolence, and every social virtue, while, in the Romish church, it has been made a pretext for the most shocking barbarities. Doubtless, there are instances of persecution among many who have dissented from its communion, to the dishonour and disgrace of those who were concerned in them: but these can come into no degree of comparison with what has been transacted in the Romish church, which have been so numerous, that persecution may be considered as one of the leading characteristics of popery. But surely the Christian religion, which inculcates mercy, patience, and charity, upon all its disciples, and the constant tenour of which is, tenderness and meekness towards those that oppose themselves; and the great Author of which is exhibited as an utter enemy to all injurious treatment of any man on account of his religion, is highly injured and dishonoured when it is brought to countenance and support any species of persecution. "The Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

LECTURE LX.

The Reformation introduced into Bohemia—Some account of John Huss—Correspondence of Wycliffe and Huss—Council of Constance convened—Huss cited to appear before it—The Emperor grants him a safe conduct, which is violated—Huss is tried as a heretic—Convicted—And burnt to death—Jerome, of Prague, arrives at Constance, and imprisoned—Cited before the Council—Accused—Convicted—And committed to the flames—Poggio's Letter to Leonard Aretin—Consequent proceedings in Bohemia. A. D. 1401, &c.

WHILE the first dawn of reformation was struggling in England with the darkness which it was the interest of its corrupt clergy to perpetuate, truth had begun the same struggle in Bohemia, and was subjected to the same opposition. The queen of Richard II., king of England, was a Bohemian princess, and sister of Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia. She was a lady of the most amiable character, and earnestly attached to the reformed opinions. On the death of her husband, she returned with a train of attendants to her native land. These persons are said to have introduced among their countrymen the writings of Wycliffe, and these, by an overruling Providence, are said to have kindled the first sparks of evangelical light, since the spread of popery, in that distant country. During the latter days of that venerable teacher, a youth was growing up in an obscure village of Bohemia, who was destined to bear in his turn the torch of truth, and to transmit it with a martyr's hand to a long succession of disciples—and he was worthy of the heavenly office. John of Huss, or Hussinetz, was very early distinguished by the force and acuteness of his understanding, the modesty and gravity of his demeanour, the rude and irreproachable austerity of his life. A thoughtful and attenuated countenance, a tall and somewhat emaciated form, an uncommon mildness and affability of manner, added to the authority of his virtues and the persuasiveness of his eloquence. The University of Prague, at that time extremely flourishing, presented a field for the expansion of his great qualities; in the year 1401 he was appointed president, or dean, of the philosophical faculty, and was elevated, eight years afterwards, to the rectorship of the University.

The church divided with the academy his talents and his reputation. In the year 1400 he was made confessor to Sophia of Bavaria, the queen of Bohemia; and in 1405 he had obtained general celebrity by many eloquent sermons delivered in the vulgar tongue in his chapel at Prague. In those fervent addresses to the people, who composed his audience, he frequently inveighed against the corruption of the court of Rome, her indulgences, her crusades, her extortions, and all the multitude of her iniquities; and his harangues were received with impassioned acclamation. Nevertheless, his name was not yet tainted by any charge of heresy; and as late as the July of 1408, Subinco (or Suinco), archbishop of Prague, declared in a public synod, that the kingdom over which his spiritual guardianship extended was free from the stain of any religious error. But about this time the University of Prague was disturbed by a violent dissension. The German students, who formed the majority, and to whom a greater share in the government, the dignities, and emoluments of the institution had been allotted by the original statutes, were vigorously assailed by the native Bohemians, who claimed as a national right, that, according to the example of Paris, those enviable prerogatives should be transferred to themselves. Huss engaged with zeal in the cause of his countrymen. The king decided in favour of his own subjects, and he was considered to have been chiefly influenced to that resolution by Huss. Many German doctors resigned their offices, and retired from the kingdom; and they carried with them, whithersoever they went, deep rancour against the author of their defeat and secession.

Again, about the same time, probably in the beginning of 1409, Huss was extremely zealous in bringing over his country from the cause of Gregory XII., in whose obedience it persisted, to that of the cardinals assembled at Pisa; and this laudable forwardness appears to have been the first offence which awakened the displeasure of the archbishop. At least it is manifest that this was the period at which the indignation of that prelate first broke out; and in the December of the same year, the pope himself (Alexander V.) issued some prohibitory decree against Huss and his followers.

The existence and circumstances of the great schism, and the obvious evils produced by it, had long been a popular theme of censure for the Bohemian reformer; and after its extinction John XXIII. furnished him, in 1411, with fresh matter for reprehension. That pontiff sent forth his emissaries to preach a crusade against Ladislaus, king of Naples, and to accord the usual indulgences. The minds of many had been previously inflamed against this mockery of the cross of Christ, by the preaching of Huss; and so it proved that on three several occasions the pontifical missionaries were interrupted by violent exclamations in the midst of their harangues. Three offenders were accordingly seized by order of the senate, and privately executed; but the blood which flowed from the prison into the street betrayed their fate. The people rose, and having gained possession of their bodies, carried them in procession to the various churches, chanting holy anthems. They then buried them in the chapel of Bethlehem with the aromatic offerings usually deposited on the tombs of martyrs. Other commotions followed; the clergy of Bohemia conspired very generally against the principles of the reformer; and John XXIII. cited him, but without effect, before the tribunal of the Vatican. In fact, so great was the agitation which these disputes had now excited, that when the council of Constance assembled presently afterwards, it issued an immediate summons for the appearance of Huss. With whatever disregard that ecclesiastic may have treated the mandate of the pope, he proved, without hesitation, his allegiance to the council. He knew the hostility and the faithlessness of the court of Rome; but in the august representation of the church, in the full congregation of holy prelates, assembled for the reformation of abuses and the redressing of wrongs, he might find some foundation for confidence, and some hope of justice.

It is proper now to examine what was the nature of those spiritual offences which excited such attention throughout Christendom, and such terror among the directors of the church. In the first place, the Bohemian innovator was accused of disseminating the mortal venom which he had imbibed from Eugland. His devotion to the principles and memory of Wycliffe, for it was for some years concealed, became at length too deep and ardent for dissimulation; and it is even related, that in his discourses from the pulpit of Bethlehem he was wont to address his earnest vow to Heaven, that whenever he should be removed from this life he might be admitted to the same regions where the soul of Wycliffe resided, since he doubted not that he was a good and holy man, and worthy of a habitation in heaven.* It

• The following letter, written by our English reformer, in the last year of his life, may serve to throw some light on this subject:—

LETTER FROM WYCLIFFE TO HUSS.

"Health and Salvation; and if anything can be devised or expressed more loving and dear in the bowels of Jesus Christ.

"Dear brethren in the Lord, whom I love in the truth, and not I only, but all these who know the truth; I say that the truth, which dwelleth in us by the grace of God, shall be with us for ever. I rejoiced greatly at the brethren, coming to us from you, bearing testimony of you in the truth, and that ye walk in truth. I have heard how antichrist troubleth you, causing many and various tribulations to the faithful in Christ. And no wonder that such things should be done among you, since the law of Christ suffereth oppression from its adversaries over all the world; and from that red dragon with many heads, which John speaks of in the Revelations, that cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that she might be carried away of it. But the Lord, who is faithful, will certainly rescue his dearly beloved spouse. Let us be strengthened and comforted in the Lord our God, and in his infinite goodness, and be firmly persuaded that he will not permit his beloved to fail of his proposed reward for them, if we only love him (as we ought) with our whole heart. For adversity shall not prevail over us, if iniquity do not prevail. Therefore let no affliction, pressure, or torment, for the sake of Christ, cast us down, or cause us to despair; since we know, that whomsoever the Lord accounteth as sons, he chasteneth. For the Father of Mercy exerciseth us in adversity in this present life, that he may afterwards spare us; as that gold which a skilful workman chooseth in tried in the fire by him, that afterwards he may put it into his pure, eternal treesure. We know that this present life is but short and transitory; but that life which we expect, and which is to come, is happy and eternal. Let us labour while we have

is certain that on the first movement against Huss, the archbishop collected all the books of Wycliffe, to the number of two hundred volumes, embossed and decorated with precious ornaments,

time, that we may be found worthy to enter into that rest. Let me entreat you to consider that we see nothing else in this life but grief, anguish, and sorrow; and, what ought to trouble the faithful most of all, a contempt and trampling down of the divine laws. Let us endeavour, as much as lies in our power, to lay hold of those good things which shall always endure and be eternal; denying our transient and frail senses. Let us look back upon, and consider the behaviour of, our ancestors in former ages. Let us call to mind the saints of both the Old and New Testament; how they bore tossings, tempests, and adversities, in this sea of trouble, --imprisonments and bonds. They were stoned; they were sawn asunder; they were slain by the sword. They wandered about in sheep and in goat skins, and other such like things; as the epistle to the Hebrews recounteth at large; all walking in, and following, the footsteps of Christ in that narrow path, who said, 'Where I am, there shall my servant be also.' Since we have such a cloud of witnesses of the saints in former times placed before us, let us lay aside every offence and weight, yes, and every sia, which besets us, and run with patience the race that is set before us; looking to Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith; who cheerfully endured the cross, despising all contempt and shame. Let us consider how he bore such contradiction against himself from sinners, and let us not be weary with desponding minds; but let us beg assistance from the Lord, with all our heart, and fight manfully against his adversary, antichrist. Let us love his laws with all our heart, and be not fraudulent anddeceitful labourers ; but act boldly in all things, as far as the Lord permits us ; and let us be valiant in the cause of God, and in hope of eternal reward. Do thou, therefore, O Huss! a brother greatly beloved in Christ-unknown to me, indeed, in person, but not in faith and love (for what part of the world can tear asunder, and separate, those whom the love of Christ unites?)-be comforted and strengthened in the grace which is given thee. As a good soldier of Jesus Christ, war in word and in deed; and recal into the way of truth as many as thou art able : because neither by erroneous and descritful decrees, nor by the false opinions and doctrines of satishrist, is the truth of the gospel to be kept in silence and in secret. Rather comfort and strengthen the members of Christ, by weakening the wiles and deceit of Satan; because antichrist shall some to an end in a short time; it is the will of the Lord! It is a great joy to me, that not only in your kingdom, but elsewhere, God hath so strengthened the hearts of some, that they suffer with pleasure imprisonments, banishments, and even death itself, for the word of God. I have nothing more to write, beloved brethren, only that I willingly confess I would strengthen you, and all the lovers of Christ's laws, in the love of the law of God. Therefore I salute them from the bowels of my heart-particularly your companion; intreating that you would pray for me and the whole church. And the God of peace, who raised from the dead the great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, our Lord Jesus Christ, fit you for every good work; that ye may do what is acceptable to him, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."

Doubtless, Jerome of Prague.

and caused them to be publicly burnt. The same element which consumed the writings of Wycliffe was destined to prey upon the body of his disciple, and it came like a signal, that his vow had been registered above, and that the Master awaited his coming at the gates of Paradise.

It was another general charge against Huss, that he was "infected with the leprosy of the Vaudois;"* and that it may be seen how many gross offences were thought to be contained in this single accusation, we shall here follow the enumeration of Æneas

 As some obscurity exists in the accounts given of the Vaudois, or Waldenses, from the various names under which they existed, the following account of the origin of their different appellations may be of service to the reader:—

And first, therefore, they called them, from Waldo, a citizen of Lyons, Waldenses; from the country of Albi, Albigenses.

And because those who adhered to the doctrine of Waldo departed from Lyons, despoiled of all human means, the most part having left their goods behind them, they, in derision, called them the beggars of Lyons.

In Dauphiné, they were, in mockery, called chaignards, or dogs.

And because a part of them passed the Alpe, they were called Tramontaines.

From one of the disciples of Waldo, named Joseph, who preached in Dauphiné, in the diocese of Dye, they were styled Josephists.

In England, Lollards, from one Lollard, who taught there.

From two teachers, who taught the doctrine of Waldo in Languedoc, named Henry and Esperon, they were called Henricians and Esperonists.

From one of their pastors, who preached among the Albigenses, named Arnold Hot, they were called Arnoldists.

In Provence they were called Siccars, from a word of pedlar's French, which signifies cut purses.

In Italy they were styled Fratricelli, which is as much as to say, of the same brotherhood, because they lived like brethren, in true concord. And because they observed no other day of rest besides Sanday, they called them Insabathos, which is as much as to say, regarding no sabbath. By reason that they were exposed to continual sufferings, from the Latin word pati, which signifies to suffer, they were termed Paterins. And, seeing that they fled from place to place like poor pilgrims, they were named Passagenes.

In Germany they were nicknamed Gazares, a word which signifies execrable, and flagitiously wicked.

In Flanders they were called Turhspins; that is to say, inhabitants with wolven; because, by reason of persecution, they were often constrained to dwell in woods and deserts.

Sometimes they called them after the names of the regions and countries wherein they dwelt; as, from Albi, Albigenses; from Toulouse, Toulousians; from Lombardy, Lombards; from Picardy, Picards; from Lyons, Lyonists; from Behemia, Behemias.—Perrin's History of the Waldenses.

Sylvius; only premising that many opinions are there ascribed to Huss, which, in his examinations before the council, he expressly disavowed. The most important among them were these—that the pope is on a level with other bishops; that all priests are equal, except in regard to personal merit; that souls, on quitting their bodies, are immediately condemned to eternal punishment, or exalted to everlasting happiness; that the fire of purgatory has no existence; that prayers for the dead are a vain device, the invention of sacerdotal avarice; that images of God and the saints should be destroyed; that the orders of the mendicants were invented by evil spirits; that the clergy ought to be poor, subsisting on eleemosynary contributions; that it is free to all men to preach the word of God; that any one guilty of mortal sin is thereby disqualified for any dignity, secular or ecclesiastical; that confirmation and extreme unction are not among the holy rites of the church; that auricular confession is unprofitable, since confession to God is sufficient for pardon; that the use of cemeteries is without reasonable foundation, and inculcated for the sake of profit; that the world itself is the temple of the omnipotent God, and those only derogate from his Majesty who build churches, monasteries, or oratories; that the sacerdotal vestments, the ornaments of the altars, the cups, and other sacred utensils, are of no more than vulgar estimation; that the suffrages of the saints who reign with Christ in heaven are unprofitably invoked; that there is no holiday excepting Sunday; that the festivals of the saints should by no means be observed; and that the fasts established by the church are equally destitute of divine authority.

To these opinions, which he is accused of having habitually propounded in his chapel of Bethlehem, and of which he disclaimed many of the most important, he appears, in truth, to have subsequently added another, by no means calculated to conciliate the clergy. During a period of suspension from his preachings at Prague, he retired to his native village, and addressed to large rustic congregations the popular doctrine, that tithes are strictly eleemosynary, and that it is free for the owner of the land to withhold or to pay them, according to the measure of his charity. But the subject on which the greatest heats were afterwards ex-

cited, and in which, indeed, the other points of difference were for the most part forgotten, was the distribution of the sacramental cup to the laity. And this innovation upon the modern practice of the church is not, as it singularly happens, ascribed to Huss; though it originated in the same country, and at the same time. A celebrated preacher of the day, named Jacobellus, whose learning and piety are alike unquestioned, first promulgated the tenet, that the communion in both kinds was necessary for salvation; and as the opinion was shewn to rest, not only on the authority of scripture, but also on the practice of the ancient church, "the heretics embraced it with immoderate exultation, as evincing either the ignorance or the wickedness of the Roman see." Wenceslaus, the king of Bohemia, regarded the rise of these principles with a careless, and, as some assert, a stupid indifference; his queen protected the person, if she did not profess the principles, of her confessor; and thus the secular sword slept peacefully throughout these disputes, though it was loudly evoked by the zeal of the archbishop, and though Gerson himself raised his voice to awaken it

It has been matter of surprise to many writers, that Huss, with the consciousness that he had taught many of the above tenets, and with the knowledge how detestable they were held by the churchmen, should have advanced so readily from a position of comparative security, and placed himself in the power of his enemies. It was not that he was ignorant of his danger. A letter which he addressed to a friend immediately before his departure for Constance, contains passages almost prophetic of his eminent fate. He had the precaution, however, to obtain an act of safe-conduct from the emperor, which was understood to be a pledge for his personal safety during the whole period of his absence from Bohemia. But he was unquestionably impelled by motives too deep for the calculation of ordinary minds. He felt an intense conviction of the truth of his doctrines, and he was resolved, should need be, to lay down his life for them. That conviction, attended by that resolution, gave a confidence to his character, which, while it left him without fear, might at the same time animate him with the highest hopes. He was filled with that deliberate enthusiasm which sometimes raises the soul of



man above that which we call wisdom; and which, while it provokes the sneer of ordinary beings, has produced those lofty deeds of disinterestedness and self-devotion which do honour to human nature.*

Doubtless, Huss was so influenced, when he published, both before his departure from Bohemia and during his journey, repeated challenges to all his adversaries to appear at Constance, and meet him in the presence of the pope and the council; "If

As the affair of the safe-conduct, on which the aggravation of the injuries done to Huss so greatly depends, is placed in different lights by protestant and popish writers, it may not be improper to inquire into the merits of it, and to lay before the reader the principal topics of the argument on both sides of the question.

In answer to the protestant's exclamations against so notorious a breach of faith, the papist thus apologizes:

"We allow," says Maimburg, "that Huss obtained a safe-conduct from the emperor; but for what end did he obtain it? Why, to defend his doctrine. If his doctrine was indefensible, his pass was invalid." "It was always," says Rosweide, a jesuit, "supposed, in the safe-conduct, that justice should have its course. Besides," ery a number of apologizers, "the emperor plainly exceeded his powers. By the canon law he could not grant a pass to a heretic; and by the decretals the council might annul any imperial act. Nay, farther," says Morery, "if we examine the pass, we shall find it, at best, a promise of security only till his arrival at Constance; or, indeed, rather a mere recommendation of him to the cities through which he passed; so that, in fact, it was righteously fulfilled."

To all this the protestant thus replies:—"Be it granted (which is, in truth, granting too much,) that the safe-conduct implied a liberty only of defending his doctrine; yet it was violated, we find, before that liberty was given—before that doctrine was condemned, or even examined. And though the emperor might exceed his power in granting a pass to a heretic, yet Huss was, at this time, only suspected of heresy. Nor was the imperial act annulled by the council till after the pass was violated. Huss was condemned in the fifteenth session, and the safe-conduct decreed invalid in the nineteenth. With regard to the deficiency of the safe-conduct, which is Morery's apology, it doth not appear that it was ever an apology of ancient date. Huss, it is certain, considered the safe-conduct as a sufficient security for his return home; and, indeed, so much is implied in the very nature of a safe-conduct. What title would that general deserve who should invite his enum into his quarters by a pass, and then seize him? Reasoning, however, apart; let us call in fact: Omni previous impedimento remoto, transire, stare, morari et annual, libere permittatic sibique et suis, are the very words of the safe-conduct."

In conclusion, therefore, we cannot but judge the emperor to have been guilty of a most notorious breach of faith. The blame, however, is generally laid, and with some reason, upon the council, who directed his conscience. What true son of the church would dare to oppose his private opinion against the unanimous voice of a general council?



any shall convict me of any error, of any doctrine contrary to the Christian faith, I refuse not (he proclaimed) to undergo the last penalties of heresy." These expressions betoken confidence in his own principles and in the integrity of the council. He had yet to discover, that his controversy was not with candid opponents, contesting his avowed opinions before an impartial tribunal; calumny, and secret malice, and ecclesiastical bigotry, were more dangerous enemies; and his fate was seemingly irrevocable from the moment in which he placed his life in the power of that catholic assembly.

He was attended by some Bohemian noblemen, and received the strongest assurances of protection from John XXIII. "Though John Huss (said the pope) should murder my own brother, I would use the whole of my power to preserve him from every injury, during all the time of his residence at Constance."

... Nevertheless, within a month from his arrival, after having professed before a meeting of the council his readiness to repel every charge, he was placed under a surveillance, which was immediately changed to strict confinement. It should not be forgotten, that this first violation of the safe-conduct was peculiarly the act of the council. Sigismond, who was not present, strongly remonstrated against it; and the pope (from whatever motive) disclaimed all share in the proceedings.

This advantage was instantly pursued by his enemies, of whom the most ardent were found among his countrymen; and accordingly, eight articles of accusation were prepared and presented to John XXIII. When a copy of them was delivered to the accused, where he lay sick in prison, he requested that an advocate might be granted him to defend his cause; but that was refused, on the plea of a general prohibition by the canon law, to undertake the defence of any suspected of heresy. And then, instead of striving to obviate the various intrigues which were employed for his destruction, he devoted the tedious leisure of his imprisonment, and the resources of a mind superior to ordinary agitations, to the composition of various moral and religious treatises.

The next step in the process against him was the condemnation of the doctrines and memory of Wycliffe. It was in the eighth session, held on May 4th, 1415, that a list of forty-five articles

was drawn up, which embodied all (and more than all) the errors of that reformer; that it received the solemn censure of the fathers; and that the vengeance of that orthodox body pursued the spiritual offender even beyond the grave. It is a singular circumstance, and serves well to illustrate the position in which the council then stood, as an assembly of reformation, that in the very sermon which opened that session, and which introduced the opinions of Wycliffe to universal abhorrence, the pope and his court were treated with equal severity, and rebuked in language which would have been held blasphemous had it proceeded from the lips of a heretic.

It was an object of great importance with the council, bent, as it certainly was, on the destruction of Huss, and conscious, as it probably was, of the weakness of its own cause, to avoid the scandal of a public disputation. Accordingly, Huss was continually persecuted by private interrogatories, frequently accompanied by intimidation and insult; and depositions against his orthodoxy were collected with great diligence and great facility, since every kind of information was admitted against a suspected beretic. On the other hand, he vehemently remonstrated against this inquisitorial secrecy, and demanded for his defence an audience of the whole council. His Bohemian friends pressed the same point with equal earnestness. But in vain would they have solicited from that body this most obvious act of justice, if the emperor had not also been impressed with its propriety, and insisted, with great firmness, that the trial should be public.

Consequently, the fathers assembled very early in June for that purpose. The first charge was read. The defendant was called upon for his reply. But when he appealed in his justification to the authority of the scriptures, and the venerable testimony of the fathers, his voice was drowned in a tumult of contempt and derision. He was silent, and it was interpreted as guilt. Again he spoke; again he was answered by disdainful jests and insults; and the assembly at length separated without any serious determination.

The second audience was fixed for the 7th of June; and, that greater decency might be preserved, the emperor was requested to be present on that occasion. It is carefully recorded by his-

torians, and not, perhaps, without some sense of superstitious awe, that the day on which the fate of that righteous man was in fact decided, was signalized by a total eclipse of the sum—total, as was observed, at Prague, though not quite so at Constance. But the fathers were not moved by that phenomenon to any principle of justice, or any feeling of mercy. The various charges, already prepared, were pressed upon the culprit, less clamorously, indeed, but not less eagerly, than before. His accusers were numerous and voluble, and armed with the most minute subtleties of the schools. Many among them were English; and these urged their arguments as warmly as if they had thought to redeem the land of Wycliffe by the prosecution of Huss, and to wash away the stains which one heretic had cast upon them in the blood of another.

Numerous depositions were likewise produced and read, alleging errors which he had advanced in his writings or in his sermons, or even in his private conversations. Alone and unsupported, save by two or three faithful Bohemians, and worn and enfeebled by confinement and disease, he presented a spirit which did not bend beneath this oppression. The opinions imputed to him related chiefly to the eucharist and the condemned propositions of Wycliffe. There were some, which he entirely disavowed; others, which he admitted under certain modifications; others, which he professed his readiness and his ability to maintain. Among the first, was the charge of transubstantiation, on which subject he repeatedly and unequivocally asserted his entire concurrence in the doctrine of the church. Among the last, the propositions (they were ascribed to Wycliffe) to which he clung with the greatest pertinacity appear to have been three. 1. That Pope Sylvester and the Emperor Constantine did evil to the church when they enriched it. 2. That if any ecclesiastic, whether pope, prelate, or priest, be in a state of mortal sin, he is disqualified for the administration of the sacraments. 3. That tithes are not dues, but merely eleemosynary. In defence of these, and perhaps some other opinions, the few arguments which he was permitted to advance were temperate, if not reasonable and scriptural; at least, they proved his uprightness and the integrity of his heart; but they were received, as before, with reiterated shouts of derision.

The question, indeed, was not, whether the opinions of Huss were founded in truth, or otherwise; that consideration seems not to have influenced any one mind in the whole assembly, excepting his own; the question really to be decided—the only question with which the council affected any concern, was, whether they were the doctrine of the church. Whatsoever had once been pronounced by that infallible body was law, and the alternative was, obedience or death.

On the following day, Huss was admitted to the mockery of another and final audience; and on this occasion, he was chiefly pressed on twenty-six articles, derived (fairly and unfairly) from his "Book of the Church." A scene similar to the preceding was terminated, on the part of the judges, by urgent solicitations to the accused to retract his errors. This act of submission was advised by several of the fathers, and was strongly recommended by the emperor: but Huss was unmoved. "As to the opinions imputed to me which I have never held, those I cannot retract; as to those which I do indeed profess, I am ready to retract them, when I shall be better instructed by the council."... The province of the council was, not to instruct, but to decide—to command obedience in its decision, or to enforce the penalty.

If Huss had hitherto nourished any reasonable hope of safety, it was placed in the moderation of the emperor; but at this conjuncture, even that prospect was removed. For towards the conclusion of the session, Sigismond delivered his unqualified opinion, "that among the errors of Huss, which had been in part proved, and in part confessed, there was not one which did not deserve the penal flames;" to which was added, "that the temporal sword ought instantly to be drawn for the chastisement of his disciples, to the end, that the branches of the tree might perish, together with its roots."

Huss was again conducted to his prison, and thither was still pursued by fresh solicitations on his constancy; and that which had stood firm before public menace and insult, might have yielded to private impunity, to bodily infirmity, to friendship, to solicitude. First of all, an official formula of retractation was sent to him by the council. It was expressed as to his abjuration of all the errors which had been proved against him, and as to his

unconditional submission to the council; but it was free from any harsh or offensive expressions. Huss calmly persisted in his resolution: "He was prepared to afford an example in himself of that enduring patience which he had so frequently preached to others, and which he relied upon the grace of God to grant him." Many individuals, of various characters, but alike anxious to save him from the last infliction, visited his prison, and pressed him with a variety of motives and arguments; but they were all blunted by the rectitude of his conscience and the singleness of his purpose. One of his bitterest enemies, named Paletz, was among the number; but, though his counsels had been successful in degrading the person of the reformer, they failed when they would have seduced him to infamy.

Numerous deputations were sent by the council, to which he always replied with the same modesty and firmness, equally removed from an obstinate perseverance in acknowledged error, and a base retractation of that which he thought truth. About the same time, it was resolved to commit his books to the flames, as if to warn him, by that prelude, of the approaching catastrophe. But in a letter which he wrote to some friend on the occasion, he remarked, that that was no ground of despondency, since the books of Jeremiah had suffered the same indignity, but the Jews had not thus evaded the calamities with which the prophet had menaced them.

Notwithstanding his public and recent declaration, the emperor appears, even to the very conclusion of this iniquitous affair, to have entertained some lingering scruples respecting his safe conduct. These had been silenced, it is true, by the sophistry of the doctors; and he had even been taught to believe, that his protection could not lawfully be extended to a man suspected of heresy; that monstrous charge superseded the ordinary economy of government, and dispensed with the imperious obligations of moral duty! Howbeit, notwithstanding the spiritual authority on which this principle was advanced, Sigismond would have greatly preferred some reasonable compromise to that violent termination which was now near at hand. Accordingly, when he saw the fruitlessness of every other attempt to bend the spirit of Huss, he resolved, himself, to make one final effort for the

same purpose. On the 5th of July, on the eve of the day destined for his execution, the prisoner was visited by an imperial deputation, commissioned to inquire, "Whether he would abjure those articles of which he acknowledged himself guilty?" and in regard to those which he disavowed, "Whether he would swear that he held thereon the doctrine of the church?" One objection, to which Huss had throughout attached great importance, was removed by this proposal—the obligation to retract that which he had never maintained. But the grand, the insurmountable difficulty still remained, to abjure against conviction that which he did actually profess. Upon the whole, he saw no reason for any change, and returned to the emperor the same sort of answer with which he had met all preceding solicitations.

It remained for him still to encounter one other trial; if, indeed, we can so designate the upright counsel of a faithful and virtuous friend,-for such was the circumstance which completed and crowned the history of his imprisonment, and it should be everywhere recorded, for the honour of human nature. Bohemian nobleman, named John of Chlum, had attended Huss, whose disciple he was, through all his perils and persecutions, and had exerted, through the whole affair, every method that he could learn or devise to save him. At length, when every hope was lost, and he was about to separate from the martyr for the last time, he addressed him in these terms: " My dear master, I am unlettered, and consequently unfit to counsel one so enlightened as you. Nevertheless, if you are secretly conscious of any one of those errors which have been publicly imputed to you, I do entreat you not to feel any shame in retracting it; but if, on the contrary, you are convinced of your innocence, I am so far from advising you to say anything against your conscience, that I exhort you rather to endure any sort of torture, than to renounce anything which you hold to be true." John Huss replied, with tears, "that God was his witness how ready he had ever been, and still was, to retract on oath, and with his whole heart, from the moment he should be convicted of any error by evidence from holy scripture." . . . In the whole history of the sufferings and the fortitude of Huss, there is not one discoverable touch of pride or stubbornness: the records of his heroism are not infected by a single stain of mere philosophy; he was firm, indeed, but he was humble, also; he expected death, and he feared it too; he neither sought the martyr's crown nor affected the ambition of the stoic; his principles of action were drawn from the same source as the articles of his belief; he was a Christian, and he thought it no merit to be so.

There was a long interval between his imprisonment and his audience, and again a tedious month intervened between his audience and execution. This period was passed in preparation to meet his fate, not in struggles to avoid it. "God, in his wisdom, has reasons for thus prolonging my life. He wishes to give me time to weep for my sins, and to console myself in this protracted trial by the hope of their remission. He has granted me this interval, that, through meditation on the sufferings of Christ Jesus, I may become better qualified to support my own." The time of those sufferings at length arrived. On the morning of July 6th, 1415, he was conducted before the council, then holding its fifteenth session; and after various articles of accusation had been read, a sentence was passed to the following effect:--" That for several years John Huss has seduced and scandalized the people by the dissemination of many doctrines manifestly heretical, and condemned by the church, especially those of John Wycliffe. That he had obstinately trampled upon the keys of the church and the ecclesiastical censures. That he had appealed to Jesus Christ as sovereign judge, to the contempt of the ordinary judges of the church, and that such an appeal was injurious, scandalous, and made in derision of ecclesiastical authority. That he has persisted to the last in his errors, and even maintained them in full council. It is therefore ordained that he be publicly deposed and degraded from holy orders, as an obstinate and incorrigible heretic." . . . The prelates appointed then proceeded to the office of degradation. He was stripped one by one of his sacerdotal vestments; the holy cup, which had been purposely placed in his hands, was taken from them; his hair was cut in such a manner as to lose every mark of the priestly character; and a crown of paper was placed on his head, marked with hideous figures of demons, and that still more frightful superscription, Heresiarch. The prelates then piously devoted

his soul to the infernal devils; he was pronounced to be cut off from the ecclesiastical body; and being released from the grasp of the church, he was consigned, as a layman, to the vengeance of the secular arm. It was in the character of "advocate and defender of the church" that the emperor took charge of the culprit, and commanded his immediate execution.

The last, which was not, perhaps, the bitterest, of his sufferings, was endured with equal constancy, and in the same blessed spirit. On his way to the stake he repeated pious prayers and penitential pealms; and when the order was given to kindle the flames, he only uttered these words, "Lord Jesus, I endure with humility this cruel death for thy sake; and I pray thee to pardon all my enemies." The ministers executed their office; the martyr continued in uninterrupted devotion; and it was not long before a rising volume of flame and smoke extinguished at the same time his voice and his life. His ashes were carefully collected and cast into the lake.

This tragedy was the prelude to another, equally demonstrative of that wicked and tyrannical spirit which leads men to exercise a lordship against each other, and is as abhorrent to natural reason as to natural right. Among the numerous followers of Huss was the virtuous and highly accomplished JEROME OF PRAGUE.

He had studied in England, and having there imbibed the reformed doctrines, became, on his return to Bohemia, one of the most strenuous promoters of their diffusion among his countrymen. The danger which Huss was found to be in, soon after he arrived at Constance, induced him to set out for that city himself, according to a promise he had given the martyr, that, if he heard of his being in any trouble, he would instantly repair to his assistance. On his arrival at Constance, he discovered, not only that his friend was in imminent peril, but that his own proceedings had come under the scrutiny of the council. Finding this to be the case, he quietly retreated to Uberlingen, and thence wrote to Sigismond desiring a safe-conduct. The only answer he received was, that a safe-conduct would be given him to come, but not to return. As this was, in fact, an open declaration of the fate which awaited him, he published a protest, in which he declared his wish to justify himself from the charges against him, and again

demanded a safe-conduct for that purpose. No notice being taken of this appeal, he set out on his return to Bohemia, but was arrested at Hirsaw, and conveyed to Constance in chains.

No pains were spared to persuade Jerome to recant; and he was as often examined and remanded as Huss. In the interval of these examinations he was subjected to the most dreadful privations, and was at one time tied to a post, with his hands chained to his neck, for ten days; bread and water being his only nourishment. After the death of his friend, he was pressed more earnestly than ever to retract his sentiments, the threatening aspect of the Bohemian nobles half terrifying the council from proceeding any farther in its violent measures. Whether this induced his examiners to favour him in the manner of putting their questions, or whether the natural dread of suffering was at this time too strong for his fortitude, admit of being doubted; but on his examination, on the 23rd September, 1415, he was persuaded publicly to anathematize the opinions of Wycliffe and Huss. In doing this, he declared, that he had discovered doctrines in the writings of the latter which he formerly thought had been falsely ascribed to his pen; and he swore by the Holy Trinity and the evangelists that he would continue in the truth of the catholic church, but that if he should ever hold any other sentiments he would submit himself to the severity of the canons, and to eternal punishment. It was naturally expected by his commissaries, the cardinals of Cambrai, Ursine, Aquileia, and Florence, that he would now be immediately set at liberty; but, contrary to their hopes, he was remanded to prison; and on their renewing their request that he might be liberated, they were accused of having been bribed by the Bohemians. Not willing to endure the odium of such a suspicion, they resigned their office, and Jerome was kept in prison till the 27th of April, 1416, when he was again brought into court, and examined by new commissioners, appointed for that purpose. In order to prevent his escaping, by having recourse to any prevarication in his answers, he was directed to reply to the questions put to him by a simple yes or no. Another method, however, was pursued in his examination three days after. He was then permitted to enter into a full declaration of his sen-

timents; and, as was probably suspected, he openly declared, that he heartily repented of his former weakness, and that he was resolved to adhere to the doctrines of Wycliffe and Huss to the last moment of his existence. At the conclusion of his address, which was of considerable length, he was led back to prison, and on the 2nd of May was brought before the council to receive its final judgment. As was the case when the court proceeded to condemn his martyred countryman, the business of the day was commenced by a sermon. In this discourse, which was preached by the bishop of Lodi, care was taken to prove that the errors of the prisoner and his late confederate had produced the most alarming evils in Bohemia; and that the council had conducted the present trial with the greatest gentleness and moderation. At the conclusion of the sermon, Jerome addressed the court at some length, and with a degree of freedom which filled his judges with astonishment. When he had finished speaking, he was once more desired to recant; but persevering in his heresy, as it was termed, the patriarch of Constantinople read his sentence, which was thus framed:- "Jesus Christ, our Saviour, the true vine, of which the Father is the husbandman, instructing his disciples and the rest of the faithful, said to them, 'If any one abide not in me, he shall be cast forth as a corrupt branch and be burned.' The council following the doctrine of this sovereign teacher, and executing his precepts, according to the design of its formation, which was to extinguish heresies, has proceeded against Jerome of Prague, master of arts, and a layman, because it is apparent, by the process instituted against him, that he had held, affirmed, and taught, certain articles, of which some are erroneous and heretical, others blasphemous, others scandalous, others seditious: and which were a long time past preached and taught by Wycliffe and others. The said Jerome had approved the true catholic and apostolic faith in the same council, and had signed his abjuration and his profession of faith; declaring at the same time his readiness to undergo any kind of punishment if he did anything contrary to his present profession. But notwithstanding this, he has returned, like a dog to his vomit, in order that he might vomit forth the poison which he hid in his breast in the presence of the whole council, which accorded him a public audience, and in which he has said and affirmed, that he subscribed unjustly to the sentence of Wycliffe and John Huss, and that, in approving that judgment, he had lied and sinned against his conscience; testifying, also, that he had never seen or read anything erroneous in the said works of Wycliffe and John Huss, which he had studied with much attention; whereas, it is certain that there are many errors and heresies in their books. said Jerome has nevertheless protested, that he holds and believes the opinion of the church touching the sacrament of the altar and the transubstantiation of the bread into the body of Jesus Christ; and that he gives more faith to St. Augustine and the other doctors of the church, on this article, than to Wycliffe and John Huss. But as it is, on the other hand, certain that the said Jerome supports the errors of those two heretics, and that he is their follower and partisan, the council, for that reason, regarding him as a corrupt branch, withered and detached from the vine, declares him to be an excommunicated and anathematized heretic, and as such regards him."

No one venturing, or feeling any inclination, to resist the passing this sentence against the prisoner, it was formally pronounced, and he was immediately after delivered over to the secular magistrate. His execution, however, was put off for two days, to allow him time to prepare for death. During this interval he was earnestly persuaded, by the cardinal of Florence and others, to recant; but he returned the same answer to their entreaties as before, and was accordingly led to the stake. When he arrived at the spot on which he was to suffer, he began to pray, and continued doing so till the executioners interrupted him, in order to bind him to the stake. Seeing the wood heaped around him, he a second time repeated the creed; and when the officer who had the charge of lighting the pile went behind him to do it, he exclaimed, "Come hither, and kindle it before my eyes; for had I been afraid of it I had not come hither, having had so many opportunities to escape." For some time after the wood had taken fire, he was heard singing a hymn; and the last words he uttered were, "Hanc animam in flammis affero, Christe, tibi;"-" I deliver this soul to thee, O Christ, in the flames."

The firmness with which both Huss and Jerome suffered, ex-

cited the wonder of all and the admiration of many. Æneas Sylvius says, "that they went to the stake as to a banquet; that not a word fell from them which discovered the slightest fear, and that they sang hymns to the last gasp, without ceasing." But the most explicit testimony to the heroic conduct of Jerome, is that borne by the celebrated Florentine, Poggio Bracciolini, who happened to be at Constance, in his official capacity as one of the apostolic secretaries, during the trial; and I here insert it.

Letter from Poggio of Florence, to Leonard Aretin.

"A few days after my return to Constance, they began to examine into the case of Jerome, who was publicly represented as an heretic. I wish to give you a recital of this matter, as much on account of its importance, as of the doctrine and eloquence of the man. I confess I have never heard any one, who, in defence of a criminal cause, approached nearer to that eloquence of the ancients which we constantly admire. Nothing could be more surprising than the beauty of his discourse, the force of his reasoning, the greatness of his courage, the boldness and intrepidity of his look and appearance in his reply to his adversaries. It is to be regretted that so great a genius should have seceded from the faith, if, after all, what is said of him be true; for it does not belong to me to judge of an affair of such high consequence, and I leave it to those who are thought to be possessed of greater knowledge of it than I am.

"Do not, however, expect that, after the manner of orators, I am about to give you a detailed account of all that took place upon this occasion. It would be much too tedious. I shall confine myself to the most memorable transactions, solely to give you an idea of the doctrine of this personage. When sundry articles had been exhibited against him, by which it was proposed to convict him of heresy, and upon which, in fact, such decision was made, it was resolved to summon him, in order to hear his answers. Having made his appearance, he was desired to reply to the articles exhibited against him. For a long time he refused, saying, that he desired to plead his cause before he replied to the calumnies of his enemies. But as this was not permitted, he delivered himself, in the midst of the assembly, in the following words:

" What injustice is this! For three hundred and forty days have you detained me in irons, in different prisons, in filth, in stench, and in want of everything. During that time you have continually listened to my enemies, and you will not give ear to me for a single hour. I am by no means surprised that, after having afforded them so long and so favourable an audience, they have had time to persuade you that I am an heretic, an enemy to the faith, a persecutor of ecclesiastics, and a wicked wretch. It is under this prejudice that you have condemned me without a hearing, and that you refuse to listen to me; nevertheless, you are men, and not gods. As mortals, you are liable to err, to deceive yourselves, and to let yourselves be seduced by others. It is said that all knowledge and all wisdom is concentrated in this council. You ought, then, to take great care not to do anything hastily, in order to avoid committing any injustice. I well know my death is desired; but, after all, I am a man of very small importance, and death must come sooner or later. What I am saying on this occasion is not so much upon my own account as upon yours. It would be extremely unworthy of so many great men to determine anything unjust against me, and thereby to set an example of much more dangerous consequence than death itself."

"While he was thus speaking, with much grace and force, so violent a tumult arose among the people that he could not be any longer heard. It was resolved, therefore, that he should reply to the articles exhibited against him, and that afterwards he should have free leave to speak. The articles were read to him one after the other, and when he was interrogated on each, it is not to be believed with what dexterity and address he replied, and how many reasons he alleged in support of his opinions. Never did he advance the least thing unworthy of a good man; insomuch, that if his opinions upon matters of faith had been orthodox, there was not the least ground to accuse him, far less to put him to death. He firmly declared, that everything advanced against him was false, and invented by his enemies. When the charge was read, that he vilified the apostolic see by his slanders, that he had attacked the pope himself, that he was the enemy of the cardinals, a persecutor of the prelates, and a foe to all the Christian clergy; he raised himself up, and in a plaintive voice, exclaimed, stretching out his hands: 'To what quarter, fathers, shall I turn? Of whom shall I implore succour? Upon whom shall I call to bear witness to my innocence? Shall it be you? But, alas! my persecutors have alienated your minds from me, by saying that I myself am the persecutor of my judges. They have rightly imagined, that if their other accusations were insufficient to procure my condemnation, they possess an infallible method of oppressing me, and of exasperating you against me, by falsely representing me as the enemy of you all; if, therefore, you are resolved to believe them, I have nothing to hope.'

"He frequently irritated them with railleries, or even sometimes forced them to smile upon so melancholy a subject, by giving a ridiculous turn to their objections. When he was asked what his opinion was upon the eucharist: 'Naturally (replied he), it is bread; during, and after consecration, it is the true body of Christ.' He replied in the catholic manner upon the other articles. Some persons having reproached him with having said, that after consecration the bread remained bread: Yes, said he, that which remained at the baker's. He said to a Dominican who was violent against him, Hold thy tongue, hypocrite; and to another, who affirmed with an oath what he had advanced against him: That, indeed, said he, is the last mode of deceiving. One of his principal antagonists was present, whom he invariably treated with the highest contempt. But as the matter could not be terminated that day, on account of the great number of charges, and their importance, it was adjourned to another day. Upon that day the other articles having been read and confirmed by witnesses, Jerome entreated the assembly to give him audience. Having obtained it, though not without opposition, he began by praying to God for grace so well to regulate his mind and his expressions, as not to advance anything that did not tend to the salvation of his soul; he then proceeded as follows: 'I am not ignorant, O learned assembly, that there have been many excellent men, who, oppressed by false witnesses, have been treated in a manner unworthy of their virtues, and condemned by sentences extremely unjust.' This he first instanced in Socrates, who, being unjustly condemned by his fellow citizens, preferred death to a recantation contrary to his

own conviction, although he had completely the power of escaping capital punishment by that means. He next adduced the captivity of Plato, the injuries which Anaxagoras and Zeno suffered; the banishment of Rutilius, of Boëtius, and some others.

"Passing, then, to instances among the Hebrews, he represented that Moses had often been aspersed by the people, as if he had been an impostor; that Joseph had been sold through the jealousy of his brethren, and afterwards thrown into prison on false suggestions; that Esaias, Daniel, and almost all the prophets had been unjustly persecuted. He did not forget the history of Susanna. After these examples, drawn from the Old Testament, he passed to those of the New. He represented to them the unjust punishment of John Baptist, of Jesus Christ, and of the greater part of the apostles, who were put to death as impious and seditious persons. 'It is (said he), an unworthy thing that a priest should be unjustly condemned by a priest; but it is the height of iniquity that he should be so by a council and college of priests.'

"As the whole matter rested upon witnesses, he maintained that no credit ought to be given to their depositions, because they had advanced nothing but what was false, and had so done only through hatred and envy. He laid open the causes of this hatred with so much appearance of truth, that he was very near bringing the assembly over to his side, and if it had not been an affair of religion, he certainly would have been acquitted, so much compassion did he excite in the assembly. In order to move them the more, he added, that he had come of his own free will to the council for the purpose of justifying himself; that this was not the conduct of a man who thought himself culpable; besides, it

^{• 1.} This philosopher was sold by order of *Dionysius* the tyrant.—Diog. Laërt. 1. iii. § 19.

^{2.} Some say he was banished; others, that he was put to death under pretext of impiety.—Diog. Laërt. 1. ii. § 12.

^{3.} Plutarch relates that Zeno plucked out his tongue, and spit it in the face of a tyrant who wished to extort a secret from him.—Plut. Moral. p. 505.

^{4.} This was the uncle of Cicero; he was banished from Rome in the time of Sylla, who afterwards recalled him, but he would not return.—Cicer. de Nat. Deor. Lilic. 32.

^{5.} A Roman consul in the sixth century. Theodorick had him beheaded upon some suspicions.

sufficiently appeared, by the account which he rendered of his life and of his studies, that he had employed his time in the exercise of virtue, and in useful and pious works. With respect to his opinions, he made it appear that at all times the most learned men had entertained different sentiments upon religion; that they had disputed thereon, not to oppose the truth, but to elucidate it; that St. Augustine and St. Jerome had not always coincided in opinion, without being, for that reason, accused of heresy.

"As it was expected he would either justify himself or retract, he declared he would do neither the one nor the other; not the former, because he did not perceive himself guilty of any error; not the latter, because it was not for him to retract the false accusations of his enemies. He even launched out in the praise of John Huss, who had already been burnt, calling him a just and holy man, undeserving of such a death, and declared that he was ready to suffer any kind of punishment; that he chose rather to yield to the violence of his enemies, and to the audacity of his accusers, than to depart from truth as they did; being, besides, well assured that they would have to render an account of it one day to Him who could not be deceived. The whole assembly were deeply affected with grief. They ardently desired to save so excellent a man, if he had been willing to ponder on the matter; but, in his resolution, he seemed to wish only for death. He again expatiated in praise of John Huss, who, as he said, had done nothing against the church of God, by censuring the abuses committed by the clergy, and the pride, the ostentation, and the pomp, of the prelates. As the revenues of the church are principally designed for the maintenance of the poor, for actions of hospitality, for the building and repair of the church,—this pious man, said he, could not endure that they should be consumed on debauches with women, on entertainments, on dogs, on horses, on furniture, on rich dresses, and in other expenses unworthy of Christianity.

"He was possessed of such a presence of mind, and such a firmness, that although he was interrupted by a thousand clamours, and was continually harassed, he was never deficient in reply, and put those who attacked him either to silence or to the blush. All were in admiration at his memory, which never failed him,

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although he had been three hundred and forty days in a dungeon, without being able to read, or even to see the light, not to reckon the inquietudes, the agitations of mind, which would have deprived any other person of memory. Notwithstanding this, he quoted, in support of his opinions, such numerous authorities of doctors of the church, that one can scarcely conceive he could have been able to collect them together in that space of time, although he had even enjoyed a perfect tranquillity. He had a strong voice, agreeable, distinct, and sonorous; his action was entirely suited to excite compassion, although he did not wish for any. In a word, to see his intrepidity you would have taken him for another Cato. O man, truly worthy of immortal fame! If he entertained opinions contrary to those of the church, I do not praise him in that particular; but his prodigious learning and eloquence claim my admiration. Nature, I fear, bestowed on him these gifts for his destruction.

"A space of two days having been allowed him to change his sentiments, many persons, and, among others, the cardinal of Florence, went to visit him, in order to try to reclaim him. But having persevered in his errors, he was condemned to the flames by the council. He walked to execution with a cheerful countenance, and with greater intrepidity than was ever displayed by any stoic. When he arrived at the place of execution, he quitted his garments of his own accord, and, throwing himself on his knees, kissed the stake to which he was to be fastened. He was immediately bound, chained and naked as he was, with wet cords. Large pieces of wood were piled round him, intermixed with straw. The fire being kindled, he began a hymn, which he continued to sing, notwithstanding the flame and smoke. As the executioner was about to apply the fire to that part of the pile which was behind him, for fear he should see it- Advance, said he to him, in the most resolute manner, and kindle the fire before me; if I had feared it I should not have come hither, as I could readily have avoided it.' Thus died this man, whose merit cannot be sufficiently admired. I was a witness to the catastrophe, and I have considered all the circumstances of it. Whether there was knavery or obstinacy in the business I cannot tell; but never was death more philosophic.

"I have here given you a long narration; I thought I could not

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make a better use of my leisure than in relating a history so similar to those of antiquity. Mutius Scoevola did not behold his arm burning with more fortitude than this man did his whole body; nor did Socrates take the poison with more cheerfulness. But it is enough: pardon my tediousness. Such a subject would require a still more ample narration.

" Constance, May 30th, 1416."

The news of these barbarous executions quickly reached Bohemia, where it threw the whole kingdom into confusion, and a civil war was kindled from the ashes of the martyrs. As to Winceslaus, the king, he was seldom sober, and paid no regard to the condition of his subjects. The nobility were divided into factions; some zealous to resent the insults that had been offered to the nation by the proceedings at Constance, and to repel the forces that had been introduced into the kingdom by the authority of the pope, with a view to the suppression of heresy in Bohemia, and to compel that fierce nation to establish uniformity in religion. Sigismond, the emperor, had many respectable qualities; but he had lent himself wholly to the papacy at the council, and in consequence of the disgust which his conduct had excited, the Bohemians revolted, and under the banner of a very intrepid leader, John Ziska, defended their opinions, not only with arguments, but with arms also. At first, the populace were only a harmless, inquisitive, staring multitude; but as the catholic priests proceeded to publish in the churches, bulls from the pope, exhorting all kings, princes, dukes, lords, citizens, and others, to take up arms against heresy, conjuring them by the wounds of Christ to extirpate heretics, and promising the forgiveness of all sins to any person who should kill a Bohemian heretic, the people seceded in great multitudes, retired to the distance of about five miles from Prague, where they held meetings for public worship, elected their own teachers, and had the Lord's supper administered to them at three hundred tables, formed by laying boards upon casks, the number of communicants amounting to forty thousand.

Their leader, John Ziska, was of a noble family, brought up at court, and in high reputation for wisdom, courage, the love of his country, and the fear of God. Fugitives daily resorted to him from all parts, and put themselves under his protection. At one time, four hundred poor men, who had lived in the mountains for the sake of enjoying religious liberty, came down to Prague, with their wives and children, and ranged themselves under the banners of Ziska. It is highly probable that these were Waldenses, the descendants of those who had settled in remote parts of the kingdom more than two hundred and fifty years before. Freedom from the Austrian yoke, deliverance from the tyranny of Rome, and the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, were the objects for which Ziska avowedly contended, and his army presently consisted of forty thousand men.

Æneas Sylvius, who afterwards ascended the pontifical chair, under the title of Pius II., had travelled over the whole empire; and by him we are informed, that the churches and religious houses in Bohemia were more numerous, more spacious, more elegant and sumptuous, than in any other part of Europe; and that the images in public places, and the habits of the priests, were covered with jewels and precious stones. Ziska commenced his work of reform with attacking these. He demolished the images, discharged the monks, who, he said, were only fatting like swine in sties, converted cloisters into barracks, conquered several towns, and garrisoned Cuthna, defeated the armies of the emperor in several battles, and gave law to the kingdom of Bohemia till the time of his death, which happened in 1424. encamped his followers on a rocky mountain, about ten miles from Prague, which he soon after fortified with a wall, and within that the people built houses. This mountain he called Tabor (after Mount Tabor, in the holy land), and thence his followers obtained the name of Taborites.

When Ziska found himself dying, he gave orders that a drum should be made of his skin; and, what is equally extraordinary, his orders were faithfully obeyed. Ziska's skin, after undergoing the necessary preparations, was converted into a drum, which was long the symbol of victory to his followers. Procopius, a catholic priest, converted by the writings of one of the disciples of Huss, revived the spirits of the Bohemian brethren, many of whom, after the death of Ziska, had retreated to caves and

mountains. Uniting the military with the sacerdotal character, this champion supported the cause of his party with great courage and bravery, but fell in a battle with the catholics. Yet so terrible had the name of the Hussites become to the Emperor Sigismond, that, despairing to reduce them by the power of his arms, he entered into a compromise, allowing them the use of the cup in the eucharist, the deprivation of which had been a principal source of complaint; together with a general amnesty, and a confirmation of their privileges. But verbal, and even written promises, are easily retracted, where there exists no power of enforcing their accomplishment; and a right avails nothing without a remedy. The dispersed brethren ceased to be formidable. Sigismond renewed his tyranny. His immediate successors on the imperial throne were, like himself, zealous catholics, and the friends and followers of Huss continued to be the subjects of frequent persecution till the times of Luther.

Crantz, in his history of the Bohemian brethren, informs us, that after the death of Ziska, his followers divided themselves again, according to the diversity of their opinions and views, into Calixtines, Taborites, and Orphans; while such as, with a distinguished zeal, urged an entire reformation, were termed Zealots. In times of distress, however, they all united against their common enemy; and the latter, unable to carry the point against them, granted to their deputies, at the council of Basil, in 1433, the terms contained in the following four articles, which goes by the name of The Bohemian Compactata, or terms of agreement :-1. That the word of God shall be freely preached by able ministers, according to the holy scriptures, without any human invention. 2. That the Lord's supper shall be administered unto all in both kinds, and divine worship performed in the mother tongue. 3. That open sins shall be openly punished, according to the law of God, without respect of persons. 4. That the clergy shall exercise no worldly dominion, but confine themselves to preaching the gospel.*

But notwithstanding these concessions, it appears evident that matters remained in a very unsettled state among the Bohemians

[•] Crantz's History, p. 19.

about the middle of the century. The leading person in ecclesiastical affairs was Rokyzan, archbishop of Prague, a man of no principle whatever. The contentions of parties ran high; and this metropolitan, wearied with perpetual applications for reformation, which he found it quite impracticable to carry into effect, at length advised such as were dissatisfied with the existing order of things to retire to the lordship of Lititz, between Silesia and Moravia, about twenty miles from Prague; a place which had been laid waste by the ravages of war, where they might establish their own regulations respecting divine worship, choose their own ministers, and introduce their own discipline and order, according to their own conscience and judgment. Numbers adopted his suggestion, and in 1457 they formed themselves into a society bearing the name of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, binding themselves, at the same time, to a rigorous church discipline, and resolving to suffer all things for conscience' sake; and instead of defending themselves, as the Taborites had done, by force of arms, their only weapons were to be prayer and reasonable remonstrance against the rage of their enemies.*

It is highly probable, that when the archbishop offered them this indulgence, he had little expectation that they would be able to carry the project into effect; it was merely an alternative which relieved him from a momentary embarrassment, and probably that was all he was concerned about; but if so, he found himself disappointed. Three years had not elapsed ere their numbers were considerable; pious persons flocked to them, not only from different parts of Bohemia, but even from every distant quarter of the whole empire; and churches were gathered everywhere throughout Bohemia and Moravia. Many of the ancient Waldenses, who had been lurking about in dens and caves of the earth, as well as upon the tops of mountains, now came forward with alacrity, and joining themselves to the "United Brethren," became eminently serviceable to the newlyformed societies, in consequence of their more advanced state of religious knowledge and experience. Many of the new

^{*} Crantz History, Part ii. p. 28.

converts renounced the baptism of infants, and were baptized by the pastors before they received them into church communion.*

The archbishop had not foreseen the consequences of settling these people on the crown lands. The multiplication of their numbers, and their growing influence, soon drew upon them the attention, and excited the rancour, of the catholic party. A clamour against him ensued; and the Waldenses, Picards, and other opprobrious names by which they were stigmatized, became too numerous and too scandalous for an archbishop to patronize; he therefore found it necessary to treat them with indifference, and keep them at a distance. Scarcely had three years transpired from the establishment of the society of "The United Brethren," than a terrible persecution arose against them in Bohemia and Moravia, and they were called to prove "what manner of spirit they were of." They were declared by the state unworthy of the common rights of subjects; and, in the depth of winter, expelled from their houses in towns and villages, with the forfeiture of all their goods. Even the sick were cast into the open fields, where numbers perished through cold and hunger. They threw them into prisons, with a view to extort from them, by means of the severity of their sufferings, a confession of seditious designs, and an impeachment of their accomplices; and when nothing could be extorted from them, they were maimed in their hands and feet, inhumanly dragged at the tails of horses and carts, and quartered or burnt alive. During this persecution, those who had it in their power to do so,

de Initio crescente în cætu multitudinum hominum, et ex diversarum religionum professionibus accedente, si quis forte de veritate baptismi Christiani dubitarent, et animo suo angerentur, et conscientiam haberent malam, eos expetantes hoc curarunt denuo baptizandos, exigendo et sinceræ fidæi confessionem et promissionem de observatione disciplinæ et vitæ sanctitate. Quem confitendi promittendique morem prisca ecclesia religiosissime tensit. Camerarius, ubi supra, in Robinson's Eccles. Researches.



[•] Comenii Synopsis Hist, Persecutionum Eccles. Bohem. cap. 18, and Camerarius de ecclesiis fratrum narratio, p. 87.

[&]quot;Isthme rebaptisatio, jam dictis tot causis usurpats et introducta a nostris, duravit in ecclesia nostra ad hec usque tempora." Apologia vera doctrina sorum qui vulgo appellantur Waldenses et Picardi. D. G. M. Brandebar, Anno 1592. Par. iv. de Baptismo.

retired into woods, fortresses, and caves of the earth, where they held their religious assemblies, elected their own teachers, and endeavoured to strengthen and edify one another. The parent society at Lititz, being less molested than those in other places, did not cease to send messengers and letters to their persecuted brethren, with the view of strengthening their faith and exhorting them to patience. In process of time the storm subsided, though not until nearly every society of the Brethren in Bohemia was scattered or dispersed, and both the king and archbishop were removed from the stage of life.*

Uladislaus, prince of Poland, was now elected to the crown of Bohemia, and being a mild and tolerant prince, little inclined to persecution, the exiled Brethren returned to their own homes, and resumed their occupations. Under this amiable monarch they cultivated their lands, applied themselves to literature, and for some years enjoyed prosperity as well as peace. According to the testimony of one of their bitter enemies, "They took such deep root, and extended their branches so far and wide, that it was impossible to extirpate them." In the year 1500, there were two hundred congregations of the United Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia. Many counts, barons, and noblemen, joined their churches, who built them meeting-houses in their cities and They got the Bible translated into the Bohemian tongue, and printed at Venice; when that edition was disposed of, they got two more printed at Nuremberg, and finding the demand for the holy scriptures continuing to increase, they established a printing office at Prague, another at Bunzlau, in Bohemia, and a third at Kralitz, in Moravia, where at first they printed nothing but Bohemian bibles.

Although the king of Bohemia was extremely anxious to preserve peace and harmony among his subjects, whether catholics, Calixtines, or the United Brethren, he found it no easy task to accomplish his wishes in that respect. "Every morning when he rose (says a late writer), and every evening when he retired to rest, he put up this petition to God, 'Give peace in my time, O Lord!"—a prayer worthy of a king; but Uladislaus did not

^{*} Robinson's Eccles. Researches, p. 501.

know that to attain the object of his prayer he ought to discharge his chaplains." The clergy were perpetually teasing him for an edict against the heretics, and poisoning his mind with false representations of their sentiments and conduct; and they at length succeeded in obtaining a severe edict against them. The Brethren immediately drew up an Apology, which they presented to the king; and he, with his usual lenity, ordered his clergy to converse with the Picards, and endeavour to reclaim them by reason; but by all means to maintain peace among themselves. An order was consequently issued, requiring the principal ministers of the Brethren in Prague to hold a conference, on an appointed day, with some of the catholic clergy; but early on the morning of that day, Martin Poczatecius, the principal enemy of the Brethren, died suddenly, and the conference was postponed.

As the king was understood to be tolerant in his principles, the Brethren thought that a confession of their faith might probably produce some good, and they accordingly drew one up and sent it to his majesty, who was then in Hungary. It did not, however, answer the end at court; for the catholic bishops had recourse to a stratagem, which unhappily succeeded to their wishes. The king was passionately fond of his queen, who was at this time in an advanced state of pregnancy; and the bishops and prelates having a great ascendency over the queen, they therefore most humbly and earnestly entreated her to obtain from the king an edict to suppress the Picards, for they assured themselves that, at such a time, he would not deny her majesty any request, or occasion her a moment's pain. The king one day entering her apartment, the queen mildly asked the favour. The monarch looked sad and sorrowful, but remained silent. Bossack, an Hungarian bishop, began instantly to write in the king's presence; and the edict was soon prepared and signed. The moment, however, that the humane monarch had put his name to the instrument, he quitted the room, retired to his closet, fell on his knees, burst into tears, and besought the Almighty to forgive him, and to frustrate the sanguinary purposes of these bishops against innocent men. At first, the states would not allow this edict the force of law; so jealous were the Bohemians of their liberties; and it took four years to bring them to consent

to a statute which prohibited the "United Brethren" from holding any religious assemblies, public or private; commanded that their meeting-houses should all be shut up; that they should not be allowed either to preach or print; and that within a given time they should all hold religious communion with either the Calixtines or the catholics.

Although the catholic party had so far succeeded as to obtain this persecuting edict, they did not immediately reap from it all the happy fruits that they expected. The Bohemians were a bold and intrepid race of men, and not easily daunted. The king, and wiser part of the magistrates, did not go heartily into the clerical measures of depopulation and destruction; and though the dominant party were so strong that the king durst not openly protect the Brethren, he was obliged to wink at the cruel use that was made of this persecuting statute by some bigoted magistrates; but, upon the whole, the pacific inclination of the court was generally understood, and people acted accordingly. Some emigrated; others retired and worshipped God, as formerly, in remote places, and in small companies; some ran all risks, and many fell into the hands of their enemies, and were punished. A Bohemian nobleman caught six poor men at their devotions in a small village; he accordingly had them taken up and brought before the parish priest to be examined. The latter asked but one question,-namely, whether they would submit to him as a shepherd of souls? They answered to this, that "Christ was the Shepherd of their souls,"-upon which they were convicted on the statute against heresy, made in the twentieth year of their sovereign lord the king, and instantly committed to the flames. This is a fair specimen of their proceedings, and it is needless to enlarge or multiply instances.

In this manner the affairs of the Brethren proceeded, until Luther began the reformation in Germany; at which time it would appear, that a continued series of persecutions had wasted the churches, and nearly exhausted the survivors of their fortitude and patience, insomuch that the Brethren appear to have been meditating a compromise with the catholic church, under certain modifications, and actually wrote to Luther for his advice on the subject, in the year 1522. Sleidan has furnished us with the

substance of the letter which Luther returned in reply, and it is of sufficient interest to merit insertion.

He informs them that the name of Bohemians had been some time very odious unto him, so long as he had been ignorant that the pope was antichrist; but that now, since God had restored the light of the gospel to the world, he was of a far different opinion, and had declared as much in his books; so that at present the pope and his party were more incensed against him than against them; that his adversaries had many times given it out, that he had removed into Bohemia, which he oftentimes wished to have done; but that, lest they should have aspersed his progress, and called it a flight, he had altered his resolution. That, as matters now stood, there were great hopes that the Germans and Bohemians might profess the doctrine of the gospel, and the same religion; that it was not without reason that many were grieved to see them so divided into sects among themselves; but that if they should again make defection to popery, sects would not only not be removed, but even be increased and more diffused. for that sects abounded nowhere more than among the Romanists; and that the Franciscans alone were an instance of this, who in many things differed among themselves, and yet all lived under the patronage and protection of the church of Rome; that his kingdom was, in some manner, maintained and supported by the dissensions of men; which was the reason also that made him set princes together by the ears, and afford continual matter of quarrelling and contention; that, therefore, they should have special care, lest, whilst they endeavoured to crush those smaller sects, they fell not into far greater, such as the popish, which were altogether incurable, and from which Germany had been lately delivered. That there was no better way of removing inconveniences, than for the pastors of the churches to preach the pure word of God in sincerity. That if they could not retain the weak and giddy people in their duty, and hinder their desertion, they should at least endeavour to make them stedfast in receiving the Lord's supper in both kinds, and in preserving a veneration for the memory of John Huss and Jerome of Prague; for that the pope would labour chiefly to deprive them of these two things; wherefore, if any of them should relent, and give up

both to the tyrant, it would be ill done of them. But that, though all Bohemia should apostatize, yet he would celebrate and commend the doctrine to all posterity. That, therefore, he prayed and exhorted them to persevere in that way which they had hitherto defended with the loss of much blood, and with the highest resolution, and not cast a reproach upon the flourishing gospel by their defection. That although all things were not established among them, as they ought to be, yet God would not be wanting, in time, to raise up some faithful servants of his, who would reform what was amiss, provided they continued constant, and utterly rejected the abominations of the church of Rome.

In fine; authentic records in France assure us that a people of a certain description were driven from thence in the twelfth century. Bohemian records, of equal authenticity, inform us, that some of the same description arrived in Bohemia at the same time, and settled near a hundred miles from Prague, at Saltz and Laun, on the river Eger, just on the borders of the kingdom. two hundred years after, another undoubted record of the same country mentions a people of the same description, some as burnt at Prague, and others as inhabiting the borders of the kingdom; and a hundred and fifty years after that, we find a people of the same description settled by connivance in the metropolis, and in several other parts of the kingdom. About one hundred and twenty years lower, we find a people in the same country living under the protection of law on the estate of Prince Lichctenstein exactly like all the former, and about thirty or forty thousand in number. The religious character of this people is so very different from that of all others, that the likeness is not easily mistaken. They had no priests, but taught one another. They had no private property, for they held all things jointly. They executed no offices, and neither exacted nor took oaths. They bore no arms, and rather chose to suffer than resist wrong. They held everything called religion in the church of Rome in abhorrence. They thought the religion of Jesus Christ wanted no comment; and they professed their faith in Him by being baptized in his name, and their love to Him and to one another, by communicating in the Lord's supper. Such is an epitome of the history of the Bohemian Brethren.—Robinson's Eccles. Researches, p. 527.

LECTURE LXI.

THE LUTHERAN REFORMATION.

State of the church of Rome before Luther—Origin and abuse of Indulgences—Leo X. elected pope—His character—Has recourse to indulgences to raise money—Ernest of Saxony archbishop of Magdeburg—Albert, archbishop of Mentz, made a cardinal—Tetzel preaches up indulgences—Manners of the collectors—Superstition of the people—Form of absolution—Birth and education of Martin Luther—He takes orders, and teaches philosophy—His sentiments on justification and free-will—Begins to preach against indulgences—Despises the disputations of Tetzel. A. D. 1517.

The pride, the tyranny, the extortions of the popes, and the contempt they manifested for the ancient discipline, the canons of which they openly violated, had rendered their authority odious to all those whom interest or superstition did not induce to defend it. The remains only of respect and attachment of the see of Rome, which a deep-rooted opinion had preserved in the public mind; apprehension of the evils which religious division never fails to introduce; the power of the popes, not less formidable than unrelenting; the dread of excommunication; the ignorance in which the people and the greater part of the clergy were involved; the weakness, timidity, and indifference of those who were in a situation to possess some knowledge of the truth; these causes had hitherto prevented the adoption of measures to reduce the power of the court of Rome, or entirely to throw off its yoke.

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But mankind now began to prepare themselves for such an undertaking; and both princes and people, wearied out with a long and fruitless forbearance, appeared to sigh after a deliverer.

The councils of Constance and Basle, assembled for the reformation of the head and members of the church, far from having eradicated the seed of schism, had themselves become the subject of new divisions by the enterprises of the popes, who treated their regulations with contempt, and all Europe resounded with complaints which such proceedings occasioned.

The princes of the empire could no longer endure that the decrees of councils, those ramparts of their liberties, should be treated with neglect or eluded by artifice; that their churches and great benefices should be offered to the best bidders, and that they themselves should be nearly reduced to a state of slavery to the court of Rome; that their people should be exhausted by innumerable pretences; and that the German nation, illustrious by empire and by freedom, should fall into a state of wretchedness, and under the dominion of priests. They had begun to concert measures for putting a stop to those oppressions; and, if they could not be otherwise remedied, for throwing off entirely the yoke of Rome.

France, which was not less offended than Germany with the tyranny of the popes and the infraction of the ancient canons, had testified her resentment by public writings, in a manner the most clear and striking. The Universities had joined themselves with the Parliaments to defend the liberties of the Gallican church and the authorities of the councils. Louis XII. was not contented with assembling at Tours the notables of the kingdom, and with the agitation in that assembly of the important question, whether there were not circumstances, under which it was allowable for a prince to renounce obedience to the see of Rome: he was desirous further to testify to all the world the opinion he entertained of that see, by having the famous coin struck off, which bore this inscription: Perdam Babylonis nomen: "I will cause Babylon and her name to perish." Italy itself, entirely accustomed as it was to the yoke and to the licentious manners of the popes, could not, however, endure them without horror, and without making some efforts toward their correction.

After the death of Alexander VI., that monster of impurity, and all other crimes, Pius III. having reigned only thirty days, the cardinals assembled for the election of a pope were of opinion, that before they proceeded to it, it would be necessary to prepare articles of reformation, and to make all the sacred college take an cath to observe them. One of the articles purported that the new pope should be obliged to convoke, in two years, a general council to reform the church. Julius II., elevated to the papacy, ratified the oath which he had taken when cardinal; and although it was conceived in terms capable of binding the most faithless man in the world, he violated it without scruple of conscience and without shame.

He thought of nothing but to elude the council and the reformation; until, after seven years of patience, the cardinals, who had embroiled themselves with him, and who, by the account of Guicciardini, were not better than the others who convoked the council of Pisa,* under the protection of Maximillian I. and Louis XII. The design, or the pretence, of this council was, the reformation of the church, both as to the head and the members: in faith as well as in manners. But all these measures had been ineffectual. Julius II. had made his peace with the emperor by the intrigues of the bishop of Gurck, by promising him the restitution of some cities of Italy; and Louis XII. had preferred the possession of the duchy of Milan, for which he had grounds given him to hope, to the reformation of the church. These two princes had bound themselves to submit to the Lateran council begun under Julius,+ and continued under Leo; and this council, assembled in the capital of the pope, and entirely composed of Italian prelates, instead of labouring for the reformation of the church, which was so ardently desired, had served only to confirm more

[•] Pope Julius took up arms to dissolve this council, and the members of the council thereupon suspended him from the functions of his office. As soon as he learned the news, he fell into so violent a rage that he excommunicated all the French, ordered that they should be put to death wherever they were found, and set a price on their heads, promising rewards to those that should kill them.— Thuani. Hist. b. i. p. 31.

[†] This council was called by Julius in the year 1512. Julius died during its sittings, January 21st, 1513, and John de Medicis was chosen to the papal chair on the 4th of March following.

than ever the tyranny of the popes, by placing them above the councils, and by condemning that of Basle. Finally, an historian has remarked, that there were never seen in any other ecclesiastical assembly so many preparatory ceremonies calculated to dazzle the people and to give them a high opinion of the piety of the prelates; but that the pope and the bishops were far from having the intentions which those ceremonies appeared to indicate.

There remained no longer any hope of reformation, and a discontent almost universal disposed the western church to come to a manifest rupture with the court of Rome, when Luther undertook singly to oppose the existing abuses. It is true, nevertheless, that an apparent peace covered the divisions of the church and concealed the incurable evils with which it was affected. But the malady had taken such deep root that violent means could alone supply a remedy, and which at length took place, upon occasion of the indulgences, the nature and the abuses of which it is necessary to explain.

Indulgences, in their commencement, were simply a mitigation of the long penance which the church imposed upon those who had scandalized it by their crimes. These favours were granted on the recommendation of martyrs or confessors, for whom a great veneration was entertained. But the custom was soon corrupted, and the discipline of the ancient church, the rigour of which it was necessary to maintain in times of persecution, had admitted great alterations. Tertullian complains of these in his book on chastity, where he inveighs against the abuses that had already insinuated themselves into indulgences. There were Christians, who, by a confederacy with judges and keepers of prisons, got themselves put into confinement, or loaded with chains. By these means they acquired, without danger, the honour and privileges of confessors. Immediately, those persons who were guilty of fornication or adultery applied to them for letters of reconciliation. in order to their being received into the communion of the church. Tertullian censured these shameful corruptions, and attacked, not only the abuses of indulgences, but the indulgences themselves; and it cannot be denied but that he has treated the subject in a manner equally forcible and ingenious, although Montanism, to

which he was enthusiastically attached, has led him into extravagant excesses.

Cyprian, in the same century [A. D. 250], censured the same abuses in his treatise de lapsis, or concerning those who had denied Jesus Christ in the time of persecution; and he made use, as was his practice, of the thoughts, and nearly the expressions, of Tertullian. But it is scarcely possible that customs favourable to offenders should not find support and acquire authority. Not only indulgences retained their places in the church, but al ^u es progressively increased; the profligacy of offenders on one sade, and the avarice of the clergy on the other, carried them to that excess in which they appeared in the time of our fathers.

It was not, therefore, any longer a simple mitigation of the rigours of penance, granted on the recommendations of martyrs; it was an entire dispensation from penance, founded, on one side, upon the superabundant merit of the virgin, the saints, and the monks, to which was joined the overplus of the merits of Jesus Christ; and, on the other side, upon the power of which the pope had possessed himself, of distributing these merits as he pleased, whether to exempt offenders from canonical penalties, or to deliver departed souls from the pains of purgatory. The manner also of distributing these indulgences was very different. time of Cyprian, offenders were to be seen running in tears to the martyrs to obtain recommendations from them, while the bishops conducted the system of indulgences with great prudence and reserve, because they thought the profusion of them extremely dangerous, exacting from the penitents promises of a holy perseverance. But instead of those wise precautions adopted in the times of our ancestors, the indulgences of the popes were carried through all the provinces, that people were exhorted to receive them, or rather, to buy them; neither artifice nor impostures were forgotten to induce a persuasion of their necessity; and although, for form's sake, penance was mentioned, it is certain that, at the bottom, money alone was required for the pardon of the greatest crimes, or, at the most, some external performances, which it was even then permitted to buy off. Erasmus says, on this subject, in his preface to the first epistle to the Corinthians, "that remission of the

pains of purgatory were openly sold; and that even those that were unwilling were compelled to purchase it."

It was not possible for the abuse to be greater. The facility of pardons cherished the liberty of sinning. The abolition of discipline left the church a prey to disorders and scandals of all sorts. Offenders, encouraged by the indulgences of the pope, thought no longer of lamenting their crimes, or of changing their life. 'True repentance, which consists in the change of the heart, was altogether unknown, and mention was made only of fastings, abstinence, and frequent repetitions of certain prayers of rosaries, pilgrimages, and other performances of the same nature, which superstition had introduced or corrupted, and even from which dispensations might be procured by largesses in favour of the monks. But nothing was more odious, nor more intolerable, than that traffic of merits which had been introduced, by virtue whereof the good works of the dead were sold to the living to satisfy divine justice. The monks, who had possessed themselves of this commerce, exercised it without restraint and without shame. Laying aside the merits of Jesus Christ, because it would have been difficult to persuade the world that the gift of God could be purchased with money, nothing was heard of but the satisfaction by saints. The perfection and efficacy of this mode was exaggerated, the whole of the devotion was turned that way; and, as if apprehension had been entertained lest Jesus Christ should partake of it with the creatures, they affected to represent him as an inexorable judge to all those who dared to approach him unless through the mediation of saints, and especially of those who were the founders of their respective orders. It is astonishing that abuses so gross and so impious could have been established; but it is yet more astonishing that the world could have endured them through many ages, and that the correction of them was delayed until the pontificate of Leo X.

After the death of Julius II., of whom mention has been already made, cardinal Riairi, nephew of Sextus IV., expected to be raised to the papal dignity. The rich benefices which his uncle had bestowed on him, and the hope of becoming partakers of them, acquired him a numerous faction; but the austerity of

his manners alarmed the cardinals, and appeared to them more formidable than the hope of the spoils was attractive. They dreaded a reformation under his reign.

At that time it was a maxim generally received, to choose for ecclesiastical superiors those only who authorized profligacy by their examples.* Thus the severity of Riairi determined the young cardinals to choose cardinal de Medicis, as the most capable of cherishing in the court luxury, effeminacy, and love of pleasure, which had reigned under the preceding popes. But the senior cardinals opposed this choice; and an unforeseen accident accomplished the exaltation of Leo. An imposthume that had formed itself in a part which it is not permitted to name, burst while he was in the conclave, and seemed to presage that under his reign the secret ills and shameful disorders of the Romish church would be disclosed. Bibiana, the conclavist of Medicis, availed himself of the circumstance to persuade the old cardinals that his master was afflicted with an incurable malady, and that he could not live. Under this idea they consented to his election, which took place on the 4th of March, 1513, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. He took the name of Leo: and Alphonso Petrucci, the young cardinal who had the charge of announcing to the people the new election, did it in these words: "We have for our pope, Leo the tenth. Long live the young!"

Leo had all the qualities of a man of the world, without having a single one of an ecclesiastic. In person he was well-proportioned; liberal, magnificent, and of a captivating softness and elegance of manners.

He was a lover of the belles lettres, and was not ill acquainted

^{*}Brantôme, in his Mem., tom. i. p. 251, says, in speaking of the elections that were made before the concordat:—" The monks, without having regard to sufficiency, which, however, was scarcely to be found in cloisters, nor yet to knowledge, chose most frequently the man who was the best companion; who was most fond of women, dogs, and birds; who was the best drinker; who, in short, was the most debauched; to the end that, having made him their abbot, or prior, he should afterwards permit them to indulge in similar debaucheries and dissipation, as, in truth, they had made him before bind himself by strong oaths to do, and they took care that he should observe them, either by fair means or by foul."



with them, and his liberalities contributed much to establish them; but he loved luxury and pleasure still better. He was not only without attachment to religion, but he had scarcely any knowledge of it; and, to speak the truth, impiety at his court was publicly professed. Thus, without taking or manifesting any concern either about religion or morality, he employed himself only in maintaining the papal authority, and in aggrandizing his house, loading his relations with the riches of the church, despoiling princes, and ruining considerable houses, to whom even he was indebted for his good fortune. In fine, he abandoned himself to his pleasures: his best friends were those who ministered to them, and by taking that road they were sure to arrive at his favour, and of maintaining themselves in it. Bibiana, whom he had made a cardinal, invented plays, and gave designs for the decorations. These spectacles were exhibited in the Vatican, and subjects the most licentious were the most agreeable to the taste of the pontiff. Sumptuous entertainments succeeded these representations; the pope was fond of them, and in order to enjoy all their pleasures, his table was open to the most celebrated parasites. Distinction was there sought for by skill in inventing new dishes; but poisoned morsels were sometimes introduced; and the pope did not find it unworthy of his sanctity to give one of that kind to the unfortunate Bibiana, although he himself would never have arrived at the papal dignity but by the intrigues of that faithful servant.

With respect to the sacred college, it is agreed that the greatest part of the cardinals indulged in excesses which were scarcely different from those of the pope. Some of them were attacked with shameful maladies, the consequence of licentiousness; others conspired against the life of Leo, and bribed persons to despatch him by poison; others consulted magicians to learn his destiny, and, if we may credit some historians, they received very surprising answers; others, influenced by the vilest motives, dishonoured the purple by base and criminal actions. In general, we are informed that all the young cardinals, the number of whom was considerable, were deeply immersed in profusion and sensuality.

Such was Leo and the apostolical college under his reign, until the pontiff, having exhausted the treasures of the church by his prodigality, had recourse to indulgences, that source of riches so abundant, and always open to the wants of his predecessors.

Urban II. was the first who granted a plenary indulgence to whoever should go to the Holy Land. His successors extended that privilege sometimes to those who, not being able to take the voyage, furnished a soldier for that war, and sometimes to those who took arms, or who contributed out of their means to subdue those by force to the authority of the pope who refused to obey him. Since that period, indulgences, under innumerable pretences, have been granted to the people for the purpose of drawing money from them.

Laurentio Pucci was cousin-german to Leo. The pope, who loved him, had first promoted him to be a cardinal, and afterwards grand penitentiary. He was a man who had no knowledge of ecclesiastical discipline, of councils, or of ancient canons, but who understood the art of amassing, as well as Leo did that of squandering. He was fully persuaded that the sale of things sacred, when authorized by the pope, was perfectly legal; and he had, besides, the example of preceding reigns, under which the practice of simony had been much greater than it was under Leo X.*

Leo followed the advice of Pucci, and granted indulgences, the pretence for which was the edifice of St. Peter at Rome, which he was desirous of completing. Permission was given to all those who contributed to this building, to eat eggs, milk, cheese, and butter, during Lent, and to choose a confessor to their own mind. But, what was of much more importance, and more convenient, an entire remission of sins, and a deliverance from the pains of purgatory, were granted to all those for whom the living chose to purchase pardons.

The pope ordered that these indulgences should be everywhere made public. Disposing beforehand of the revenue which he expected to derive from this source, he bestowed the collections

^{*} Fra. Paolo, Hist. Council of Trent, book i.

from the provinces of Upper and Lower Saxony, as far as the Baltic sea, on Magdalen de Medicis, his sister, wife of Francis Cibo* natural son of Innocent VIII. Leo had a great affection for his sister; and the presents which he made to her, the animated and flattering billets which he frequently wrote to her, and the empire which she possessed over his mind, were proofs of his affection, though proofs rather too strong! But whether from love to his sister, or from gratitude to the house of Cibo, in which he had been received during his exile at Genoa, he presented the princess with the revenue of the indulgences in Upper and Lower Saxony.

The easiest method of rendering these revenues productive was to farm them out, and give them entirely up to those who offered the most for them. This was the mode pursued by the princess by means of Archbishop Archimbold.† This man, furnished with the power which the emperor had given him to have the indulgences preached up, and to carry off the profits of them, sold his right to the highest bidder; and the pope, on his part, sent orders to Albert of Brandenburgh, archbishop of Magdeburg and Mentz, to have them preached up in Germany.

The predecessor of Albert in the archbishopric of Magdeburg, was Ernest, duke of Saxony, a prince who deserves that his memory should not be suffered to be buried in oblivion. He had been elected at the age of fourteen years, whether on account of the esteem in which the elector his father was held, who had acquired so great an authority in the empire that he was almost the arbiter of peace and war, or because, in the situation in which the archbishopric then stood, the canons had need of a prince sufficiently powerful to protect them. This young prelate, educated in a house which was esteemed a school of virtue, became one of the most wise and best-conducted personages to be found in the empire. He executed in person all the duties of an ecclesiastic, saying "that it was shameful for any one to pride

[†] Guicciardini styles him, "a minister worthy of such a commission, which he executed with avarice and extortion."



[•] It was in favour of this marriage that pope Innocent VIII. made John de Medicis a cardinal, at the age of fourteen years, whence arose the ecclesiastical dignities of the house of Medicis. History of the Council of Trent.

himself in being superior to others on account of his episcopal dignity, and at the same time to despise the functions of it."

He had taken the order of priesthood, which was then much neglected by the prelates; he very frequently said mass; and it was remarked, that when he officiated for the first time in the church of Halberstadt, of which he was also bishop, every one was surprised at seeing-what, indeed, had not been seen in the memory of man-a bishop performing divine service. preached also frequently, a duty which had been entirely left to mendicants, and which was looked upon with such contempt, that an ecclesiastic of any dignity would have thought that he debased himself by preaching the gospel. There is nothing surprising in this. Effeminacy causes the great to disburden themselves of the troublesome duties of their ministry, and when they cease to execute them, pride leads them to despise them, and the more so, as they are besides incapable, for the most part, of acquitting themselves of them. This prince died in 1513. In his sickness the cordeliers came to visit him, and to offer him the merits of their order to secure and hasten his recovery. "I have nothing to do," replied this wise prelate, "either with your works or your merits: they are of no value in the sight of God. There is nothing but the righteousness of my Lord and my Saviour that can be of any service to me."

Albert was made cardinal by Leo X. two years after the commission respecting indulgences had been issued. It is said, that as this prince held the first rank in the empire in quality of elector of Mentz, the design of the pope was to accustom the German prelates, by insensible degrees, to yield that precedence to the cardinals which they had hitherto refused them. But it is more likely that the pope, fearing for his own authority, was desirous of gaining to his interest, and attaching to the see of Rome, a prince of a great house, and possessed, besides, of extensive influence in the empire.

The archbishop of Mentz, who had solicited at Rome the charge of the indulgences, was overjoyed at having so fair an opportunity of reimbursing himself for the great presents he had made to obtain his benefices, and for the thirty-thousand livres (aurea) which his pallium had cost him. He conducted the

affair so well, and kept so sharp a look out for his own interest, that he secured for his own share one half of the profits.

The pope had joined with him in commission the superior of the cordeliers of Mentz, who had the power of appointing collectors, and of selecting them from his own order. But this employment, which seemed at first so useful and so honourable, did not appear such to the superior or his monks. The traffic of indulgences had become so odious that no one could any longer be charged with them without completely disgracing himself. Besides, the cordeliers considered that they would have but a very small part of the profit, and that having already a great deal of trouble in collecting the alms necessary to the maintenance of their monasteries and their churches, it was not fit that they should go about making collections for the pope. But, as they were afraid to disoblige the archbishop, and as a positive refusal might offend the pope, who had just conferred honour on their order by giving a cardinal's hat to Christopher de Fortilivio, their general, the superior, and some others of the governing members, assembled at Weimar, where it was resolved that they should get rid, as handsomely as they could, of the business of the indulgences. The superior of Mentz suggested the means; and JOHN TETZEL having thereupon offered his services, they were accepted by the archbishop. This dominican, so noted as having been the last, and perhaps the most shameless, of the collectors who came into Saxony, was born at Pirna, a little village of Meissen, situate on the Elbe. He had had the charge of preaching up indulgences for the knights of the Teutonic order, established in Prussia and Livonia, and he executed it in a manner as advantageous to them and to himself as it was destructive to the people. He was a worthless empiric, whose follies would have been derided, and whose impudence would have been chastised, in an age less ignorant and less superstitious, but who, among a people unenlightened, and prejudiced in favour of the superstitions of their time, easily procured himself attention by a powerful voice, by absurd affectation, by puerile fables, by ridiculous legends, and by impious exaggerations of the power of the popes. His manners, besides, were so corrupt, that having been convicted of adultery, the Emperor Maximillian had sentenced him at Inspruck to be drowned; but he had the good fortune to obtain his pardon by the intercession of Frederick, elector of Saxony.

Tetzel and his companions acquitted themselves perfectly well of their commission. The advantages of the pardons from Rome were never placed in a more favourable point of view; and it was then seen what avarice is capable of doing when it has religion for its pretence. They had the audacity to preach "that the red cross, elevated in the churches with the arms of the pope, had the same virtue as the cross of Jesus Christ: that Tetzel had saved more souls by indulgences than the apostle Paul had by his preaching; that as soon as the sound of the money was heard in the bason, the souls were that instant released out of purgatory; that the grace of the indulgences was the same as that which reconciles man to God; that repentance and contrition were no longer necessary; that robberies, murders, debauches the most detestable, and blasphemies against God and the holy virgin, were sins the pardon of which it was easy to obtain." To evince the extent of their authority, they supposed unheard-of crimes, and boasted of having the power to pardon them. Their profanations were so much the greater as they scandalized the holy virgin, the worship and adoration of whom that age had carried much further than all the preceding ones. In fine, they gave absolution equally of sins passed and sins to come; and sold, without scruple, remission of crimes, and license to commit them. The only inexpiable sin was that of despising indulgences, or speaking ill of them; and to prevent the confessors from turning the minds of the people, these tyrants obliged them, by an oath, not only merely to be silent, but to teach the same doctrine.

I shall not stay to recount particularly, in this place, the impostures of Tetzel, the chief of the collectors. They were so daring and so public, that a grave prelate, who had often protected his flock against the incursions of these robbers, and who had even been excommunicated for so doing, seeing the extravagant impudence of this man, predicted that he would be the last merchant who would carry on that traffic in Saxony.

The manners of the collectors were not less scandalous than their public discourses. Dispensers of the favours of heaven, they lived like people who no longer feared anything on the part of God, and who braved his power; supported by the court of Rome, they looked down with contempt on the opinions of man-They lavished, in taverns, in gaming houses, in the most infamous places, the money they had extorted from the people; and perpetuated without shame everything of which licentiousness and impunity were capable. It was their public talk, that in order to pay their hosts, their valets, and their carriage hire, they had given salvation to four or five souls, more or less; simony, this, of a new kind, and truly detestable. Luther, who relates a part of these enormities in a book which he dedicated to the pope, and of which we shall say more hereafter, asserts, that if he were to disclose all that was said of these persons it would make a volume of abominations. It is true, he adds, that he could not believe all that was said of them, although there were very many witnesses who affirmed the truth of the account. But this is moderation and charity on his part; for these collectors had had the audacity to put into their compositions a blasphemy against the holy virgin, of which Luther had only made mention as a report to which credit could not be given.

Although the impieties and debaucheries of these persons were sufficient to have inspired universal horror both for them and for their doctrines, yet the blindness and superstition of the people extended so far that they received them in triumph, like angels from Heaven. When they made their entry into the cities, the bull of the pope was carried before them, covered with silk embroidered with gold. The clergy, the magistrates, and the people, preceded, with wax tapers in their hands; the bells were rung; musical instruments were sounded; a red cross was erected in the centre of the church; and the preacher mounted into a pulpit, expatiated on the excellence of the indulgences, and the power of the pope, with the usual exaggerations. They then disposed The following is the of their wares to all who would buy them. form of absolution used by Tetzel, and of which there still remain originals:-

"May our Lord Jesus Christ be pleased to have pity on you, and absolve you by the merits of his most holy passion! And for myself, under his authority, and under that of the blessed

apostles Peter and Paul, and of our most holy lord the pope, which he hath committed to me, I absolve you, first, from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner you may have incurred them; next, from all sins, crimes, and excesses, which you have committed to this present time, how enormous soever they may be, even if they shall have been reserved for the cognizance of the apostolic see, and that as far as the power of the keys extends, which power has been given to our holy mother the church. I release you, by this plenary indulgence, from all the pains which you would be obliged to suffer in purgatory for all your past sins. I re-establish you in the use of the sacraments, in the communion of the church, in the state of innocence in which you were at the moment you received baptism; insomuch, that if you were now to depart, the doors of punishment would be shut against you, and those of happiness laid open to you; and that if you do not die so soon, the virtue hereof will be preserved and assured to you at the moment of death; in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen." The subscription was as follows:-Brother John Tetzel, under commissary, has written this with his own hand.

It is thus that these impostors abused the simplicity of the people; that ecclesiastical discipline was corrupted, the merits of Jesus Christ trodden under foot, and heaven itself laid open to the most flagitious, without requiring of them a single condition of the gospel. A more shocking depravation of the Christian religion could not be conceived; and lest it should be supposed that the court took no part in it, the bulls of the popes were not less scandalous than the forms of absolution issued by the collectors. Some of them, it is said, appeared in Germany, in which entrance into Paradise was rated at a crown. So little, indeed, were people ignorant that these abuses were authorized by the court of Rome, that nobody even dared to oppose them. The intrepid Luther was the only person who had the courage to attempt it.

This great man was born at Isleben, a town of Saxony, and county of Mantsfeld, on the 10th of November, 1483, and was named *Martin*, because he was baptized the day following the feast of St. Martin. His father was of a village near Eisenac,

called Mera. Margaret Lindeman, his mother, was of Neusandt, on the Sala in Franconia. This woman being on some occasion at Isleben, was there delivered of Luther; and his father, who was a worker in metals, went to live in the little town of Mantsfeld, because there were celebrated mines in the neighbourhood. His property increasing, he acquired a share in the mines, and was one of the magistrates of Mantsfeld, much beloved and esteemed on account of his probity.

Luther commenced his studies at Eisenac, continued them at Magdeburg, and finished them in the University of Erford, in Thuringia. It was there he commenced master of arts, and embraced a monastic life at the age of twenty-two years. He was led to this by the sudden death of one of his friends, who as they were on the road, fell at his side, and expired before his eyes, without any visible cause. It is only known that there was a furious storm, and that Luther himself was struck to the ground without being hurt. This unforeseen accident, and the dread with which he was seized, induced him to devote himself to a monastic life. His father opposed it; and as Luther, to prevail upon him, represented the danger he had run, and that he regarded as a divine calling the engagement into which he had entered, by the vow he had taken to obey the voice of God, which, he believed, summoned him to the monastic life,-" Take care," said his father to him, "that it is not a voice of an evil spirit, and do not suffer yourself to be deceived by his illusions." Luther did not yield to these remonstrances; but was determined to fulfil his vow. He entered into the convent of the Augustines of Erford, in the year 1505, and took the name of Augustine.

Luther was seized at first with a profound melancholy. Whether he felt scruples for having disobeyed his father; or whether he pondered the consequences of a vow made with too much precipitation; or whether, lastly, the idea of the danger he had run at the time of his friend's death had made impressions so lively that he could not forget them; he passed the first months after he had professed, in a deep sorrow. He sought, at times, for consolation in the society of the vicar, John Staupitz, to whom he made known his secret inquietudes, and this learned man, who had an affection for him, endeavoured to fortify his

mind. "You do not know," said he, "the advantage you will derive from this temptation. God has reason for trying you which you are unacquainted with. It is by these means he prepares you for his designs, and you will see that he will make you his instrument for great things." One of the circumstances which afflicted him the most was, the bad treatment he received from the prior of the monastery. He not only employed him in the most abject services, but he sent him to beg in the city, which appeared to him more distressing than all his other labours together. The vicar-general was moved with it; he directed the prior to allow him time for study, and recommended to Luther to attach himself above all things to the reading of the sacred scriptures, and to learn the text by heart. He had been a full year among the Augustins when a Latin bible fell, for the first time, into his hands. Until then he had been ignorant that there were other passages of scripture besides those which were to be met with in the liturgies and breviaries of the Romish church.

In the meantime he betook himself to the study of scholastic theology; and as he had a quick understanding and an easy elocution, he penetrated into difficulties, and knew how to develop them in a manner so plain and easy, as to astonish all that heard him. He could repeat almost word for word the works of Biel, of the bishop of Cambray, and others. He was perfectly master of the writings of Occam, the subtilty of which he preferred to that of Scotus, or Thomas Aquinas, and he had read with care those of the chancellor Gerson.

He was so passionately fond of study, that he had sometimes passed near five weeks without sleep; and such prodigious exertions, by impairing his health, impaired also, in some degree, his natural liveliness. Attached to his studies and meditations, he could not resolve within himself to interrupt them. In order to go through the service of the day, it was his custom, after having fulfilled the duties of his order, to shut himself up in his chamber, and there, during the fast, he employed a whole day in repeating the service of several weeks. He relaxed his mind, however, by some innocent diversions, into which piety almost always entered. He loved music, and was not ill skilled in it; and when he was attacked with melancholy, he dissipated it by singing hymns and

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psalms. At other times he exercised himself in turning, and used to say to his friends, "that if the world would not support him, he would gain his livelihood by the work of his hands."

Such were the first employments of Luther in the monastery. He took orders in 1507, and the year following he was called to Wittenberg to teach philosophy there; and distinguished himself by his learning, by his acuteness, by the vivacity of his wit, and by the freedom of his sentiments. It was doubtless this which gave occasion to a doctor of the University, who had acquired such a reputation, that he was called the light of the world, to predict "that that young monk would perplex all the doctors, and that he would change the learning of the schools." But it was not known on what foundation a cordelier of Rome took it into his head to prophecy "that there would be a hermit who would attack the pope;" words, which the vicar-general Staupitz had himself heard, and which he could not avoid applying to Luther, who was of the order of the hermits of St. Augustin.

The contests of his order having called him to Rome, in 1510, he acquitted himself of his commission with success; but when relating the incidents of that journey, he constantly called to his recollection the impiety of the Italian priests, who, seeing him officiate with much devotion and attention, made diversion of him, and desired him to go on faster.*

On his return from Rome, his brethren, the Augustins, solicited him to take the degree of doctor of divinity. He declined it; and Staupitz said to him one day, with a smile, "that it appeared to him that God was preparing great events in heaven and on earth; and that in order to execute them, he would have occasion for youthful and laborious doctors." The vicar-general had some knowledge of the abuses; but it did not at all appear that he dreamed of attacking the see of Rome. Such enterprises

When Luther was celebrating mass, he saw seven masses begun and ended before he himself had got through a single one, the priests in the meantime saying, passa, passa, make haste, make haste! send the son to the mother, and don't keep him long! He also heard other people repeating the words of some of the officiating priests, in what manner they consecrated the bread and the cup,—vis., Bread thouser, and bread thou shalt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remain.—Ap. Hetc. Hist. Eccles. pars. 5, p. 847.



could not enter into the mind of any one; and the reflections of Staupitz can only be considered as thoughts which spring up suddenly in a person's mind without his knowing the cause, and which are uttered without design.

Luther was made a doctor of divinity in the University of Wittenberg, on the 19th of October, 1512. The new doctor, encouraged by the degree he had just taken, gave himself up entirely to the reading of the scriptures, and of the fathers, especially of St. Augustin. He studied at the same time the Greek and Latin languages, for the purpose of reading the sacred books in the originals. At this period it was that his sentiments underwent a change; and that, finding scholastic theology full of human opinions and vain subtilties he began to despise it, as well as the philosophy of Aristotle, on which it had been founded.

His first lectures in theology were upon the Psalms, and the epistle to the Romans. Everybody went to hear him, and it was with much pleasure and extraordinary edification that people now began to hear the divine doctrines of scripture explained in the schools with elegance and perspicuity, disencumbered of the barbarous terms and trifling distinctions of the schoolmen, whom he scarcely ever cited in his lectures, in which it was his custom to quote only the scriptures and the fathers. He had already adopted the doctrine of justification by faith without works.

Luther had imbibed this doctrine since the second year after he had entered into orders, from an old monk, who consoled him when ill. This good old man exhorted him to receive remission of sins by faith, and supported his advice by a passage from St. Bernard. The reading of the holy scriptures, and of St. Augustin, completely confirmed him in that doctrine; and in the year 1516 he wrote to a friar of the order of St. Austin, who was a friend of his, "I should be glad to know what you think; and whether your soul, at last disgusted with its own righteousness, has learned to place its confidence in *Jesus Christ* alone, and in his righteousness." He also published theses on the efficacy of free-will. We shall have occasion, in the sequel, to speak more fully of his tenets, but it may be here remarked, that having been commissioned by Staupitz to visit the monasteries of Meissen and Thuringia, he delivered his opinion so freely, that George duke of Saxony, be-

fore whom he preached, was offended at it; and began from that time to conceive that hatred towards him which he never lost. At the same time he drew on himself the animosities of the Dominicans, for having treated with disrespect the tenets of Thomas Aquinas.

While Luther was quietly teaching at Wittenberg, the collectors, who were overrunning all Germany, came into the diocese of Magdeburg. Tetzel, the most celebrated of all, preached there. Luther, who had given himself but little trouble to inquire into the substance of indulgences, seeing the people of Wittenberg running in crowds to buy them, contented himself with preaching that there were things to be done more agreeable to God, and more conducive to salvation, than tumultuously flocking to procure This sermon was delivered in the church of the Augustins: but as it was too small for the great concourse of people who came to hear him, he was requested to preach in the church of the castle, where he nearly repeated the same things. The elector was much displeased with the discourse. founded the church, and had plentifully supplied it with indulgences, to attract the devotions of the people. For this reason. Luther, who did not wish to offend this prince, and who, besides, was not yet acquainted either with the magnitude or the importance of the abuses, imposed silence on himself.

The general attention was, in the meanwhile, engaged by the excesses of the collectors, by their irregular life, by their avarice, and by the scandalous doctrines which they preached to the people. It happened, also, that persons who had committed crimes, and who had come to confess to Luther, refused to undergo the penances which he imposed on them, under the pretext that they had indulgences, and he, on his part, refused to absolve them. They complained of this to Tetzel, who was then preaching in the little town of Jutterbok, in the neigbourhood of Wittenberg, and who was so highly irritated, that when declaiming against those who rejected the indulgences and doubted the pope's authority, he menaced them with the inquisition, and had actually a pile of wood made up in the market place, as if he intended to burn them in effigy.

Luther, on being informed of the violence and tyranny of the

Dominican, grew warm, became angry in his turn, set himself to examine into the real nature of indulgences, and composed theses which contained ninety-nine propositions. Some of them were categorical, others hypothetical, and some of them sapped the very foundation of indulgences, although the object of the dispute was merely to check the abuses, and not to abolish the use of them.

The following is the substance of these propositions:--" That the life of a Christian ought to be a perpetual penance; that the pope has full power to remit canonical penalties; but that, with respect to those due to divine justice, he has only the right to declare the remission of them; that the canons respecting penance do not extend to the deceased; that if they had power to remit all punishments, and even those of purgatory, it could only be in favour of a few persons eminent in virtue; that the money with which indulgences are purchased may considerably augment the profits and avarice of the collectors, but that the efficacy of the voice of the church can only depend on the will of God; that those who rest satisfied of their salvation, and have no other foundation for their confidence but letters of pardon, will assuredly be damned, as well as the teachers of so pernicious a doctrine; that every Christian who feels a sincere contrition for his sins has the full remission of them without the assistance of the pope's letters; that they are not, however, to be despised, because they are a declaration of the pardon which God vouchsafes to sinners; that those who teach that repentance is not requisite for those who redeem souls, or purchase confessionals, preach doctrines which are not Christian; that it is necessary to apprise the people that the intention of the pope is not that indulgences should be considered as equal to works of mercy, because charity renders a man more excellent, whereas indulgences serve only to secure him from punishment; that if they were really necessary to the salvation, or to the repose of souls, the pope ought to sell the great church of St. Peter to give to the poor, wherewith to purchase them, rather than to require money from the poor themselves to construct that edifice; that the treasure which the church distributes is neither that of the merits of Jesus Christ, nor of the saints, because neither the one nor the other depend on the pope; that the true treasure of indulgences is the gospel of the grace and glory of God; that this gospel was, to the apostles, a net to catch men, whereas indulgences are only a net to catch their money; that the commissaries of the pope ought to be received with respect, but that the obligation is yet greater to prevent them from preaching up their idle notions by abusing the authority of the pope."

To these several propositions, Luther added questions which he put into the mouth of the people whom the inconsiderate discourses delivered furnished with occasion for asking them—as, "Why the pope, who liberates souls from purgatory for money, does not do it for charity? Why the anniversaries of the dead are still continued if the souls are delivered from purgatory by means of the pardons? Why the canons of penance, abolished so long ago, were continued in use only to afford occasion for redeeming souls? Why the pope, who was so rich, did not build one place of worship, at least, at his own expense, rather than at that of the poor members of the church?" Luther concluded by protesting that he was ready to receive instructions if he were in error; that he was by no means so presumptuous as to set his opinion above that of all the world; but that he was, on the other hand, by no means so stupid as to prefer mere human fables to the word of God.

There is so much good sense and so much conviction in these propositions that it is impossible they should not have pleased and persuaded. They were publicly maintained in the University of Wittenberg, and Luther sent them to the archbishop of Magdeburg, with a very strong, but very submissive letter, in which he represented to that prelate the greatness and importance of the abuses, conjured him, for the sake of his own salvation and that of his flock, to put a stop to the licentiousness of the collectors, and, in particular, to suppress the instructions that were printed under his name: "For fear," adds he, "that some one should undertake to refute them, which would not do honour to your highness, and I should be extremely sorry that such a thing should happen, but I fear it may happen, if care be not speedily taken to prevent it." He wrote at the same time to the bishop of Brandenburgh, in the diocese in which the town of

Wittenberg was. The bishop replied that he ought to take care what he was about; that he was attacking the power of the church; that he would bring great troubles on himself; and that he would do better to remain quiet.

When Luther had seen the disputations of Tetzel, he despised them, and would not give himself the trouble of refuting them. He only published new theses, in which, without speaking of indulgences, he destroyed the foundations of them, by attacking the power of free will, the merit of works, and the authority of the school divines. He maintained that no one could truly love God unless by virtue of a preventing grace; that the infallible and sole disposition to grace is the electing love and eternal predestination of God; that on the part of man nothing exists before grace but disinclination and even rebellion; that without grace there is no virtue, and that with it there is still imperfection; that the practice or exercise of righteousness is acquired only by good In these theses there were other propositions which militated against the scholastic theology and the philosophy of Aristotle. This is a summary of what occurred in the year 1517, the first year of the Lutheran reformation, and here I close the present lecture, intending to resume the subject in my next.*

A gentleman of Leipsic, knowing that Tetzel had, by the sale of indulgences, collected a great sum of money in that city, with which he was to take his departure in a few days, and having no great respect for him, either personally or officially, nor any confidence in the wares which he sold, resolved to convince him of it. He accordingly went to him, and requested him to grant him an indulgence for a certainly commit. Tetzel consented for a good price, which he obtained in his hand, and the other was presented with his dispensation, which absolved him in due form. Watching, therefore, Tetzel's departure, he waylaid him, cudgelled and robbed him, telling him, as he parted from him, that this was the crime for which he had obtained indulgence and absolution.—Maimburgii Hist. Luth. Seckendorfii, lib. i. sect. 6, 7.

LECTURE LXII.

Luther acquires information by degrees—Prierias and Eckius write against him—Luther begins to lay the foundation of the Reformation—His theses against indulgences defended—Sends his book to the bishop of Magdeburg, and to Staupitz—Luther's magnanimity—Summoned to the Diet at Augsburg—His inflexibility—Luther is shaken by the solicitation of his friends—Retires secretly; but appeals to the pope, better informed—Cardinal Cajetan threatens the elector of Saxony—The court of Rome dissatisfied with Cajetan—Perplexity of the Elector—He determines to protect Luther—Prierias writes against Luther—Rome disgusted with the performance—Luther profited by it—Luther's zeal justified—The court of Rome fears Luther. A.D. 1518.

LUTHER, having thrown off the yoke of authority and of the schoolmen, acquired every day new lights; and when the decisions of the Roman church, which he still respected, did not prevent him, he allowed himself the liberty of judging of the opinions of the doctors, and of proposing his own, with the precaution, however, of advancing nothing in the tone of a master who decides, but of a man who doubts, who is willing to be instructed, who seeks for information. He continued this kind of language, until, having acquired a knowledge of the weakness of the schoolmen, and the abuse of the pope's authority, he thought it unnecessary to lay down as a principle anything beyond the holy scriptures. He then began to reject everything that was not

founded on those sacred books; and as it was not by a sudden inspiration that he was enlightened, but by a progress of information which kept pace with his labours, we must not be astonished if it was only by degrees that he pierced the cloud of errors which covered the church; if he perceived at first but few truths, and if at the beginning he discerned them only in a confused and doubtful manner.

The first who undertook to defend Tetzel against Luther were Sylvester de Prierias, master of the sacred palace, and Eckius, professor of theology at Ingolstadt. This latter was also canon of Aischtedt, and it was by order of his bishop that he made critical remarks on the theses of Luther, in which appeared much malignity. He accused him, above all, of being infected with the poison of Bohemia, an accusation the most odious which could at that time be brought against any person. Luther had so much the greater reason to complain, as Eckius had professed himself to be one of his friends, and Eckius could only offer in his excuse that he had made his observations in haste, and without books; reasons which might very well procure forgiveness of his inaccuracy, but not of his malice. The reply of Luther was animated and forcible. He did not spare in it that bitter and pungent salt which is found in such abundance in his works. He supported his propositions, and defended himself against the charge of heresy. He testified but little esteem and deference for the schoolmen; but preserved respect for the authority of the pope, charging the abuse of indulgences upon the flatterers of the court of Rome.

As to Sylvester Prierias, he wrote a book against Luther in the form of a dialogue. The epistle dedicatory to Leo X. savours entirely of the ridiculous swaggerer. He represents himself in the field of battle, "as a champion who did not fear the devil himself, and who desired only to enter the lists with Luther, to prove whether he had a nose of iron, and a head of brass." With regard to the book itself, all that can be said of it is, that, if its author expresses contempt for Luther, he renders himself extremely contemptible by his manner of reasoning. He proves the authority of the pope by the decrees of the pope's themselves, and of the Roman church, the infallibility of which

he defends in point of fact and right, both as to decision and practice, accusing every one of heresy who dared to deny that doctrine.

Luther replied, and began by laying down those two principles, which were, in the sequel, the foundation of the whole First, "That it is necessary to prove all things, reformation. and to hold fast that which is good." (1 Thess. v. 21.; Gal. i. 8, 9.) Secondly, "That there is no infallible authority on earth but that of the holy scriptures." He afterwards attacked the infallibility of the pope, the power which he arrogates to himself over the temporal concerns of princes, scholastic theology, the merit of works, and even the infallibility of councils; an opinion more respected than that of the infallibility of the pope. maintained that the power of the universal church was not concentered in the pope, as Prierias had presumed to say; and that this power could, at the most, be found only in the œcumenical councils; that if it were necessary to impute to the whole church the actions of the pope, very horrid outrages would be attributed to it; on which head he cursorily alleged the pride and tyranny of Boniface VIII., and the bloody wars of Julius II. He added, that there is no maxim more false nor more pernicious to the commonweal than that of investing popes with sovereign authority, political as well as ecclesiastical, because it is to give them a right to possess themselves of general dominion, without being liable to the charge of usurpation. And as Prierias had upbraided Luther that he would not have made so much noise on the subject of indulgences if he had had a good bishopric, or a church in which they were preached up; he replied, that if he had aspired to the episcopal dignity, he would have taken other means to obtain it; that these means were not unknown to any person; and that eyen the streets of Rome resounded with the infamous transaction of the court, and the shameful methods of acquiring the best benefices.

These small works were followed by another, which contained the explanation and defence of his theses, in a full and ample manner. He had had it ready since the year 1517; but whether he hoped that silence would be imposed on the collectors, or whether his superiors had prevented him from publishing it, his

book did not appear until the month of April, 1518. There is also a probability that the pope's citation, which was signified to him at that time, obliged him to bring forward this species of apology, and to address it to the pope himself. However that may be, it is an excellent work, wherein he supports the reputation for learning which he had already acquired. It may also be confidently affirmed that on this occasion he treated the matter of indulgences and of penitence with so much force and address united, that the attempt might pass for a master-piece, at least in those times.

Luther defined penitence to be a hatred of one's-self, which ought continually to be exercised by the mortification of the passions, which, not being perfectly subdued, render penitence coeval with life itself. He maintained that this internal penitence ought to be outwardly manifested by external penitence, which is its necessary and inseparable fruit, and which consists in fasting, in prayer, and in almsgiving. Under fasting, he comprehends every kind of mortification; under prayer, all the duties of piety; under almsgiving, all the duties of charity towards one's neighbour. From this idea of penitence a judgment may be drawn whether libertinism were the foundation of the reformation and the cause of its progress.

He next passes to indulgences, which are only an abatement of penance; and after having remarked that it cannot possibly be of that kind which he has been just describing, because God himself dispenses with it from no one, and because it is of divine right, he defends the fifth proposition, in which he had laid down that the pope could only remit canonical punishments. It is this which composes the principal part of his treatise; all the rest comes only occasionally. It must be observed, that at this time he was still persuaded of the authority of the pope, and he was desirous that it should be respected and obeyed. With regard to purgatory, he was so far from denying it, that he handled the Bohemians, under the name of Picards, very roughly, because they did not believe it; and reasoning always according to the principles of Rome, he accused them "of preferring an opinion of fifty years standing to the ancient faith of the church." he soon recovered from his prejudices, became better acquainted

with the history and chronology of doctrines, and rendered more justice to the Bohemians. It will be sufficient here to say, that in it are to be seen very free censures of abuses which are unquestionable; modest and doubtful censures of those which appeared as yet uncertain; zeal for the truth, courage to defend it, a great dislike to every relaxation of discipline and manners, and an understanding which extricates itself by degrees from the darkness of the age, and which divests itself of the prejudices it has adopted. It is true that there are in the same work some materials a little unpolished, and some which are not well selected. But, with more time and information, Luther, or rather those who shall come after him, will polish the one and reject the other, and give to his system more order and greater neatness. He dedicated his book to Leo X., persuaded as he was that this pope was possessed of virtue, and able to do him justice. dedication contained a defence of his conduct, complaints against that of his enemies, and a submission, than which nothing could be more respectful. He there strongly represents the avarice and impiety of the collectors, proved by their writings the scandal which they had given to all people; the disgrace which their conduct reflected upon the holy see, and, finally, the liberty he had taken to bring into question the tenets of these persons; and although he had not exceeded the privilege of a professor of theology, he concluded with these words: "I submit to your judgment both my person and my works; you have the power to take away my life or give it me; to summon and re-summon me; to approve me, or to condemn me, as it shall please you. Although you pronounce, I shall receive your sentence as that of Jesus Christ who presides in your person, and who speaks by your mouth. If I have deserved death I am ready to suffer it. The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is."

Luther sent his book to the bishop of Brandenburgh, and to the vicar-general, Staupitz. The bishop disapproved of the shameful traffic of indulgences, and thought the censures passed by Luther just; but he thought them still more dangerous; and under that idea he sent the abbot of Lehnin to entreat him either to suppress his writings or to defer the publication of them. Luther would do neither; and contented himself with writing to the bishop, "that he treated his subject like a divine who examines without deciding; that he submitted his opinions to the judgment of his superiors; and that, after all, he dreaded neither the menaces of the inquisitors, nor the bulls of the pope."

But the letter which he addressed at the time to Staupitz, is well worthy of being recorded. He writes to this superior, that he should always call to mind that excellent sentiment which he had heard him express, "that there is no true penitence but that which begins with the love of God and of righteousness." That this very sentiment was the first light which had discovered to him that true penitence does not consist in external and painful works, and unprofitable atonements. And, after having entreated him to convey his book to the pope, he concluded with these words, which will be an everlasting proof of his great courage, and of his love for the truth. "I have no possessions, nor do I wish for any; if I have had any reputation I am losing it every day. All that remains to me is a weak body, sinking under the weight of perpetual inconveniences; let them take it from me, either by violence or by secret means; I am ready to obey God. They will only, perhaps, shorten my life a few moments. Jesus Christ, my Saviour, is all-sufficient for me, and supplies the place of everything; and as long as I live, I will sing hymns to his honour."

In this letter Luther recounts to Staupitz, as he had before done to the pope and the bishop of Brandenburgh, the origin of the dispute. This vicar-general was his superior; he honoured him as his father, and addressed him with confidence. There can be no doubt but that Luther told him the truth, and, consequently, that if he did oppose indulgences, it was not for the purpose of advancing the interest of his order, nor through jealousy of party, nor from resentment against the court of Rome, nor by the direction of Staupitz; but solely on account of the scandal they had universally occasioned. And assuredly, the manner in which the affair was brought forward is so plain and unaffected, as to carry with it the stamp of sincerity.

Until this period the dispute had been only among the monks. The people and the great remained spectators without taking any part; and if Leo X. had been satisfied with imposing silence

upon Luther and the Dominicans, it is probable there would never have been a reformation. It has been reported that such was the opinion of the pope; and that some of the courtiers having appeared surprised that he had not condemned Luther from the time Prierias shewed him the heretical propositions which his theses contained, he made answer "that Luther was a man of understanding and fine genius; and that all these disputes were only jealousies among the monks." But the importunity of the Dominicans did not leave him in this sort of neutrality. They exclaimed incessantly, "that if a bridle were not put on the most bold heretic that ever lived, it was all over with the holv see and the catholic religion; that not only the common people, who are always fond of novelty, lent an ear to his opinions, but that those rash wits who pique themselves on science and the belles lettres, already applauded the growing heresy; that it was requisite he should make haste to stifle it by a prompt condemnation, and, if it were necessary, to extirpate it by fire and sword." The famous Dominican, James Hochstrat, was, beyond all the rest, of this opinion; and he conjured the pope to that effect, in a letter which he wrote against Luther. Prierias, on his part, never ceased to solicit the same at Rome. The pope had the weakness to suffer himself to be overcome by the clamours of these people; and as it was incessantly insinuated to him that his authority and his interest were in danger, he summoned Luther to appear before him in sixty days. This citation was signified to him on the 7th of April.

When Luther saw the pope's citation, he clearly perceived that they wished to destroy him, and that he had only to choose between two extremes, either to retract or to perish. He did not hesitate upon the choice; and being resolved to die rather than betray his conscience, he wrote to Spalatinus, "that he knew very well how to defend his cause; that he did not expect to escape violence; but that truth, at least, should be preserved from it." This magnanimity of Luther is so much the more illustrious, as he did not at that time perceive any protection for himself upon earth; and far from the elector of Saxony being disposed to defend him, that prince had entertained a wish that he should withdraw himself from Wittenberg. Thus it appears by a letter

which Staupitz wrote to him at that period. This good old man observed to him, "that the world was violently incensed against the truth; that the hatred of the Jews was evidently rekindled against Jesus Christ; that he ought to prepare to carry the cross which the Saviour had left to his disciples; that he had few protectors, and those extremely timid. I am of opinion," added he, "that you should quit Wittenberg for some time, and that you should come and stay with me, to the end that we may live and die together. Your prince is of the same sentiment; I need say no more on the subject. It is meet that we should not be separated, since every one abandons us, as Jesus Christ, whom we follow, was abandoned by the whole world."

The Emperor Frederic was not a little embarrassed. He wished neither to give up Luther nor to embroil himself with the pope, who ordered him, "by virtue of the sacred obedience which he owed to the Roman church, to deliver up that heretic into his hands." Cajetan, besides, had express orders to send for Luther, and in case he refused to appear, to enjoin all persons, ecclesiastical and civil, the emperor alone excepted, to deliver him up, under pain of excommunication, of interdict, and of forfeiture of all estates and dignities, upon those who should afford him retreat or protection. Frederick, therefore, not to bring the pope on himself, promised the legate to send Luther to him; but at the same time he took precautions which are not thoroughly known, to prevent his being carried to Rome.

Luther, seeing that he was lost if he went to Rome, where his adversaries would be his judges (for Prierias was one of them), besought the elector, through Spalatinus, who had followed his master to Augsburg, to request the pope to allow him judges in Germany. Meanwhile, that he might have a pretence for not obeying the citation, he had it insinuated to Frederick to refuse him a passport to go out of Wittenberg. Pallavicini reproaches him for his conduct, as if he had been highly criminal, in resorting to pretexts to secure himself from the oppression of a court which makes use of the most unworthy methods when it wishes to get rid of its enemies.

The elector desired that a commission should be named, but he could not obtain it; and all the fruit of his mediation reduced itself to this, that the legate, who was at the diet of Augsburg, should take cognizance of the affair.

Luther was at first much surprised at receiving an order to repair to Augsburg, and to appear there before the legate. The elector, however, having sent him an assurance that he would not suffer him to be sent to Rome, he set out on foot, with no other securities than letters of recommendation to some senators, which the elector had procured him. He had printed before his journey a sermon touching the abuse of excommunication; and although that sermon was very innocent, and he had only printed it because unfaithful reports had been made of it, the pope's ministers did not fail to take offence, and to lay it to his charge as a new crime, because in that discourse he sapped the foundation of their tyranny. Luther there taught "that there are two sorts of communion, with the church and with Jesus Christ; the one external, by assemblies, and by the sacraments; the other internal, by the Spirit, and by faith; that unjust excommunication can never deprive a believer of communion with Jesus Christ, because it cannot take away his faith, which is the bond of it; that such excommunication, supported with patience and humility, becomes the greatest of all virtues; that the defence of truth and righteousness must not be abandoned through fear of excommunication. because that would be to deprive one's-self of internal communion with Jesus Christ, in order to preserve an external communion with the church; that no one is damned for dying in a state of excommunication, if he be penitent; and that suffering until death so great a punishment rather than renounce truth, is to die in a state of benediction." In fine, he exhorted the people to endure the chastisements of the church, even when they are unjust, because, after all, it is the power of Jesus Christ which it exercises, although that power be in the hands of Herods and Pilates.

At the time Luther set out, the University of Wittenberg, which he had begun to render one of the most celebrated in the world, wrote to the pope a very strong and respectful letter in his favour. This University conjures the pontiff not to listen to the reports which the enemies of Luther spread against him; it bears testimony to his orthodoxy, and his fidelity to the holy see; and,

to give the greater efficacy to that recommendation, wrote to Charles de Militiz, chamberlain of honour to the pope, entreating him to support it by his good offices. But the recommendation of the University was useless. The pope was desirous of a recantation; and Cajetan had orders to demand it, and not to relax upon that head.

Luther suffered much in the journey to Augsburg; and before he took up his lodgings with his brethren the Augustins, it is not well known why he stayed with the Carmelites. There is, however, a probability that those of his order were afraid to afford him an asylum, and of being involved in his difficulties. Scarcely was he arrived, when an Italian, a domestic of the cardinal's, came to see him, caressed him extremely, and assured him of the esteem and good-will of his master, and of the great impatience he felt to see him. Luther, unsuspicious, and ignorant that the legate had received orders to seize him, in order to have him conveyed to Rome. was so charmed with the caresses of the Italian, that he was on the point of falling into the snare, and delivering himself up to the cardinal, when his friends cautioned him to wait, to see whether he were furnished with a safe-conduct from the emperor, who was then at the chase. The Italian came again to see him three days afterwards, and reproached him vehemently that he had not yet been with his master, and as Luther excused himself upon account of his waiting for the emperor's safe-conduct. the emissary, irritated at having lost the fruit of his artifices, said to him, "You believe, then, that the elector of Saxony will take up arms out of love for you?" "I should be extremely sorry for it," replied Luther. "And where, then, do you design to abide?" said the Italian. "Under the heavens," said Luther, smiling. "If you had the pope and the cardinals in your hands (added the Italian), what would you do to them?" "I would pay them every kind of honour," replied Luther. The legate's emissary quitted him after these words, biting his fingers, and muttering some words between his teeth, which marked his inward emotion.

The emperor granted the safe-conduct, and the cardinal was as chagrined at it as possible. It was directly thwarting the pope, to take under protection a monk whom he had even already

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condemned, and who, according to the principles of the court of Rome, was not under the jurisdiction of the emperor. But the safe-conduct being sent, the legate thought it necessary to dissemble; and that he might save at least his authority, and claim merit in the eyes of the elector, he informed him that he had consented to it.

Luther appeared in his presence on the 12th of October, and would have spoken in a kneeling posture (a submission suggested to him by the Italian), but the cardinal raised him up, and after having listened to him calmly enough, demanded of him three things: that he should make recantation; that he should remain silent; and that he should abstain, in general, from everything that could give trouble to the church. He promised him, on these conditions, to make his peace with the pope. The errors which he attributed to him were, his rejecting the doctrine of indulgences established in the bull of Clement VI., and teaching, that he who received the sacrament ought to believe that he does not thereby receive pardon, and that he is not justified but by faith.

Cajetan and Luther judged very differently of these two controversies. The latter thought that the dispute respecting indulgences was nothing in comparison with that respecting justification; and the cardinal, on the contrary, despised the latter controversy, and said to Vinceslas Lincius, that if Luther would retract on the point of indulgences, means would easily be found to come to an accommodation on the other. Staupitz, who had come to Augsburg to assist his friend, wished that the notaries had taken down these words, which would have clearly proved that the court of Rome was very accommodating in matters of faith, and very little so upon what concerned its own interests.

The legate, desirous of shewing his learning, undertook to convince Luther, who, not conceding to the authority of the schoolmen, required proofs from the scriptures, or from councils. Cajetan promised them; but he kept his promise very badly. However learned he might be in school-divinity, he understood, at that time, nothing at all as to the contents of the holy scriptures. Pallavicini himself acknowledges this defect in the cardinal, confessing that it was not until after this conference that he began to study the scriptures. Everything turned upon the meaning

and authority of the bull of Clement VI., and the contest was smart enough. Questions respecting penitence, remission of sins, and grace, were, however, introduced, but without coming to agreement on any article.

The next day, the 13th of October, Luther presented himself, for the second time, before the legate, accompanied by four counsellors of the emperor, by a notary, and by some witnesses. He read a protestation full of respect for the Roman church, and of submission to the catholic church, but he declared, that being convinced of not having advanced anything which was not orthodox, they neither could nor ought to compel him to any recantation, unless they convinced him to the contrary; that he was ready to give an account of his writings before any tribunal whatever, but that, in particular, he submitted himself to the judgment of the Universities of Basle, of Friburg, of Louvain, and of Paris. The cardinal was not satisfied with this protestation; he resumed the dispute; and, without giving Luther time to answer, Staupitz rose, and desired that he might be permitted to defend himself in writing; Luther himself requested the same thing; adding, that he had been sufficiently disputed with the day before. The word battled, which he made use of, offended the cardinal, who replied with an affected and pious gentleness, "Son, I have not contested with you, and I do not come here to do it; my intention has been only to give you instructions, and to hear you with mildness, out of the respect which I have for the Prince Frederick." Cajetan saw the fault he had committed in having entered into dispute with Luther, and in not having confined himself to the character of a It was the most sure and most easy part. But he believed himself invincible in argument, and this opinion made him enter the lists with an adversary, even when he had not the advantage with which he flattered himself, and destroyed that which he should have preserved. It, is, however, certain, that he disputed according to form; and if he disavowed it at the moment, it was only through vexation, and contrary to the truth. In the last interview, which was the 14th of October, Luther presented his answer to the objections of the cardinal. It is respectful and moderate, but without meanness and without dissimulation. Of indulgences, he said, "that the merits of Jesus Christ could not

compose the treasure of them, because the distribution of these merits had never been committed to men, and it was sufficient to have repentance and faith in order to participate of them; that the decrees of the pontiff might contain errors, and whatever engagements were made to submit to them and to receive them, it was always on the supposition that they agreed with the scripture, and the ancient fathers; that St. Peter having been censured by. St. Paul, there existed a proof that the popes were not infallible; that they themselves had moreover corrected their own decretals by succeeding ones; that the abbot of Palermo had shewn that in matters of faith, not only the council is above the pope, but every believer who supports his opinions by better reasons than he does; that the extravagant of Clement contained an evident falsity, in attributing superabundant merits to saints, since there was no one who ought not to exclaim, with St. Augustine, "Woe to the best life, if it be judged without mercy!" Entering, nevertheless, into the examination of the bull, he endeavours to reconcile it with the scripture and his own sentiments; and the efforts which he made for that purpose shew that he would have been very well pleased not to embroil himself with the court of Rome, without, however, abandoning the truth.

Upon the article of justification, he said, "that faith is only a certain persuasion of the truth of the words and promises of God; that this faith justifies the sinner, because it is the condition of the grace which God sheds into the soul, and by which he renders that soul righteous and holy." He concluded his writing by submitting it to the judgment of the church, and by earnest entreaties to the legate to instruct him, and to intercede for him with the pope, "to the end that his holiness might have compassion on a soul which sought only the truth, and which refused to retract, only because it could not do it without prevarication."

The legate received this answer with disdain, and said that he would send it to the pope. He resumed the matter of indulgences. Luther wished to reply; but as he was continually interrupted, he finally requested that the extravagant of Clement might be shewn to him; adding, that if it declared that the merits of Jesus Christ are the treasure of indulgences, he was ready to retract. The cardinal imagined he had now got the better, took the book,

and reading in an emphatical tone, came to the place where it is said, that Jesus Christ has acquired a treasure to the church militant. Luther then interrupted him: "Take particular notice of this," said he, "and weigh these words—he has acquired. If Jesus Christ has acquired a treasure by his merits, these merits and that treasure must be different things. The merits are not the treasure of the church, but that treasure,-viz., the keys of the church, is acquired by the merits." The cardinal, who did not expect this objection, was embarrassed, and to conceal his confusion, pretended not to understand it, and passed rapidly on to what followed, But Luther, perceiving his artifice, interrupted him a second time, and said to him, in a high tone, which he himself censured as disrespectful, "that his eminence ought not to suppose that the Germans were ignorant of the rules of grammar." This charge disconcerted the cardinal, who answered it only by ordering Luther either to retract or never to appear before him.

When this prelate, however, had pondered upon the subject, and recovered from his passion, he thought he had better not yet give up the matter; that the affair might become of much greater consequence than it had been; and that he might be rendered responsible for its bad success. He then quitted disputation, and adopted the method of negotiation. He sent for Staupitz, and directed him to employ all the influence which his age, his authority, his remonstrances, and his affection, could have over the mind of Luther. The vicar-general could not, or dared not, refuse him his services; but when Cajetan added that he ought also to convince him of his error by the scriptures, Staupitz replied, "that the enterprise was above his powers, and that he was not to be compared with Luther, either for genius or knowledge of the sacred books."

Staupitz and Lincius laboured with all their might to reclaim him; and their mediation was so powerful, that they brought him, not only to employ his friends to appease the cardinal, but also to write him a letter submissive even to flattery. "He therein asked pardon for the disrespect with which he had spoken of the pope, excused himself on account of the violence of his adversaries, promised to publish the apology he had made in his

letter, and finally, obliged himself to keep silence, provided his adversaries restrained themselves; but he steadily refused to retract; and instead of the authority of St. Thomas, he submitted himself to that of the church." Such was the fruit of the solicitations of Staupitz and Lincius; a proof that there is not a more dangerous temptation to magnanimity than the solicitations of friends. The vicar-general was a good man: he had fortified Luther in Augsburg itself, and at times said to him, "Remember, my brother, that you have begun this undertaking in the name of the Lord." But he was too weak and timid to support it: so much so, indeed, as to induce Luther to reproach him, "that he remained in a state of suspense between Jesus Christ and the pope." This good old man quitted Saxony, and retired to Saltzburg, the archbishop of which, who was one of his friends, offered him a suffragan-bishopric in the year 1516. He contented himself with an abbey, where he died in 1524.

While Luther waited the effect of these submissions, he prepared an appeal from the pope, to the pope better informed; and having received no answer from the cardinal, he put it into the hands of a notary. This appeal was founded upon his not having made a doubt of any article of faith, but only that of indulgences, which belonged neither to counsel nor precept; upon his having submitted himself to the judgment of the pope or of the church; upon the partiality of the judges which had been assigned him, and upon other reasons of right. Meanwhile, to soften the legate, whom that step did not fail to offend, he excused himself in a letter, and went out of Augsburg on the 20th of October, by a private gate, which one of the magistrates directed to be opened for him. He was not acquainted until he got to Neuremberg with all the danger he had run. It was then that he was shewn a copy of the brief before mentioned, and which contained an order to Cajetan to arrest him, and to have him conducted to Rome. He was so provoked as to suffer these words to escape him, "That so diabolical a brief could not be the work of a pope, and could not have been drawn up but by a wicked person." Staupitz and Lincius set out soon after him, without taking leave of the legate; and the prior of the Carmelites, who had received him into his monastery, fearing lest he should suffer punishment for Luther's escape, went to seek an asylum in Saxony.

When Luther was in safety, the notary, not daring to present his appeal, had it posted up in the market-place of Augsburg; and the legate, pretending to be ignorant of it, wrote the elector a letter, which, replete with flattery as it was, contained some disguised menaces, with which that prince, who very well knew the rights of sovereigns, was much offended. Cajetan reproached him with having procured a safe-conduct for an heretic already condemned, and required him, with much haughtiness, either to banish Luther from his territories, or to have him conveyed to Rome. To punish the cardinal for his insolence, the elector thought it proper to send his letter to Luther, with directions to answer it.

When the issue of the conference at Augsburg was known at Rome, great murmurs were raised against the legate. Some maintained that he ought at all events to have seized Luther; and so much the more, as having come without a safe-conduct he might have carried him off without wounding the authority of his imperial majesty. He was censured by others for having treated him with too much severity, instead of gaining him by kindnesses and by offers. Others, in fine, thought that the cardinal ought to have contented himself with his submissions, without exacting from him a formal recantation, and with imposing silence on both parties. But it is necessary to know whether his instructions permitted him to relax so far, and whether he even could, without discovering too much weakness, practise anything of the sort towards a man condemned by the pope. The real error of the cardinal was, his not having known the truth; or if he did know it, his having preferred the interests of the Roman church.

The elector of Saxony was extremely divided in his sentiments. He had too much sense and penetration not to perceive that Luther had reason to censure the abuses; and if he had not possessed sufficient knowledge to judge of them himself, the University of Wittenberg, his proper counsellors, and the solicitations of many bishops and other learned men, would have en-

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lightened him. As a prince,—otherwise just, generous, and magnanimous,-he could not resolve to abandon a man with whose merit and innocence he was well acquainted. But it was so dangerous for himself, for his dominions, and for his subjects, to protect him openly, that prudence did not permit him to do it; and he was not ignorant that persons the most equitable spread the report that he protected Luther, and those who were less so, that he encouraged him. The inconsistencies which appear in the proceedings of this prince were the consequence of his embarrassment and uncertainty. Sometimes he thought of dismissing Luther; and there is a sure proof of it in a letter from Staupitz, which has been already mentioned. given notice, since the month of August, to Cardinal de St. George, that he would not pretend to be responsible for the writings and sermons of a divine whom he had invited into his University only upon the reputation he possessed for learning and orthodoxy. All this might pass for mere finesse; but it is difficult to conceive that there was any such in the proposal which Spalatinus made to Luther by his order, to leave his dominions and to seek a retreat elsewhere. It was in a conference which they had together at Lichtenberg, that Spalatinus made him the first overture on the subject. Although this proposal was highly distressing in the present posture of his affairs, Luther was not terrified at it. He resolved to obey the orders of the prince as a voice from heaven; he prepared himself for exile, as soon as the pope's excommunication should arrive. "I expect every day," said he to Spalatinus, "the anathemas from Rome, and I am prepared to set out, like Abraham, without knowing whither I am going ;-but no," added he, "I know it well, for God is everywhere." He had thought at that time of withdrawing into France, believing he should find protection there, because the faculty of Paris entertained the same sentiments as himself upon the authority of the pope, and upon the council of Bâle; besides, the ambassador of Francis I. at the diet of Augsburg, had invited him thither, through the good will and esteem which he had conceived for him. But when he acquainted the elector with his resolution, that prince changed his sentiments and directed him to stay at Wittenberg. There

can be no doubt but that this was agreeable to Luther; his only fear was, that he should be fettered by the politics of the court, as he expressed himself to Spalatinus; "I do not know what I ought to wish, for if I stay here, I shall not have the liberty of saying and writing what I think; whereas, if I go, I shall say everything, and shall offer my life to Jesus Christ."

When Luther perceived that the elector was resolved not to abandon him, he entreated that prince to write to Rome and to request of the pope that his concerns might be examined and decided in Germany. But the elector, always extremely circumspect, thought he ought not to enter directly into this matter, nor to commit himself by asking favours of the pope, already prejudiced against him, for fear of drawing a refusal on himself, or demands on the part of the pope; and, what was much more to be dreaded, for fear of giving the pontiff a pretence to entangle him in so delicate an affair. He judged, therefore, that the interference of the emperor would be less suspected and more efficacious than his own; and he thereupon sent orders to Pfeffinger, his minister, at the court of his imperial majesty, to lav before him the conduct which the legate had adopted in regard to Luther, and the letter which he had written to him to request his intercession with the pope, to the end that Luther's matter might be adjusted, and that judges, who could not be suspected. should be assigned him in Germany. To this he added that Luther being a good man, ready to listen and to receive whatever solid instructions were given him, there was a manifest injustice in forcing him to a recantation. But, at the same time that these instructions were sent to Pfeffinger, Luther addressed to the elector the relation of what passed in the conference of Augsburg. It may serve as an answer to the letter which the cardinal wrote to the prince. In it Luther protests "that the elector never countenanced him in opposing indulgences, nor encouraged him to maintain the dispute he had begun upon the subject; that he had never even wrote concerning it to any one but to the archbishop of Magdeburg and the bishop of Brandenburg; because, as it was a matter of religion, he was not ignorant that the cognizance of it belonged only to the ecclesiastical tribunal. He concluded by assuring Frederick, that, in order not to involve him in the misfortunes which were about to fall upon himself, he was resolved to quit Saxony, and to retire whithersoever the mercy of God might conduct him; that he should be extremely sorry to expose so good a prince to hatred and dangers which ought only to affect himself; and that, into whatever place he might be cast by the tempest, he should never cease either to remember his kindness, or to pray to God for his prosperity."

This letter has been much criticised, and endeavours have been used to make just and moderate praises pass for artificial and interested flattery. But although that were true, it would ill become those who do not refuse even divine honours to princes who favour them, to censure such an eulogy. The wisdom and virtue of Frederick were so universally known and esteemed, that it may be said, without exaggeration, that if he had espoused the cause of Rome, he might have aspired to an apotheosis. Luther, however, said nothing to his honour but what the most learned men of his age have said. It has been already remarked, that Frederick was a prince well formed. He had a lofty and majestic air, a penetrating understanding, a happy memory, and an unshaken mind. He was, besides, just, mild, soher, and temperate. He was attached to religion, to the good of his subjects, and to polite literature; and it has been reported that he had often in his mouth that fine saying of Alexander, "It is much more noble and excellent to surpass others in knowledge than in authority and riches." Together with all this, he was a great politician; but his politics were such as did not corrupt his virtue. esteemed by every one, and above all, by the emperor, who knew his merit; and he never permitted his ministers to acquire that ascendency which renders them the masters of the prince and the state. In a word, he was such as to be thought worthy by posterity to be distinguished by the glorious title of FREDERICK THE WISE.

It was after having received the above letter, that the elector directed Spalatinus to acquaint Luther from him, that he had only to remain at Wittenberg; but at the same time he had a copy made thereof, and sent it to the legate, accompanied by an answer, short and dry, in which, without giving himself the trouble of noticing the menaces and haughty expressions of the

legate, he contented himself with telling him "that he had sent Luther to Augsburg as he had promised; that it would be necessary to convince him of error, and not to command him in an absolute manner to retract; that very orthodox universities had assured him his doctrine was pure; and that he was resolved not to deprive that of Wittenberg of an instructor for whom it had occasion." In fact, the University of Wittenberg had requested it of the prince, protesting, at the same time, that Luther was perfectly catholic.

Prierias, one of Luther's adversaries, chose to defend his first work by a second, much worse than the former. He therein collected together all that the canonists and divines of Italy had said, however extravagant, relative to the authority of the pope. He made the pontiff of Rome the universal monarch of the world: all the princes are but his vassals or his viceroys; he alone is bishop by divine right, and all the other bishops do but exercise his authority under him; he is superior to the universal church; he alone has power to determine the true sense of scripture, and of the divine laws; "and although he should carry offence to such height as to drag the people in crowds into hell, neither the universal council, nor all the world together, would have the power to judge and depose him, supposing he had been lawfully elected."

Although a work so indecent and extravagant contained nothing, after all, but the theology of Rome, yet, as it came out of season, it displeased everybody, and even Rome itself. It directly tended to draw the whole dispute upon the delicate subject of the authority of the popes, the discussion of which is always highly dangerous; to furnish Luther with the most plausible reasons for attacking him, and to gain to his side all the equitable and moderate catholics. Great care was taken, nevertheless, not to offend the author by any censure; he was only requested not to write any more, and the Dominicans endeavoured to suppress the work.

Luther, however, prevented them greatly from accomplishing their design. Prierias, intending to write against him, had actually written in his favour; and judging, with reason, that he could do nothing more advantageous to his cause than to publish

the impious doctrine of his adversary, and the maxims of the court of Rome, Luther had the book reprinted at Wittenberg; and contented himself with writing a preface to it, some notes, and a conclusion, in which he did not observe the bounds which he had hitherto kept. On this occasion he observed, "that if the pretensions of the pope were such as Prierias set forth, and if the flatterers of the court of Rome persevered in publishing and maintaining such impieties, it would be necessary, in truth, to exhort them first of all to repent; but that after remonstrances, there remained no other remedy but that of an exemplary chasfisement to avenge the majesty of princes, and to exterminate those monsters who were desirous of attributing to the pope the rights of God and all sovereigns." He added, " if this be what they teach at Rome, and if the pope and the cardinals are informed of it, of which I cannot persuade myself, I here boldly declare that ANTICHRIST is sitting in the temple of God; that he reigns at Rome, that Babylon, clothed in purple! and that the court of Rome is the synagogue of Satan." He concluded his preface with these words: "Adieu unhappy Rome! Lost and blasphemous Rome! The indignation of God is risen upon thee to the utmost height, which thou hast but too well deserved. Far from receiving any advantage from the prayers which have been made for thee, thou hast become more wicked by their means. The wounds of Babylon have been dressed, but she has not been healed. Let us now desist. Let her be the resort of dragons, evil spirits, and monsters; let her remain in everlasting confusion. She is full of idols, of misers, of traitors, of apostates, of infamous persons, of robbers, of Simons, and is, as it were, a new pantheon of impiety. Farewell, reader; pardon my grief and compassionate it."

However violent these imprecations were, it would be wrong to condemn them. They are only minds indifferent about religion, who, colouring their secret impiety with false moderation, dare to censure the indignation of a servant of God in such a conjuncture. For, who can endure, without a holy wrath, that to a vicious and mortal man should be attributed the glory and the prerogatives of the Divinity; that he should be made the arbiter of truth and of the salvation of souls; and that the foundations

of public security should be overthrown, by giving him an immediate sovereignty over all the states of the world, in quality of the vicar of Jesus Christ? After all, does not the famous inscription of Louis XII., Perdam Babylonis Nomen, include all that Luther has said, however strong it may be? Meanwhile, although Prierias's book appeared that year, there is great probability that the little works with which Luther accompanied it, when he had it reprinted, were not composed, or at least published, until the year 1520, when he saw he had been condemned at Rome, and that neither justice nor reformation were longer to be expected on the part of a court resolved to maintain abuses at all events.

Very different sentiments were expressed upon what had passed at the conference of Augsburg. As Luther possessed the favour of the public, the greater part gave him the advantage; but the partisans of the pope, consulting only their own interest, declared the contrary. To overthrow these false prejudices, Luther printed the acts of the conference. The elector, who had at first consented to it, changed his mind. Although he protected Luther, he wished still to keep on good terms with the court of Rome. He therefore sent a counter order, but it came too late. The printing of the acts was finished; and the first sheets already distributed. For such, indeed, was the usual destiny of Luther's works. The public, who expected them with extreme impatience, tore them out of the hands of the booksellers; which evidently shews how much the ancient superstitions were hated, and the reformation desired. He gave, not only the relation of all that passed at Augsburg, but he added very free reflections, in which he began to question whether the authority of the pope over all the churches be fully proved by those words of Jesus Christ: "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church." He had not before proceeded so far. Besides these acts, as he every day expected excommunication, he thought it proper to draw up a new appeal to the council. But as he did not wish that this writing should be published before the excommunication should arrive, he forbade the printer to issue any copy of it without his order. He was not able to enforce this. The piece became public as soon as printed. This was a new offence to the pope, although, in fact, there was nothing in that appeal which was not catholic, because it solely established the superiority of the council above the pope.

The court of Rome did not proceed so fast as Luther apprehended. It perceived that it had been precipitate as to the citation, in having proceeded without being well acquainted either with the character of Luther or the disposition of the people. But when it had considered his firmness before the cardinal, the applause which he publicly received, and the protection of the elector of Saxony, which began to shew itself, and which might engage other powers in his interests, it judged that it ought to keep back its thunder for some time, in order that the apprehension entertained of it might give weight to the negotiation. It was desirous, therefore, on one side, to maintain its indulgences, the discredit of which was near drying up one of the principal sources of its riches; and, on the other, to make the last efforts to gain Luther, supposing that it was impossible to oblige the elector to give him up. Under this idea the pope issued a bull, dated the 9th of November, in which he established the doctrine of indulgences upon the immemorial usage of the church, and ordered that they should be preached up under pain of excommunication, latæ sententiæ. Great tenderness was shewn to the honour of Luther, who was not named in it, and he had also the satisfaction to see himself justified, at least in part, since his adversaries were there taxed "with having infused errors into the minds of many, although they had been sent to preach the word of God." But this bull had scarcely any effect. It required more than the authority of the pope to reinstate indulgences in their ancient reputation; and those who preached them derived thence scarcely any other fruit than contempt and ridicule. As for Luther, he saw with pleasure that the court of Rome began to be softened; but he was very far from falling into the snare that was laid for him. For as he had submitted to the authority of the pope, and as that pontiff had just decided in favour of indulgences, without making any stroke at his reputation, it afforded him a fair opportunity to make an honourable retreat, by writing to the pope that he submitted to his bull, and would say no more about indulgences: but the knowledge he had acquired did not permit him to adopt this measure, and the negotiation was as ineffectual as the bull. Charles de Miltitz, of an ancient house of Misnia, chamberlain of honour to the pope, came into Germany under pretext of being obliged to do so upon his private affairs, but in reality upon those of his master. He arrived towards the end of the year 1518, and entered upon a negotiation, which continued for a length of time, and which, apparently, would have turned to the advantage of the court of Rome, if he had known how to profit by it. This shall be related in a future lecture; but before we proceed further, it may not be amiss to take some little notice of Luther's associates in the work of reform; and this I purpose to make the subject of the next lecture.

LECTURE LXIII.

Brief notices of Luther's associates in the work of reformation— Ulric Zuinglius—Erasmus—Philip Melancthon—Carlostadius— George Spalatinus—and John Œcolampadius. A.D. 1500—1600.

HAVING, in the two preceding lectures, traced the rise of the Lutheran reformation, and narrated the principal incidents which occurred during its first and second years,* I shall occupy the present lecture with some general account of several learned men whom the providence of God raised up to assist Luther in fighting the battles of reform against the court of Rome; and this is the more necessary, as we shall often have occasion to mention their names, and advert to their proceedings, as we go on. And among these worthies, the individual who claims our first regard, is Zuinglius, a native of Swisserland. Of this learned man and intrepid reformer, it is due to him to say, that he was rather Luther's forerunner than his follower; inasmuch as he had been engaged in correcting the doctrine and corrupt practices of the churches of Swisserland before the time that Luther commenced the same good work in Germany. Of this fact Zuinglius produced public proofs and living witnesses. He could not allow himself, therefore, to be termed a Lutheran. he felt any disposition to withhold justice from Luther, but because it would be doing injustice to himself. He had formed the design of reforming the abuses in the church some time

before Luther was led, as it were by accident, to adopt that measure. Besides, he had drawn no part of his knowledge from the German reformer, but from the Bible itself, which he had been led to study deeply; and from thence he was taught to perceive the abounding errors and abuses which had crept in, and which had given men such erroneous ideas of the Christian religion. It cannot be denied that to knowledge extraordinary for the age in which he lived, he joined a candour, a prudence, a rectitude of conduct, and a grandeur of soul, which entitle him to the highest praise. He has been unjustly defamed, not only by the catholics, but by those who, being themselves engaged in the same design, ought to have done him the more justice; but pride, envy, and malice, have prompted the followers of Luther to withhold from him the tribute of praise to which he is fairly entitled.

ULBIC ZUINGLIUS was born on the first of January, 1484, at Wildhausen in the county of Tockenburg, situated upon the borders of the lake of Zurich, and of which his father was bailiff. The family from which he sprang moved in a respectable stations in society; and until he arrived at the age of ten, he was brought up with one of his uncles, who was a clergyman, and a man of learning and probity. He was then committed to the tuition of Binzilius, who was skilled in the art of instructing youth, and at that time residing at Basle. But as he made an astonishing progress in a very short time, this preceptor wrote to his father to acquaint him, that having nothing more which he could teach his son, it would be proper to send him to a college, where he could pursue studies more suitable to his genius. He was accordingly removed and placed under the direction of Henry Lupulus who taught the belles lettres and poetry at Berne, and who was the first that opened a college for the liberal sciences in Swisserland.

After some time spent at this seminary, where he made an astonishing progress, he attracted the notice of the Dominicans, who formed the design of engaging him in their order; but his father and uncle would not allow it, and he was sent to study philosophy at Vienna, where he passed two years, under a professor of great reputation at that period. This person was

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Thomas Wittenbach, who had quitted the University of Tubingen, to teach in that of Basle. This learned man was not ignorant of the corruptions which abounded in his age, and particularly that of the sale of indulgences, which he had the courage occasionally to oppose. It appears by a letter which Zuinglius wrote to him in 1523, that this good old man was disgusted with scholastic divinity. "You have reason," says Zuinglius to him, "to complain of us, one and the other, for having consumed our time so uselessly in the frivolous subtleties of the schools. You must not, however, be uneasy on my account: it is a natural consequence of the calamities of the age. But our repentance will serve as a motive and example to others, who possess an elevation and freedom of mind, not to amuse themselves with things which we feel joy at having quitted, accompanied with regret at not having done it sooner."

Zuinglius took the degree of master of arts at Basle, at the age of twenty-two years, preached for the first time at Rapperswyl in the territory of Zurich, received soon after the order of priesthood, and said his first mass in his own country on St. Michael's day, 1506. He was afterwards chosen pastor of Elaris, where he exercised his ministry for ten years, and here it was that this great man applied himself entirely to study. He learned Hebrew under Andrew Bretenstein, read the scriptures diligently, consulted the fathers, and with his own hand wrote out the epistles of Paul in Greek, adding remarks taken from Origen, from Ambrose, and from St. Jerome, the original of which has been preserved, as Bullenger relates, who had seen the volume in Zuinglius's own hand-writing. He formed common-places of divinity, with the sentiments of the fathers upon each point, and did not neglect the study of the modern divines, but, above all, of Picus, of Mirandola, whom he highly valued. He read the ancient philosophers, Aristotle and Plato; took delight in Seneca, whom he termed the "gardener of souls," learned Valerius Maximus by heart, in order to have always present the history of great men; and, for the purpose of forming his style, and becoming an orator, he took care to read Sallust and Horace among the Latins, and Thucydides and Lucian among the Greeks. judgment may be formed by these studies of the taste and genius

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of Zuinglius, and how well qualified he was for the work to which Providence had destined him.

This is not the place to pursue his history, and having briefly introduced him to the notice of the reader, I shall only add, that he was a noble monument of faithfulness in the cause of God and truth. Though not alike famed with the German reformer, he may justly rank his equal in piety, and in learning his superior. From his youth he had been shocked at the established superstitions around him; and ere Luther had taken the field, Zuinglius had begun to explain the scriptures to the people, and to censure, with great fidelity, though with becoming temper, the corruptions of the church of Rome. His scientific attainments and holy conversation commanded the distinguishing respect of his countrymen, among whom his example was as eminently good, as his abilities and labours were confessedly great. The very causes which roused the zeal of Luther acted upon him in a similar way. An impudent Italian was carrying on the same shameful traffic in indulgences, in Swisserland, and met with as warm an opposer in Zuinglius as Tetzel had found in Luther. Nor was he a man of a less intrepid spirit, though tempered with greater self-command, and in point of extensive knowledge, as appears by his works, pre-eminent. To him Swisserland was mainly indebted for the light of the gospel, and his powerful exhortations induced the magistracy to cast off the yoke of Rome, and assert their liberty.

The following may be considered an epitome of the doctrinal tenets maintained by Zuinglius, and his brethren, the Swiss reformers. 1. That the New Testament is the only rule of faith. 2. That the church is the communion of saints. 3. That we ought to acknowledge no head of the church but the Lord Jesus Christ. 4. That all traditions are to be rejected. 5. That there is no other sacrifice for sins, but that of Jesus Christ. 6. That we have need of no other intercessor with God, but Jesus Christ. 7. That all sorts of meat may be eaten at all times. 8. That the habits of monks smell of hypocrisy. 9. That marriage is free to all sorts of men, clergy as well as laity; that no man is called to make a vow of chastity. 10. That excommunication is the act of the whole church, and is not to be inflicted by the

bishop alone. 11. That the power which the pope and bishops assume to themselves is arrant pride, and hath no foundation in scripture. 12. That none can forgive sins but God, and that confession of sins to a priest is only to beg his ghostly advice. 13. That the scripture teaches no such place as purgatory, &c.

Zuinglius differed from Luther on the subject of the eucharist; for while the latter advocated a modification of the Roman catholic real presence, the former regarded it as a simple commonation of the death of the Saviour. This difference of sentiment gave rise to a protracted controversy between the Saxon and Swiss reformers, which terminated in a sort of compromise as to the observance of personal moderation, but it has ever since formed a barrier to communion between the Lutherans and the Calvinists.

The labours of Zuinglius were employed in expounding the book of Genesis, together with the first twenty-four chapters of the book of Exodus, with most of the books of the New Testament; besides which, he gave new versions of the book of Psalms, the prophecies of Isaiah, and Jeremiah. All his writings were very learned and excellent.

Zuinglius, a short time before his decease, addressed a letter of admonition to William Farel, one of his fellow-labourers in the cause of reform, earnestly exhorting him "to be prudent, and not rashly expose himself to danger, but to be careful of himself, for the Lord's further service." Thankful for such an admonition, he wrote in reply, "Take care of yourself also, for far greater danger threatens you than me." The warning arrived too late; Zuinglius had already fallen in the contest for the truth.

Another of the cotemporaries of Luther, but of a far less decided character than Zuinglius, was Erasmus, a great restorer of letters, and, in point of human learning, one of the most illustrious men of that, or perhaps any other age.

Erasmus, whom the keenness of his wit, the acuteness of his genius, and the extent of his learning, raised to the pinnacle of universal admiration, had, before Luther arose, begun to sharpen the shafts of ridicule against the monkish ignorance and abuses that prevailed. By his writings he had greatly loosened the

shackles of blind veneration for the mendicant tribes, and in a measure, prepared men's minds for the reformation. Luther, Melancthon, and other reformers, warmly addressed themselves. He answered them with civility and courtesy, but with most wary caution not to commit himself as a favourer of their cause, though he professed to admit the chief doctrines which they promulged, and to acknowledge the necessity of a reform, to which, indeed, no man had more contributed by their writings than himself. Yet he dreaded a rupture with the pontiff, and flattered himself that the object would be accomplished by the necessity of the case, without violence. He would have been content with some concessions, and trembled at the rude hand of hasty reform. His study and books delighted him more than the activity of a labourer in the vineyard; and his temper indisposed him for the stormy ocean which Luther dared to brave. He had a high opinion of the good intentions of Luther, and in one of his epistles expresses his belief that "Providence had raised him up to reform mankind;" and though he shunned all intimacy that would have exposed him to reproach, he did not scruple to condemn the injustice and folly of the treatment which Luther had received from the pope; and plainly manifested his apprehensions, that the enmity of the priesthood, more than any real errors of the monk, was the cause of his condemnation. dreaded, also, that the precipitancy of Luther would hasten his death, as it had done many other preceding witnesses of the truth, and that the consequences would be fatal to the cause of reform. He maintained a cautious reserve on the subject of Luther's writings, and though he sometimes condemned the man, because the church had condemned him, and often censured the violence of his proceedings, he declined answering the reformer. to which he was greatly urged by the papal party, and left that honour to the Universities, the Dominicans, and the Franciscans, pretending unwillingness to rob them of the glory. In fact, in many things Erasmus was with the reformers, and saw as clearly the need of a reformation as they did. But he was a man of a studious turn and timid spirit; and however much his mind inclined to one side, his dread of consequences bent him as much to the other, and kept him suspended between the attracting

magnets. Thus, feared by both parties, cordially loved by neither, suspected by all, he obtained not the favour of Rome, but was left to languish in indigence; and he shared but little of the glory of reformation by meanly shrinking from the cross.

Erasmus was born at Rotterdam, on the 28th of October, 1467. In his first years he was a chorister in the cathedral church of Utrecht. When nine years old, he was sent to Daventer, in Gelderland, at that time one of the best schools in the Netherlands, and the most free from the barbarism of the age, and here his parts very soon began to display themselves. He apprehended, as it were by intuition, whatever was taught him, and retained it so perfectly, that in his studies he far outstripped all his companions. His memory is said to have been so prodigious, that he was able to say all Terence and Horace by heart Having finished his education, his friends forced him into a monastery, in which, as he tells us, he lost three years of his life, having an utter aversion to the monastic state. A monastery, as monasteries then were, and such as Erasmus afterwards describes them, devoid of all good learning and sound religion, could not but be an irksome place to a man of his turn. No wonder, therefore, that Erasmus grew heartily tired of them. "They were" says he, "places of impiety rather than religion, where everything was done to which a depraved inclination could lead, and that under the mask of piety, and where it was hardly possible for any one to keep himself pure and unspotted." Sickened with disgust, he obtained leave from his superior to live with the archbishop of Cambray, and in 1492 he took priest's orders. From thence he went to Paris, and studied in the college of Montaign, supporting himself by giving private lectures, and had among his pupils some Englishmen, who persuaded him to visit England. Hither, therefore, he came in 1497, and passed some time with great satisfaction, for he formed an intimacy with several literary characters in this country. When Luther commenced the reformation, Erasmus was in the zenith of his glory. His writings, which by that time were numerous, had spread his fame abroad, and his acquaintance was universally courted by He had returned to the Netherlands in 1514, and the learned. visited by invitation, Charles V., who conferred on him the title of counsellor, with a salary. In 1516, he published, at Basle, an edition of the New Testament in Greek, with a Latin translation, and notes. Basle from this time became his principal residence, and the place where many of his works were printed. These works were read and praised by Luther and all the friends of the reformation, and excited, as may be supposed, the violent displeasure of the bigots of the catholic church. In 1524, Erasmus published a treatise, "De libere Arbitrio," in opposition to something that Luther had written on predestination, and as it serves to bring prominently before us the sentiments of the great reformer on this cardinal point—the hinge on which the controversy between the Arminians and Calvinists turn, I will here take the liberty to introduce Luther's spirited reply.

Erasmus had started an objection to this effect: "What can be more useless than to publish this paradox to the world,—namely, that whatever we do, is done, not by virtue of our own free will, but in a way of necessity? &c. What a wide gap does the publication of this tenet open among men for the commission of all ungodliness? What wicked person will reform his life? Who will dare to believe himself a favourite of Heaven? Who will fight against his own corrupt inclinations? Therefore, where is there either the need or the utility of spreading these notions, from whence so many evils seem to flow?"

To this Luther triumphantly replies:-

"If, my Erasmus, you consider these paradoxes (as you term them) to be no more than the inventions of men; why are you so extraordinarily heated on the occasion? In that case, your arguments affect not me; for there is no person now living in the world who is a more avowed enemy to the doctrines of men than myself. But, if you believe the doctrines in debate between us to be (as indeed they are) the doctrines of God; you must have bid adieu to all sense of shame and decency thus to oppose them. I will not ask, whither is the modesty of Erasmus fled? But, which is much more important, where, alas! are your fear and reverence of the Deity, when you roundly declare, that this branch of truth, which he has revealed from heaven, is at best useless, and unnecessary to be known? What! shall the glorious Creator be taught by you his creature what is fit to be preached, and what

to be suppressed? Is the adorable God so very defective in wisdom and prudence, as not to know, till you instruct him, what would be useful, and what pernicious? Or could not He, whose understanding is infinite, foresee, previous to his revelation of this doctrine, what would be the consequences of his revealing it, till those consequences were pointed out by you? You cannot, you dare not, say this. If then it was the divine pleasure to make known these things in his word, and to bid his messengers publish them abroad, and to leave the consequences of their so doing to the wisdom and providence of Him in whose name they speak, and whose message they declare, who art thou, O Erasmus, that thou shouldst reply against God, and say to the Almighty, what doest thou? St. Paul, discoursing of God, declareth preremptorily, whom he will he hardeneth : and again, God willing to shew his wrath, &c. And the apostle did not write this to have it stifled among a few persons, and buried in a corner; but wrote it to the Christians at Rome; which was, in effect, bringing this doctrine upon the stage of the whole world; stamping an universal imprimatur upon it; and publishing it to believers at large, throughout the earth. What can sound harsher in the uncircumcised ears of carnal men, than those words of Christ, Many are called, but few are chosen? and elsewhere, I know whom I have chosen? Now these and similar assertions of Christ and his apostles are the very positions which you, O Erasmus, brand as useless and hurtful. You object, if these things are so, who will amend his life? I answer, without the Holy Ghost no man can amend his life to purpose. Reformation is but varnished hypocrisy, unless it proceed from grace. The elect and truly pious are amended by the Spirit of God: and those of mankind who are not amended by him will perish. You ask, moreover, who will dare to believe himself the favourite of Heaven? I answer. It is not in a man's own power to believe himself such, upon just grounds, till he is enabled from above. But the elect shall be so enabled: they shall be enabled to believe themselves to be what indeed they are. As for the rest, who are not endued with faith, they shall perish, raging and blaspheming, as you do now. But, say you, these doctrines open the door to ungodliness? I answer, whatever door they may open to the impious and profane, yet they open a

door of righteousness to the elect and holy, and shew them the way to heaven, and the path of access unto God. Yet you would have us abstain from the mention of these grand doctrines, and leave our people in the dark as to their election of God; the consequence of which would be, that every man would bolster himself up with a delusive hope of a share in that salvation which is supposed to lie open to all; and thus genuine humility, and the practical fear of God, would be kicked out of doors. would be a pretty way indeed of stopping up the gap Erasmus complains of! Instead of closing up the door of licentiousness, as is falsely pretended, it would be in fact opening a gulf into the nethermost hell. Still you urge, where is either the necessity or utility of preaching predestination? God himself teaches it. and commands us to teach it; and that is answer enough. are not to arraign the Deity, and bring the motives of his will to the test of human scrutiny, but simply to revere both him and it. He, who alone is all-wise and all-just, can in reality (however things appear to us) do wrong to no man; neither can he do anvthing unwisely or rashly. And this consideration will suffice to silence all the objections of truly religious persons. However, let us, for argument' sake, go a step further. I will venture to assign, over and above, two very important reasons why these doctrines should be publicly taught: 1st. For the humiliation of our pride, and the manifestation of divine grace. God hath assuredly promised his favours to the truly humble. By the truly humble, I mean those who are endued with repentance and despair of saving themselves: for a man can never be said to be truly penitent and humble, till he is made to know that his salvation is not suspended in any measure whatever, on his own strength, machinations, endeavours, free will or works; but entirely depends on the free pleasure, purpose, determination, and efficiency of another, even of God alone. Whilst a man is persuaded that he has it in his own power to contribute anything, be it ever so little, to his own salvation, he remains in carnal confidence; he is not a selfdespairer, and therefore he is not duly humbled before God; so far from it, that he hopes some favourable juncture or opportunity will offer, when he may be able to lend an helping hand to the business of his salvation. On the contrary, whoever is truly

convinced that the whole work depends singly and absolutely on the will of God, who alone is the author and finisher of salvation, such a person despairs of self-assistance: he renounces his own will and his own strength: he waits and prays for the operation of God; nor waits and prays in vain. For the elects' sake therefore these doctrines are to be preached: That the chosen of God, being humbled by the knowledge of his truths, self-emptied and sunk into nothing as it were in his presence, may be saved in Christ with eternal glory. This then is one inducement to the publication of the doctrine; that the penitent may be made acquainted with the promise of grace, and plead it in prayer to God, and receive it as their own. 2. The nature of the Christian faith requires it. Faith has to do with things not seen. And this is one of the highest degrees of faith, stedfastly to believe that God is infinitely merciful, though he saves (comparatively) but few, and condemns so many; and that he is strictly just, though of his own will he makes such numbers of mankind necessarily liable to damnation. Now, these are some of the unseen things whereof faith is the evidence. Whereas, was it in my power to comprehend them, or clearly to make out how God is both inviolably just, and infinitely merciful, notwithstanding the display of wrath and seeming inequality in his dispensations, respecting the reprobate, faith would have little or nothing to do. But now, since these matters cannot be adequately comprehended by us, in the present state of imperfection, there is room for the exercise of The truths, therefore, respecting predestination in all its faith. branches, should be taught and published, they, no less than the other mysteries of Christian doctrine, being proper objects of faith, on the part of God's people."

About the middle of the year 1519, Erasmus wrote, from Louvain, an epistle to Luther, which proves with what caution and temper that great man had beheld the progress of the contest. He takes care not to appear a partisan of Luther; he speaks of him with a studied ambiguity; commends him so far as he could consistently with his determined purpose not to expose himself to trouble or rebuke, and recommends to him moderation and mildness in his proceedings. In this last point, he certainly deserved the thanks of Luther: let us remember, however, that timid and

artful politicians were never employed, to any good purpose, in the service of Jesus Christ.

No man understood better than Erasmus the art of suggesting advice, in nice and difficult cases, without giving offence. The latter part of his letter to Luther runs thus: "In England, you have persons of the greatest distinction, who think highly of your Here also you have advocates, and among them there is one most excellent character. For my part, I keep clear of all party, with a view to be of as much service as I can to the revival of literature. And, I think, one does more good by civility and moderation than by violence. In that way, Christ has brought mankind under his government. In that way, St. Paul abrogated the Jewish ritual. It is better to complain of those who abuse the authority of the pontiffs than of the pontiffs themselves; and I would make the same remark respecting kings. We may argue as strongly as we can against notions that have long prewailed, but we should never contradict them positively. It is more effectual to treat acrimonious abuse with contempt than to confute it. On every occasion we should guard against arrogant and factious language; nothing can be more opposite to the spirit of Christianity. At the same time we should keep a strict watch over our motives. Anger, hatred, vainglory, lay snares for us, even when we are most piously employed. I do not say these things to you by way of admonition, for you do observe the very rules here recommended. I mention them rather for the purpose of exhorting you to persevere in the same conduct always. Your commentaries on the Psalms please me exceedingly; and I hope they will do much good. The prior of the monastery at Antwerp says he was formerly one of your scholars. He is a man of real primitive Christianity, and loves you most cordially. He is almost the only one who preaches Jesus Christ. The rest, in general, either aim at lucre, or treat the people with old wives' fables. May the Lord Jesus Christ daily bestow upon you more plentifully his own spirit, for the glory of his name and the public good! Farewell."

There are many excellent observations interspersed throughout this composition. It is written in Latin, and is a good specimen of that elegant adroitness with which the accomplished author always conducted himself in an affair of peculiar delicacy.

It is a most unpleasant circumstance belonging to the history of this great man, that the longer he lives the lower he sinks in the estimation of the Christian reader. It is in the beginning of the reformation, while he was exposing the scandalous practices of the indolent, debauched, avaricious clergy, that he appears to the greatest advantage. But when Luther and his associates began to preach boldly the gospel of Christ in its purity, Erasmus instantly shrank, and not only ceased to be a coadjutor of the reformers, but became, gradually, their peevish and disgusted adversary. With inconceivable address and management, he steadily trode, as long as he could, his favourite middle path of pleasing both sides; but when the contention grew sharp, and when the doctrines of grace were found to offend the great and the powerful, and when persecution was at the door, the cautious, evasive system became no longer practicable. Erasmus was called upon to decide; and there could be little doubt to which party a character of his stamp would incline.

When we divest ourselves of prejudice, and view Erasmus as the most elegant scholar of his age, admired and courted by princes, popes, and dignified ecclesiastics, we are compelled to admit that his temptation to support the established hierarchy was very great; and it is to be lamented that he had not a clearer and a more affecting insight into the deceitfulness of the human heart. If he had understood more of men's natural alienation from God by the fall, had had a deeper practical sense of the evil of sin in his own case, he would have felt weary and heavy laden; he would have sought more diligently for deliverance from internal guilt and misery; he would have been more disposed to resist temptations of every sort, and particularly those sins that easily beset him; and lastly, though he might still have differed from Luther in subordinate matters or modes of expression, he would have had the same general views of the nature of the redemption of Jesus Christ; and instead of raising captious objections against the doctrines of grace, and quarrelling with the man whom Providence had ordained to be the instrument of their revival,

he would have applied those blessed, healing truths, to the distresses of his own conscience, and would have rejoiced in that "burning and shining light" which arose amidst the thick darkness of papal ignorance and superstition.

In one word, the different sentiments which these great men entertained of the leading doctrines of the gospel, was the real cause of their unhappy contention, every circumstance of which may be traced to this single source. And no wonder, for it seems almost impossible that a warm and cordial attachment should long subsist between persons who zealously support contrary notions of the way to eternal salvation. It is true, that where the natural tempers are mild and ingenuous, many causes of irritation will be avoided or suppressed; and it is true, also, that where divine grace is powerful, the affections of meekness, kindness, and forbearance, will abound, and be in vigorous exercise. But after all that can be said or imagined, there will still be an essential difference of the spiritual taste, such an opposition of the judgment, and such a dissimilitude in the whole turn of thinking, that separation, not coalescence; dissension, not agreement; is to be looked for under such circumstances.

PHILIP MELANCTHON is a third of Luther's friends and associates, who claim a right to be noticed in this place. He is reckoned one of the wisest and greatest men of his age, and was born at Bretten, in the palatinate of the Rhine, February 16th, 1497. His father, who was an armourer, was named George Schwartzerdt, which word signifies "black earth," and Reuchlin, who became acquainted with Philip while he was studying at the college of Pfortzheim, gave him the name of Melancthon, a term of similar import with that of Schwartzerdt: such changes of names were common in that age. He commenced his studies at the place of his nativity, and was afterwards sent to Pfortzheim, where he became known to Reuchlin, who was from that time strongly attached to him. In 1509, he was sent to Heidelberg, where he made so vast a progress in learning, that before he was fourteen, he was entrusted with the tuition of the sons of the count of Leonstein. He was employed to make the greater part of the harangues that were publicly delivered in the University of Heidelberg. Referring to his precocity of genius, Erasmus thus exclaims:—" Gracious Heaven! what hopes may we not conceive of Philip Melancthon, who, although very young, and almost a boy, is equally to be admired for his knowledge in both languages? What quickness of invention; what purity of diction; what vastness of memory; and to all this, what modesty and gracefulness of behaviour!"

In 1518, he was appointed professor of Greek literature in the University of Wittenberg, a situation which he held to the end of his life. Here his intercourse with Luther commenced, and led to a permanent friendship between them, and a similarity of religious sentiments, though their personal characters and dispositions were widely different; Melancthon being as remarkable for suavity of manners, mildness, and conciliation, as Luther was for impetuosity and unbending firmness.

Melancthon is always numbered among the most illustrious and respectable instruments of the reformation, and was actually present at the public disputation with Eckius. Some say, that he placed himself near Carolstadt, and suggested so many things to him during the combat, that Eckius called out to him, "Philip, hold your tongue; mind your own business; and don't interfere with mine." However, he himself tells us, that he was a mere spectator and hearer; and that he sat among the crowd. As the dispute continued many days, the different accounts might, perhaps, appear sufficiently consistent, were we acquainted with all the circumstances. Melancthon concludes one of his letters to Œcolampadius in the following manner:-- "Eckius was much admired for his many and striking ingenuities. You know Carolstadt; he is certainly a man of worth and extraordinary erudition. As to Luther, whom I have long known most intimately, his lively genius and eloquence are the objects of my admiration; and it is impossible not to be in love with his truly sincere and pure Christian spirit."

Melancthon was then only about twenty-three years of age; and, as yet, had employed his time principally in the duties of his Greek professorship and in the cultivation of general literature. Already, indeed, he had favoured Luther's intentions of teaching pure Christianity and of delivering it from the reigning darkness and superstition; but his wishes in this respect had hitherto

originated in the native candour and benevolence of his temper, and in his abhorrence of all disguise, artifice, and tyranny, rather than in any distinct insight which he had acquired into particular instances of the corruption of the Christian doctrine, or of the shameful practices of the ecclesiastical domination. conferences at Leipsic seem to have had a mighty effect in first determining this elegant scholar to employ his talents in the study of theology. As Melancthon is said to have possessed the rare faculty of discerning truth in its most intricate connexions and combinations, it was not probable that such a person should be moved, either by the flimsy objections of Eckius, or by his pompous display of scholastic argument. He was not, however, blind to the dangerous influence of a man who had some pretensions to learning, who had a strong memory, and who, being constantly impelled by ambitious hopes of advancement, and unrestrained by modesty or conscience, was ever ready to make the most positive assertions. In listening to the sophistry of this papal advocate, Melancthon became better acquainted than before with the argumentative resources of the Romish religion; at the same time that the solid reasonings of Luther, supported by constant appeals to the scriptures, effectually convinced his mind of the soundness of the principles of his industrious and persecuted friend, and determined him to embark in the cause of religious liberty with zeal and fidelity. From the period of this famous public disputation, he applied himself most intensely to the interpretation of the scriptures, and the defence of pure Christian doctrine; and he is justly esteemed by protestants to have been, under Divine Providence, the most powerful coadjutor of the Saxon reformer. His mild and peaceable temper, his aversion to schismatic contention, his reputation for piety and for knowledge, and above all, his happy art of exposing error and maintaining truth in the most perspicuous language,—all these endowments concurred to render him eminently serviceable to the revival of the religion of Christ. Little did Eckius imagine that the public disputation in which he had foreseen nothing but victory and exultation, and the downfal of Lutheranism, would give rise to another theological champion, who should contend

for Christian truth and Christian liberty with the primitive spirit of an apostle.

At Wittenberg, Melancthon had probably been well acquainted with Luther's lectures on divinity; but it was in the citadel of Leipsic that he heard the Roman tenets defended by all the arguments that ingenuity could advise; there his suspicions were strengthened respecting the evils of the existing hierarchy; and there his righteous spirit was roused to imitate, in the grand object of his future inquiries and exertions, the indefatigable endeavours of his zealous and adventurous friend.

In 1520, Melancthon read lectures on Paul's epistle to the Romans, at Wittenberg, which were so much approved by Luther, that he caused them to be printed for the general good of the church. He did more,—he wrote a Preface to the work, in which he says to Melancthon, "I attribute to thee truly what the impious Thomists lyingly arrogate to their St. Thomas, [Aquinas] that no one has ever yet written better than thyself on the holy apostle Paul." The following years were a complication of hard labours to Melancthon. He wrote many books, and visited many churches. In 1521, hearing that the divines at Paris had condemned the writings of Luther by a formal decree, he opposed them with all his might, and affirmed Luther's doctrine to be sound and orthodox. In 1527, he was appointed by the duke of Saxony to visit all the churches within his dukedom; but nothing cost him more pains than the task which was imposed upon him, in 1530, of drawing up a "Confession of Faith." This was called the Augsburg Confession, from the circumstance of its being presented to the emperor at a diet held

Nature had bestowed on Melancthon a peaceable temper, which was but ill suited to the times in which he lived. His moderation greatly augmented his uneasiness. He was like a lamb in the midst of wolves. Few liked his mildness; it looked as if he was lukewarm; and even Luther himself was sometimes angry at it. It was, indeed, considering his situation, very inconvenient, for it not only exposed him to all kinds of slander, but would not suffer him to "answer a fool according to his

folly." The only advantage it procured him was, to look upon death without fear, by considering that it would secure him from the "odium theologicum," the hatred of the clergy, and the discord of false brethren. He was never out of danger, but might truly be said to be in continual jeopardy of his life. held his Professor's place forty years; yet, as he himself declared, without ever being sure that he should not be turned out of it before the end of the week.

Melancthon was a man in whom many good as well as great qualities were wonderfully united. He had great abilities, extensive learning, much sweetness of temper, moderation, contentedness, and other qualities which would have made him very happy in almost any other times than those in which his lot was cast. He never affected dignities, honours, or riches, but was rather negligent of them. Learning was infinitely obliged to him on many accounts; and when we consider the distractions of the times, and the endless disputes and tumults in which he was engaged, it is astonishing how he could find leisure to write so many books. Their number is prodigious, insomuch, that it was thought necessary to publish a chronological catalogue of them in 1582. He was of a weakly constitution, which required great tenderness and management, which made Luther, hot and zealous as he was, blame him for the excess of his labours. "I am extremely grieved," says he, "for your very bad state of health, and my prayers are continually offered up for your recovery, that there may be somebody, when I am dead, who may be a bulwark to the house of Israel against the ragings of Satan."

A fourth of Luther's colleagues in the great work of reformation, whom I shall mention, is,

ANDREW RODENSTEIN CARLOSTADT, (or, Carolostadius, as he is sometimes called.) He derived his name from the place of his nativity, which was situated in Franconia, but the exact date of his birth does not appear to have been preserved. prosecuted his studies in Germany and Italy, and became canon, archdeacon, and theological professor at Wittenberg. He was dean of that University in 1512, when Luther received the degree of Doctor; and when the latter began to preach against popery, Carlostadt joined him, and became his colleague. Naturally or

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constitutionally of a warm or impatient temper, inclined to enthusiasm, and disposed to carry reformation to its full length, he took the opportunity of Luther's absence, in 1522, to introduce various changes—such as the suppression of private masses, the removal of images out of the churches, and the abolition of the law which imposed celibacy upon the clergy. These measures, however, he did not take altogether on his own account, but with the concurrence of Melancthon, Amsdorff, and others, and with the sanction of the elector of Saxony. It is not easy to account He bad, for several for Luther's conduct on this occasion. months before, been in concealment from the malice of his enraged adversaries, who thirsted for his blood; but on hearing that the measures of Carlostadt had been the cause of no small tumult at Wittenberg, he rushed out of his retreat, condemned the proceedings of his party, and by his presence and exhortations calmed the populace, but it was at an expense of a temporary rupture between him and Carlostadt. The learned translator of Mosheim, in a note on his History of the Lutheran reformation, tells us, "There is some reason to apprehend that one of the principal causes of Luther's displeasure at these changes was, their being introduced in his absence; unless we suppose that he had not so far got rid of the fetters of superstition, as to be sensible of the absurdity, and of the pernicious consequences of the use of images," &c. As to the abolition of the law that imposed celibacy on the clergy, it is well known that it was the object of his warmest approbation. Carlostadt, it is true, took a wife, and thus set an example to other clergymen to do the same: but it was an example that Luther himself copied shortly after. He reproached Carlostadt with being an image-breaker; said that the people might have been taught and assured that images were unavailing and inoffensive in themselves; but that if they were to be removed, it should have been done in an orderly way, and by the authority of the civil magistrate. Writing to one of his friends, Luther says, "I have offended Carlostadt, because I have disannulled his proceedings, although I did not condemn his general principles, excepting that I regretted he should have occupied himself and the people more with the abolition of mere ceremonies and outward forms than with the cultivation and exercise of true Christian faith and charity; for by his mistaken zeal he has led the people to believe each himself to be a Christian, provided only he communicates in both kinds; if he handles the elements, if he does not confess to the priest, if he breaks images. Thus Satan tempts them under a new form. I had hitherto endeavoured to instruct and liberate their consciences, hoping that the outward reformation might be accomplished gradually, silently, and with universal consent. But this new leader was ambitious of completing his work, and as if by my authority, too, in one day."

According to Dr. Maclaine, the difference of opinion between Carlostadt and Luther concerning the eucharist was the true cause of the violent rupture that took place between these two eminent men, and that it was very little to the honour of Luther. For however the explication which Carlostadt gave of the words of the institution of the Lord's supper may be forced, yet the sentiments he entertained of that ordinance, as a commemoration of the death of Christ, and not as a celebration of his bodily presence, in consequence of a consubstantiation with the bread and wine, which was Luther's theory, are infinitely more rational than the doctrine of Luther, which is loaded with some of the most palpable absurdities of transubstantiation. And if it be supposed that Carlostadt strained the rule of interpretation too far, when he alleged that Christ pronounced the pronoun, this, [in the words, this is my body,] pointing to his own body, and not to the bread, what shall we think of Luther's explaining the nonsensical doctrine of consubstantiation by the similitude of a red hot iron, in which two elements are united, as if the body of Christ is with the bread in the eucharist?"

In the year 1519, and consequently anterior to the difference now mentioned, Carlostadt entered into the dispute between Luther and Eckius. The latter had challenged Luther to a public disputation with both him and Carlostadt, and after some time, the place agreed upon for holding it was Leipsic. Thither the parties accordingly proceeded, on the 8th of June, 1519. The disputation commenced on the 18th, in a hall of the castle. Carlostadt and Eckius began the dispute; they were opposite in everything. In Carlostadt was remarked the gravity and

modesty of a divine who disputes for truth, and not for glory. He advanced nothing without producing his authorities, and did not even admit the quotations made by his adversary until he had first compared them carefully with the originals. This exactness procured him the esteem of the learned, while those who were opposed to him imputed it to the dulness of his understanding.

The deportment of Eckius was quite the reverse. His clamours, his proud and disdainful looks, and his haughty gait, bespoke more the soldier than the man of letters. His action was theatrical, and it might have been imagined that a Gorgias was heard, so much vanity did the man display, and such the effrontery with which he lauded himself. But he had a happy memory, spoke with ease, and was well versed in the arts of the sophists.

The subject of dispute was the doctrine of grace against the powers of free will. The proposition of Carlostadius was, "that all good works are entirely the effect of the grace of God." Eckius did not deny the proposition, but availed himself of a distinction, to this effect; "that every good work proceeds from God, but not absolutely." Carlostadt, in order to take away all co-operation of man's free will with divine grace in the production of good works, maintained that before a sinner is regenerated, the will is purely passive with respect to the grace of God, which operates in it and by it, all the good that is in man. He did not insist that the will of man was destitute of action at the time of its becoming the subject of regenerating grace, because it is not converted without being made willing. Eckius, on the contrary, maintained, that grace only excites the will, which, by a free consent it either gives or refuses independent of that very grace, renders it effectual or ineffectual to the sinner's conversion. After many disputes on these abstract points, Eckius, either driven by the arguments of Carlostadt, or acting through artifice, fell upon an expedient, which, in the opinion of his own party, gave him the victory. He adopted the sentiments of Carlostadt, and exclaimed, triumphantly, that he had brought his opponent into his own opinion; adding, that all the schoolmen had taught nothing but what he then asserted. The artifice was gross; but

as what had been advanced of the schoolmen was too rash to be supported, he abandoned Scotus and Capreolus, with their followers, quoting some other schoolmen, who favoured his scheme. It was, however, a matter of great triumph for Carlostadt to have compelled his adversary to give up the greatest masters of school-divinity. Eckius, indeed, afterwards denied that he had made this concession, but Luther asserted it to his face in the disputation held on the 6th of July. He could not deny his having acknowledged to Carlostadt, that the will of man, uninfluenced by divine grace, is free only to evil.

Eckius had the advantage of Carlostadt in fluency of expression, and Carlostadt over him in candour and solidity. As long as he could make use of his books, he convicted Eckius of rash and unfounded assertions; but when he was obliged to quit them through the clamours of the assembly, and the importunity of Eckius, he lost much of his advantage. He had a defective memory, which was attributed to the frequent and copious bleedings he had undergone, by which means, Eckius, whose memory was very good, managed the disputation in a more specious and dazzling manner. But as to his propositions, Luther affirmed, with an oath, that they remained in their full force. Melancthon and others attested the same thing.

When the fracas took place between Carlostadt and Luther, the former quitted Saxony, and repaired to Swisserland, where he preached at Zurich and other places. Here, in his banishment, he composed a treatise on enthusiasm in general, and particularly against the extravagant notions and violent proceedings of the Munster anabaptists. This treatise he dedicated to Luther, who was so affected by it, that, repenting of the unworthy treatment he had given him, now pleaded his cause, and obtained from the elector a permission for him to return into Saxony. They were once more reconciled, and Carlostadt after this composed a treatise on the eucharist, which breathes the most amiable spirit of moderation and humility; and having perused the writings of Zuinglius, in which he found his own sentiments on that subject maintained with the greatest perspicuity and force of evidence, he repaired a second time to Zurich, and from thence to Basle, where he was admitted to the offices of pastor and professor of divinity, and where, after having lived in the constant and exemplary practice of every Christian virtue, he died, amidst the warmest effusions of piety and resignation, on the 25th of December, 1541.

George Spalatinus was another of Luther's most intimate friends. He was of all others the person to whom the reformer, in his greatest difficulties and dangers, entrusted his most secret feelings and designs. Spalatinus, by his good sense, the opportunities which he had of easy access to the elector of Saxony, and his sincere attachment to Luther, was on many occasions serviceable to the cause of reformation in general, and of his friend in particular. A private epistolary correspondence between the two seems to have been frequent and uninterrupted during many years, and as certain parts of it are extremely interesting, and the name of Spalatinus will often occur in these lectures, a short account of him, in this place, seems demanded.

He was a native of Franconia, of considerable learning and discretion. He was about a year older than Luther, but appears not to have entered upon the study of divinity with any degree of earnestness till he was turned of thirty. He applied to Luther to give him his advice concerning the best method of acquiring sacred knowledge, and the answer of Luther deserves to be remembered and practised by every student in divinity. After recommending to his notice certain portions of the writings of Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine, he exhorts him always to begin his studies with serious prayer, for, says he, "there is really no interpreter of the divine word but its own Author. Read the Bible in order, from the beginning to the end."

Luther, in his letter to Spalatinus, addresses him, sometimes as librarian, and sometimes as registrary of the elector of Saxony, but with the addition of "minister of Jesus Christ." Spalatinus was, in fact, both secretary and privy counsellor to the elector; he accompanied him to several German diets; and at his court he preached and performed the duties of domestic chaplain. He stood high in the estimation of Frederic the Wise, of which there needs no better proof than the fact, that in the year 1519, the pope, Leo X., condescended to address a letter "to his beloved son, George Spalatinus," in which, after acknowledging.

in the most flattering terms, the great influence and weight which he knew Spalatinus to have with the elector, and how very much that prince valued the prudent and wholesome advice of his secretary, he "exhorts him in the Lord, and with paternal authority, to contribute all in his power to repress the detestable temerity of brother Martin Luther, that child of Satan, whose grievous heresy was spreading among the credulous people."

Spalatinus, however, used all his influence to strengthen the party of Luther; but he was often so vexed, and even dispirited, on account of the small attention that was paid to his own ministry, that he seriously thought of quitting his situation at the elector's court. Luther, however, opposed this intention in the most decisive terms. "Take care," said he, "that you get the better of these thoughts which harass your mind, or at least, learn to dismiss them. You must not desert the ministry of the word of God. Christ has called you to his service; yield yourself to his good pleasure. At present you do not understand the importance of your situation; you will understand it better by The desire you have to quit your post is a mere temptation, the reason of which, we, who are spectators, see better than you do yourself. In a case of this sort, you should rather trust the judgment of your friends than your own. We are the means, which, on this occasion, the Lord uses for your comfort and advice. We call God to witness, that in wishing you to continue in your vocation, we have no other object in view but his will and his glory. I consider it as a certain sign of your ministry being acceptable to God, that you are thus tempted. If it were otherwise, you would not be weary, and lament your unfruitfulness; you would rather bustle, and seek to please men, as those do who talk much, though they were never sent with a commission to preach the gospel."

On the same subject, Luther thus writes on another occasion:—
"You ask my advice, my dear Spalatinus, whether you should
quit your situation at the elector's court; and this is my answer:
—I own there is reason in what you allege; 'the word of God is
disregarded.' And certainly, it is a wise rule, 'not to pour out
our speeches where they obtain no attention.' But I say, if there
be any persons that love to hear, you should not cease to speak.

I myself acted on the principle which I now recommend to you, otherwise, I might long ago have been silent amidst this prodigious contempt of the word of God. Therefore, I affirm, that unless you have some better reason, which lies heavy on your conscience, this perverse and unreasonable inattention of wicked men is not a sufficient cause for your leaving the court. Consider of how much service you may be to many, from the weight of your influence with the prince, and from your long experience of the ways of courtiers. Whatever may be the abilities of your successor, Frederic the Wise will not trust him much till time has furnished proofs of his integrity. On the whole, I cannot so much as conceive any reason that will justify the step you speak of, but one—namely, marriage. Stay, therefore, where you are; or if you do depart, let a wife be the cause."

On another occasion, Luther thus writes to Spalatinus:-

"Do not give way too much to fear, my dear Spalatinus, neither tease your mind by filling it with human imaginations. You know I must have perished long ago in my various struggles with the supporters of papal abominations, unless Christ had taken care of me and my concerns. Was there a single person who did not expect that my ruin would have taken place before this time? I assure you, I suppress many things, which, if I were elsewhere, I should freely publish, concerning the enormities of Rome. But you must never hope that I shall be free from persecution and danger, unless I were entirely to give up the cause of sound divinity. My friends, if they please, may suppose me beside myself; nevertheless, I say, if this contest be really of God, it will not be ended till truth effectually save itself by its own right hand; not by mine, nor by yours. From the very first I have been expecting matters to come to the situation in which they are at this moment. However, I always told you, that I would quit the country if my residence in Saxony was attended with any danger to the prince."

Spalatinus continued in his employments until his death, which happened in his grand climacteric, sixty three, in the year of our Lord 1545. Great grief and depression of spirits are said to have hastened his end. There is extant a very judicious and consolatory letter, which Luther wrote to him the year before his

death, and which is said to have administered much comfort to him. Spalatinus, it seems, through ignorance or inadvertency, had consented to the illegal marriage of a clergyman of had character, and the matter hung heavy on his mind. On this subject, Luther wisely cautions his friend against giving way to too much sorrow. He was well acquainted, he said, with the dreadful effects of it. He had felt those effects in his own case, and he had seen them in the cases of others. He instanced Melancthon, who fell into a disease which threatened his life, owing to excess of sorrow. He then takes up the case at the worst—namely, on the supposition that Spalatinus had been really much to blame in the affair, and shews, that still he ought not to despair of forgiveness from God, who was ready to pardon, not only the slightest offences, but even the most grievous sins of the penitent. He tells him, that formerly he himself had been in a similar affliction of mind, which had brought him to the brink of the grave, but that Staupitius had been of great use to him, by saying, "You are endeavouring to quiet your conscience, by considering yourself as a slight, outward, superficial sinner; but you ought to know that Jesus Christ ir ready to save sinners of the vilest class." In fine, Luther, as a kind brother, exhorts him, in the most emphatical language and endearing terms, to derive his comfort from a view of the preciousness of the Redeemer and the aboundings of his grace.

Thus it is, that we find Luther always the same man. Exercised in the school of adversity, he feels for others. Naturally tender and grateful, he loves his friends, and administers all the consolation he can. His main scope is the heavenly inheritance, and the proper business of this life is, with him, so to act as ultimately to gain the prize.

JOHN ŒCOLAMPADIUS is another of the friends of reform, whose excellent character and history call for, at least, a short notice in these lectures. He was born at the village of Reinsperg, in Franconia, A.D. 1482. His father originally designed him for the mercantile life, but changing that resolution, he devoted him to the study of literature, with which view he sent him first to the school of Heilbrun, and after prosecuting his studies there for some time, he was removed to the University of Heidelberg,

where he took the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy, when only fourteen years of age. He next went to Bologna, but the air of Italy not agreeing with him, he returned in about six months to Heidelberg, and diligently prosecuted the study of divinity. He soon began to be noted for his learning, and his reputation in that respect, supported by a character for virtue and prudence, induced the elector Palatine to choose him preceptor to his youngest son; but not relishing the manners of a court, he grew sick of his office, and resumed his theological studies.

Not long after this he was invited to Basle, in Swisserland, where his erudition procured him so high a reputation, that he was honoured with the degree of D.D. against his inclination. He now began to signalize himself in the Lutheran reformation, which by this time had engrossed much of his attention. In a letter to one of his friends, he says, "I will now speak my mind freely of Martin Luther, as I have often done before. I am so fully persuaded of the truth of several of his doctrines, that I should not be driven from my opinion, even though an angel from heaven should contradict it." And he proceeded to publish a book of confession, or a compendium of his faith, which occasioned no inconsiderable stir among his former associates. He next translated Chrysostom's Commentaries on Genesis into Latin. and was made Professor of Divinity, and chaplain to the council of the city of Basle, by whose consent he introduced various reformations in the ecclesiastical state of affairs, abolishing several usages of the Romish church. When the dispute concerning the eucharist commenced between Luther and Zuinglius, he took a part in that controversy, and strenuously defended the opinion of the latter, in a treatise on "the true meaning of our Lord's words, 'this is my body,'" which did him great honour. Erasmus, referring to the book in 1525, declares "that it was written with so much skill, such sound reasoning, and persuasive eloquence, as was sufficient to seduce, if it were possible, the very elect." And no sooner did it make its appearance, than the magistrates of Basle thought it necessary to consult two divines, of whom Erasmus was one, and two lawyers, whether the public sale of it ought not to be suppressed; the sale of it, however, was continued. The matter,

nevertheless, did not rest there. The Lutherans prepared an answer to it, entitled "Syngramma," to which Œcolampadius replied, in a piece which he called "Anti-syngramma."

I have already made some mention of Ecolampadius in a former course of these lectures,* and introduced some slight notice of a correspondence which took place between this eminent reformer and the pastors of some of the churches of the Waldenses in Piedmont, to which I beg to refer my readers, not finding it convenient to repeat in this place what has been already said. The letter which I have there given, is not merely creditable to him, but it breathes a truly Christian spirit, and places his conduct in an estimable point of view. He was evidently held in the highest estimation by his contemporaries engaged in the work of the reformation, such as Calvin, and Beza, and Bucer, and Haller, and particularly William Farel, of whom I shall have occasion to speak pretty largely in a subsequent lecture.

We may see from the life of Farel, lately published by the Religious Tract Society, how confidential was the connexion, and endearing the intercourse between him and Œcolampadius. When Farel began to preach, with his accustomed warmth, against the sacrifice of the mass, Œcolampadius gave him some salutary advice, that his first object should be to banish antichrist from the hearts of his hearers. "Mankind," said he, "must be led, not driven. We must keep one object in view, to win souls to Christ, and consider how we ourselves should wish to be taught, if we were still enveloped in darkness, and bound in the fetters of antichrist."

"The image of Christ," says Œcolampadius to his friend, "must be visible in your life and doctrine. It is true that the Saviour at times spoke harshly to obstinate Pharisees, though more meekly than his words are generally rendered: at one time, full of compassion; at another, in a way of warning; and again, with earnestness, blended with meekness, so that his benevolence was never more conspicuous than in his treatment of his most violent persecutors and enemies. But let this suffice; I know that you wish to be a healing physician, and not a tormentor of

See Lecture li. vol. ii. p. 509.

your fellow men." On another occasion, he thus expressed himself: "You will not be able to gain over to Christ every Ananias and Sapphira who resist the Holy Spirit; therefore let them alone, and assist the weakness of others. It is not enough that ye are friendly to your friends; you must spare no pains to win even your enemies. Noble minds express their anger only on proper occasions. We know the zeal of Elijah; but before we adopt him for our model, let us consider the circumstances in which he was placed, and whether he always glowed with the same fire. Above all, I wish you to copy the meekness and gentleness of Christ, and follow in the footsteps of 'the good Shepherd,' who 'laid down his life for the sheep.'"

Œcolampadius died at Basle, in December, 1531, at the age of forty-nine, and was interred in the cathedral church of that city, where there is a monument to his memory.

As to his writings, he not only translated into Latin several of Chrysostom's pieces, also of Gregory Nazianzen and other fathers of the church, but he composed several works, among which were "Annotations on the book of Genesis,"—"Illustrations of the book of Job,"—"Six books of Commentary on the Prophecy of Isaiah,"—"A Treatise on the Passover;" besides many others, didactic as well as polemic.

Having thus furnished a brief sketch of the characters of the principal persons who were associated with Luther in the grand enterprise of the work of reformation, I shall, in my next lecture, resume the narrative of the labours of Luther, which will be better understood, in consequence of the digression which I thought it expedient to introduce.

LECTURE LXIV.

The Lutheran reformation resumed—Alarm of the court of Saxony at the coming of the pope's nuncio—The elector makes Luther a prisoner—The nuncio tries to reconcile Luther to the church—Punishes Tetzel—The nuncio promises to have the matter decided by German bishops—The elector, at first, promises to write to the pope, but alters his mind—Luther's incautious conduct in writing submissively to the pope—Becomes anxious about the court of Saxony—Death of the Emperor Maximillian—Erasmus writes to Luther—Echius and Luther hold a disputation—Melancthon assists Luther—Luther publishes his commentary on the Galatians, and delivers lectures on the Psalms and book of Genesis—Publishes a work, in which he saps the foundation of the papal tyranny—Refutes the papistical notion of the sacrifice of the mass. A. D. 1519—1520.

FREDERICK, the elector of Saxony, in whose dominions Luther had found an asylum, adhered to his resolution of not giving him up; but it was difficult to find reasons for refusing, and this occasioned the court of Saxony some inquietude; for, besides that this prince feared the power of the pope, Luther was a monk, and, of course, amenable to his authority; and the point in question was of a religious nature.

Now, the pontiffs had the art, for a length of time, to persuade the princes and their ministers that they could not intermeddle in affairs of that sort without being guilty of sacrilegious encroachment. But, although Frederick had been sufficiently enlightened not to be stopped by such groundless scruples, yet he was not able to secure himself from the pope's excommunication; and, without doubt, he was not ignorant to what dreadful extremities the bishops of Rome had reduced, by that method, princes more powerful than the dukes of Saxony. Thus the elector found himself agitated by those inquietudes which are inevitable of conjectures, wherein a person perceives all the greatness of the danger, and is ignorant of the path which he ought to follow to secure himself from it.

Luther, acquainted with the sentiments of the duke his master, again had thoughts of withdrawing himself from Wittenberg. But that prince would by no means consent to it; although, on the other hand, he was afraid to leave him at Wittenberg, as he should be under the necessity of refusing him to the nuncio. He therefore adopted the measure of making him a prisoner, and of acquainting the nuncio of it, with a promise of having him brought before such judges as should be allotted to him, provided it were in Germany. This design was communicated to Luther, who said, "that he was in the hands of God and his friends."

While these things were going on the nuncio arrived; but as he was ignorant of the secret inquietudes of the court of Saxonv. and as he saw, in passing through Germany, the love and universal esteem which the people entertained for Luther, he abandoned the design of conveying him to Rome, and thought only of the means of reconciling him with the pope. The first was, however, the principal design of his commission. On setting out from Rome, Leo had charged him with seventy briefs. some for the elector, for Pfeffinger, for Spalatinus, for the commandant, and for the magistrates of Wittenberg. The rest were to be posted up in the cities through which the nuncio should pass on his return, in order to assure his conquest and his journey. But as soon as he had set foot in the empire, he saw clearly that all the briefs would be useless; and he himself asserted, that although the court of Saxony had delivered up Luther to him, he would have needed more than twenty-five thousand men to bring him to the pope. Thus, abandoning the character of an adversary, Miltitz assumed that of a mediator, and Spalatinus wrote to Luther, that if he had not quitted Wittenberg, he

should remain there, because the nuncio afforded hopes of reconciliation.

He began by praising Luther's zeal and talents, and by condemning the impieties and profanations of the collectors. He blamed the former only for having quarrelled with the pope and having attacked his authority, which ought to be sacred to all the world, but especially to a monk, whom his profession obliged to a submission and entire devotion to the holy see. that, notwithstanding that offence, the pope was ready to pardon him; that his holiness had sufficiently testified his good will by deferring till then the excommunication which he had incurred. and by not pronouncing any censure against him in the last bull, although his adversaries had been disgraced in it; that if he were sincere, he ought no longer to delay his recantation, because he had solemnly submitted himself to the pope, and the pope had decided in favour of indulgences. Miltitz represented afterwards to the counsellors of the elector, the great esteem which the pontiff had for their master, and of which his holiness had given him a striking proof by the golden rose, which he was shortly to present to him on his part; he laid before them the dangerous consequences which quarrels between these two princes might produce, and the lamentable effects of a schism which seemed inevitable if Luther were supported, and if he still obstinately maintained opinions which had been condemned.

In order to procure a more favourable reception to his remonstrances, the nuncio resolved to chastise Tetzel, who had been the cause of the disorder. He wrote to him to repair to Altenburg. This Dominican was then at Leipsic, living retired in the monastery of St. Paul, where he began to suffer the punishment of his sins. He replied to the nuncio, "that Luther had excited against him Germany, Poland, and Hungary; that there was no place where he could be in safety; that the legate himself would not listen to his justification upon the charge of blasphemy against the Holy Virgin, which Luther had preferred against him; that when he preached at Leipsic, he perceived, upon every countenance, nothing but menaces and contempt; but that whatever calamities he might have endured for the holy see, he would defend its sacred prerogatives until death."

Tetzel having excused himself from appearing, Militiz demanded an interview with Luther. The latter declined it, upon the apprehension that it might prejudice his appeal. He nevertheless afterwards consented to it; and the interview took place at Altenburg, in the house of Spalatinus, in the beginning of January, 1519. The nuncio at first enlarged upon the wrongs which Luther had done to the pope, the imminent danger of a schism, for which he alone and the elector of Saxony would have to answer; and lastly, the danger into which he was precipitating himself. He lavished praises on him; he embraced him; he shed tears; he abused the collectors; and, to say all in a word, he omitted nothing he could think of, either to intimidate or soften him. Luther replied, that the first cause of the evil was in the pope, whose intentions were good, but who had suffered himself to be led away by the usurers of Florence; the second, in the avarice of the archbishop of Mentz, who pillaged Germany by means of indulgences, in order to pay for the pallium from Rome, and for the dispensations contrary to the canons, in order to hold at once two archbishoprics and one bishopric; and the third, in the impudence and licentiousness of the collectors; that the only remedy was to impose silence on both parties, because he could not avoid defending himself if he were attacked, and that it was then to be feared, that what was only a jest might become a very serious affair; that, in fine, he was very willing to repair the injury which the pope supposed he had received; that he would write him, for that purpose, a very respectful letter, in which he would acknowledge that he had been carried to excess; and that he would publish a book, in which, justifying his conduct, and excusing his faults, he would exhort all the world to honour the holy see, and to obey it. With respect to retraction, he declared so strongly that he would never accede to it, that the nuncio thought he ought not to persist in requiring it. However, as the affair had proceeded too far to be terminated without a decision, Miltitz was desirous he should submit it to that of the pope, assuring him it would be favourable. But Luther, not daring to trust to this, proposed that the pope should name judges in Germany, who having secret orders to procrastinate the business, might let it fall insensibly into oblivion, by which method he proposed to save both the pope's honour and his own. He even named the archbishop of Saltzburg for one of his judges; and it is suspected that this was by the advice of Spalatinus, perhaps because that prelate was a friend of Staupitz. But however this may be, the choice could not be more imprudent; for the archbishop passed for a man full of art, and destitute of religion. They agreed at last that Militz should prevail on the court of Rome to impose silence on both parties, and that the decision of the affair should be referred to German bishops; and they named the archbishop of Treves, and the bishop of Freisengen; that in the meantime, Luther should remain in peace, and that he should write a letter of submission to the pope.

The elector on his side engaged to write to the pope; and that letter, which is still in existence, contained his defence in regard to what he had done to satisfy his holiness, either by sending Luther to Augsburg, or by obliging him to appear before the nuncio. In it he testified of Luther, that he had been always full of submission to the holy see; that he had never disputed against its authority, or against indulgences, until he was forced to it; that he was esteemed by all the learned, and was extremely worthy of the good-will of the holy father. But this prince, who possessed an extraordinary degree of foresight, considering that he was already suspected, and that if he began to meddle in the affair, the pope might easily imagine that he took a great interest in it, and be displeased with him; that he might order him to detain Luther in his dominions, and hold him responsible for his escape, if he should withdraw himself; this prince refused to sign the letter, which had been already prepared, and acquainted Miltitz that he was determined to remain neuter.

Militiz now wrote to the court that he had chastised Tetzel, and acquainted the pope of his rogueries; and Luther, on his side, wrote the letter of submission which he had promised. It began with these words: "Most holy father; I am obliged to write again to your holiness, and to address myself to your high majesty; I, who am the lowest of men, and the dust of the earth; I supplicate therefore your holiness, who hath the mildness and the patience of a father, and of a vicar of Jesus Christ, to listen favourably to the groans of a sheep of which your holiness is a

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shepherd." He then relates, that Miltitz reproached him with having been deficient of respect to the holy see; and after having testified an extreme sorrow that an enterprise which he had undertaken only for the honour of the Roman church, and which many had endeavoured to render odious, should be regarded by the pope as a disrespect, he continued thus: " What shall I do, holy father? I do not know what course to take; I cannot support the weight of your displeasure, and I do not perceive the means of delivering myself from it. I am required to revoke my theses. I would do it this moment, if that could produce the desired effect." He adds, that this retraction would not only be useless, because his writings were in the hands of every one, but that it would do great injury to the Roman church, inasmuch as it would afford occasion to believe that that church approves of the impostures and blasphemies he had opposed. Lastly, he protests that he never pretended to deny the power of the pope, which he acknowledged to be inferior only to that of Jesus Christ; that he will exhort the people to honour the holy see; that he will vindicate it from the profane exaggerations of the collectors; that he will drop for ever the matter of indulgences, provided his opponents renounce their impostures, and that, in a word, there is nothing which he is not ready to do for the satisfaction of his holiness.

It must be confessed that this letter is a sad monument of the weakness of man; and Luther would be inexcusable if he had then had the knowledge which he afterwards possessed; but he was not acquainted with all the mysteries of iniquity; and although he could not find in scripture the foundation of the papal power, he considered that it was, nevertheless, established upon the decrees of councils, and the canons of the church. Besides, the solicitations of his friends, the caresses of the nuncio, the consequences of a schism, and, finally, the interest of his repose and security, led him to that mean compliance with the court of Rome. That of Saxony had commanded him expressly to make no attack whatever upon the holy see, so much did the elector fear lest some writings should escape him which might break the negotiation. He obeyed, therefore, but it was not without great struggles; for he wrote to Spalatinus, who had acquainted him with the

intentions of the court, that the decrees of the pope, which he was then reading, in order to prepare himself for the disputation at Leipsic, "put him in doubt whether the pope were antichrist or his apostle, so miserably was Jesus Christ crucified in these decrees." In this manner he expressed the dreadful abuse which was therein made of the words of the gospel. He adds: "I am cruelly tormented to see the people thus imposed on, under pretext of the laws of Jesus Christ and of the Christian name."

However this may be, Luther had the weakness to write that letter, and the pope the imprudence not to profit by it, while Providence afforded to the former the leisure to instruct himself. and to recover from his state of torpor; the interregnum, besides, which had commenced with that year, favoured the progress of his doctrine, and drew the attention of his enemies to another quarter. The Emperor Maximillian liked neither the pope nor the monks; he knew the gross abuses which had been introduced, and all the empire complained of them; but he was prejudiced, like all the princes of his time, in favour of the ancient super-This prince died at the commencement of 1519. The elector of Saxony had the vicarship of the empire in the circles of Upper and Lower Saxony, and in some other provinces where his jurisdiction extended during the interregnum. At this time those who entertained an esteem for Luther began to declare themselves. They found in Frederick the authority necessary to protect them, and an example which the wisest gloried in following. Every person, besides, entertained so high an opinion of the wisdom and integrity of this prince, that no one could imagine he would protect a seditious and heretical monk. Thus the reputation of Frederick giving a new weight to his authority, and the writings of Luther spreading far and wide, it is scarcely to be believed how many disciples he acquired, and with what His courage was admired, his doctrine was approved, readiness. an acquaintance with the author was sought. People came from all parts to Wittenberg; and the inhabitants of the suburbs were to be heard giving thanks to God, with clasped hands, and eyes raised to heaven, that Wittenberg was become a second Zion, whence the light of the gospel was diffusing itself through the whole world.

At this time Erasmus wrote him a letter, in which he draws too excellent a portrait both of his enemies and his friends, not to allow the introduction here of a copious extract; besides, the letter is very fine in itself, and the testimony it affords to Luther was prior to any disputes between them.

"I cannot express to you," says he, " what sad events your books have caused here. Nothing has been able to eradicate from the minds of these people" (he speaks of the monks) "the suspicion that I have an interest in your writings; that I aid you in composing them; and that I am, as it were, the chief of the faction. Here are some who think they have found the opportunity of destroying the belles lettres, which they mortally hate, as pernicious to theological sublimity, on which they place an incomparably greater value than on Jesus Christ. They imagine, also, they can destroy me along with them. All is clamour, effrontery, artifice, slander, calumny; so that if I had not seen everything with my own eyes, and had not felt the attacks, I never could have been able to persuade myself that divines were capable of so much violence." And in the sequel: "I have cautioned these gentry not to declaim against you in so malicious a manner, especially before the people, and without having read your books. I have represented to them, that the judgment of divines ought to be pronounced with so much the greater circumspection and equity, as it was of the greater importance; and that they had to do, besides, with a man, whose conduct met with universal approbation. But I gained nothing, and they continue unceasingly to abuse you." Erasmus qualifies this in what follows: "They begin, however, (says he,) to soften in your favour; perhaps, because they dread the pen of the learned, and doubtless, also, because they are intimidated by their own conscience. And assuredly I should paint them as they deserve, if the doctrine and example of Jesus Christ did not withhold me. Wild beasts are rendered gentle by kindness; these men only become the more ferocious by it. You have in England people who esteem your works, and these are persons of the highest rank. There are some even here whose affection you have gained, and among those, a man of great merit. As for myself, I endeavour to remain neuter, in order to be more useful to the belles lettres,

which are again flourishing; and it seems to me, also, that people succeed better by a prudent moderation than by too much vehemence." He concludes thus: "There is a prior in the monastery of Antwerp, who was formerly one of your disciples; he is a true Christian, and a man who loves you with a great affection; he is almost the only one here who preaches Jesus Christ. The others preach only human fables, or their own interest. I have begun to read your Commentary on the Psalms; it pleases me much, and I hope it will be of great use."*

Almost all the learned and good men favoured the reformation, the necessity of which they knew; and on the side of those who opposed it, scarce anything was to be seen but interest, ignorance, and vice. Erasmus, moreover, had written to the elector that the conduct of Luther was universally esteemed, and his books eagerly read—a testimony, which not a little contributed to determine that prince to protect him.

The court of Saxony, alarmed at one of Luther's theses, made Spalatinus write to him concerning it. He replied; but the court not being satisfied with his reasons, he wrote again to Spalatinus, "that there was no occasion for so much alarm about his proposition; that after all the dangers he had run, he could have no doubt of the protection of God; that the chancellor of Pomerania had heard from Rome that the court had been so troubled with the explanation of his first theses against Tetzel, and with his reply to the dialogue of Prierias, that it had had recourse to the arms of Italy,-that is to say, to poisoners and assassins, to put him to death; that if he were not withheld by respect for the elector and for the University of Wittenberg, he would unbosom himself against Rome, or rather against that Babylon which equally exercised its violence against the scriptures; and that, in fine, it was necessary to give up the one or the other; that if God were the author of his enterprise, he would take care to defend it. have always protested to you," adds he, at the conclusion, "that I am ready to withdraw myself as soon as I could no longer

[•] I bring forward this letter of Erasmus, less to do honour to Luther than to inform the reader what was the character of the University of Louvain which censured his writings.



remain here, without involving our prince in the misfortunes which threaten me; for as to myself, I cannot avoid death, although, in my Apology,* which is just published, I sufficiently flatter the Roman church and its pontiff, if, however, that could be of any service."

In the meantime, in order to give some satisfaction to the court, Luther wrote an explanation of his thirteenth thesis; but it was not printed and published until some time had elapsed, and after the disputation at Leipsic had taken place. He first apologizes for the vehemence of his writings, and alleges as the cause of it the pride and malignity of his adversaries. Then, entering upon the point, he accedes to the superiority of the pope over all other churches; but he allows no other foundation for it than the consent of the people, which, nevertheless, he says, does not render the authority less just, or even less inviolable, because the apostle Paul directs that obedience be paid to the powers even when they abuse their authority. With regard to the proofs drawn from scripture in favour of the authority of the pope, he rejects them, and shews that the same promises that were made to Peter were made to all the other apostles, as the ancient fathers have said; that if the Roman church chose to appropriate to itself all that Jesus Christ had said to Peter, it ought also to apply to itself those alarming words: "Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me; for thou savourest not the things that are of God, but those that are of man." After reciting various arguments drawn from the ancient fathers, he dwelt much upon one that he drew from the council of Nice, and which he terms invincible. What Luther referred to is the sixth canon, establishing the pre-eminence of the bishop of Rome upon custom, and gives to the patriarch of Alexandria, over the churches of Egypt, a power equal to that which the church of Rome claimed over those churches of which Rome is the metropolitan. He adds the decree of the council of Carthage, cited

[•] This Apology is a work which Luther composed in Germany, and which he retracted afterwards (as he did many others) in the Latin preface to his works, printed in 1545. The foundation of this work is the offence which was taken at his writings. He appears to have composed it with the view of favouring the reconciliation which Miltitz was negotiating.



by Gratian, which declares, "that the bishop of the former see should be no longer called prince of the priests, or sovereign pontiff; that no similar title should be given him, but only that of bishop of the former see; and that the pontiff of Rome himself should be no longer called the occumenical bishop." Nor did Luther forget the letters of Pelagius and Gregory, wherein these popes condemn the title of universal bishop, as a title of pride, injurious to the other patriarchs. In conclusion, it must be remarked, that Luther at that time distinguished the church of Rome from the court of Rome, as the princes had done at the diet of Augsburg, in 1518. He gives to the former the titles of which the popes are so proud, but he leaves it that of "mistress of the world," only for the purpose of correcting the vices thereof, not for that of possessing its riches.

I have, in a preceding lecture, given some account of the disputation held at Leipsic between Carlostadt and Eckius, which lasted for several days.

When it was ended, Eckius, in order to obtain the favour of the court of Rome, by attacking its most formidable enemy, gave a challenge to Luther, which, after some consideration, the latter accepted. The disputation commenced on the 4th of July, and turned upon the thirteen propositions formerly mentioned. The principal part of the dispute concerned the last of them, -namely, whether the authority of the pope over all the churches is of divine right or not? This was agitated at the commencement; for it was by the trial of this question that Eckius hoped to make his own fortune and ruin Luther. He alleged, first, that the church not being able to exist without a head, the authority of the pope must be of divine right, God having instituted everything that is essential to the preservation of the church. But to this Luther replied, that Jesus Christ was the head of the church, and that it ought to have no other. Eckius then produced the passage, Matt. xvi., "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." Luther maintained that this rock, which is the foundation of the church, was Jesus Christ, which Peter had confessed, alleging the words of the apostle Paul, "Other foundation can no man lay than that which hath been laid, which is Jesus Christ;" to which he added those words of Peter, "to whom

coming as unto a living stone," &c., 1 Peter, ii. 4. 6. And as Eckius had affirmed that Augustine explained the passage in question of Peter himself, and that he had never retracted, Luther remarked, that that father had said in his retractation, "that Peter was not the rock, but that he had acknowledged the rock," and that in one of his homilies he had expressly excluded the sense that Eckius put upon it, by saying, "It is upon the rock, not upon thee, but upon the rock which thou hast acknowledged." Luther laid great stress upon the absurdities which would follow, if it were said that Peter is the foundation of the church, and made it appear that what Christ had, at times, said to this apostle, he had said to all his fellow apostles: that, for example, Jesus Christ had said to Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" although the other disciples had received them as well Peter.

Eckius did not fail to reproach Luther with the heresy of the Bohemians, because among Wycliffe's articles, this had been condemned, that "it is not necessary to salvation to believe that the Roman church is the sovereign of all the churches;" and among those of John Huss, "that Peter was not the head of the universal church." Luther, who perceived the artifice and malice of his adversary, contented himself with answering, that he did not countenance these schismatics; but that it must be confessed, that among the articles framed by Wycliffe, and by John Huss, there were some extremely evangelical, and that without examining whether this, "it is not necessary to salvation to believe the superiority of the Roman church over all other churches," be the doctrine of Wycliffe and John Huss or not, yet the contrary could not be maintained without condemning Gregory of Nazianzum, Basil, Epiphanius, Cyprian, and all the Greek bishops, who had never acknowledged this authority in the bishop of Rome, and who had never required from him the confirmation of episcopal dignity; that it was certain there was no church at Rome until about eighteen or twenty years after the ascension of Jesus Christ; and that it followed that the universal church would have been without a head during the whole of that time, if the Roman church were the head of the universal church.

Eckius made the most of this, like a man who knew how to

avail himself of every advantage. He exaggerated the injury which Luther had done to the council of Constance, in calling those articles evangelical which that council had condemned. But Luther avoided the blow by saying, that it was better to believe that the acts of the council had been altered, than to suppose that it had condemned articles taken almost word for word from scripture and from Augustine.

Luther insisted on the equality of the apostles. Eckius agreed to it; but while he allowed they were equal in point of apostleship, he denied it in point of episcopacy, pretending that they had received from Jesus Christ the charge of apostles, but that the office of bishop had been conferred on them by Peter, who had ordained them. The idea was ridiculous. Luther opposed to it the passage from the second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians, where Paul says, that he was in nothing inferior to the apostles who were in the greatest esteem, among whom he names Peter, and that those who ranked the highest had taught him nothing new; whence Luther concluded that Paul had received neither apostleship nor episcopacy from Peter. To this he added the decree which forbids any one to call the bishop of Rome an œcumenical bishop; whereupon Eckius betook himself to the evasion that the decree certainly forbade calling the bishop of Rome the universal bishop, but that it did not forbid calling him bishop of the universal church.

From this question they passed on to those of purgatory, indulgences, repentance, and absolution, which was discussed at length, but to give the arguments pro and con would be insufferably tedious, and therefore I omit them. The disputation itself was the occasion of many works. Melancthon wrote an account of it to Œcolampadius, and it soon fell into the hands of Eckius; and although it was written with much moderation, and he himself honourably enough treated in it, yet he was so much offended that he made a very sharp reply, in which he as much exalts his own rank as a divine, as he debases that of Melancthon, whom he treats as a petty grammarian. He wished also to sow jealousy between Luther and Melancthon, by opposing the learning of the former to the ignorance of the latter. But Luther, an enemy to artifice, repulsed this attempt with disdain. Melanc-

thon defended his narration in a short apology, written with much moderation and judgment; but he let his adversary see, that although he were not a doctor by title, he was scarcely less skilled in divinity than in polite literature.

On the other side, Eckius had the assurance to write to the elector of Saxony a letter very injurious to Luther, and wished to persuade that prince to have his books burnt. This would have been to raise his own glory to the highest pitch, and to assure his triumph. Frederick made a prudent and becoming reply, suited to moderate the fury of a violent controversialist; but, at the same time, he sent Eckius's letter to Luther and Carlostadius, who did not fail to answer it as it deserved. Eckius replied, and forgot nothing that could vilify the person and doctrine of Luther. It was a very malicious writing, and contained, in a short compass, all that has been said of the most satirical and specious kind against the protestants. It was soon answered by an apology, the style of which appeared to be that of Melancthon. But, of all the works which were published at this time, that which mortified Eckius the most was, a satire, tolerably well written, of which Œcolompadius was the author. It is in the form of a letter in the name of the ignorant Lutheran canons. He is artfully reproached for his vanity, his violence, his dissimulation, his fraud, and above all, with the unfortunate lot of his writings, which fell into oblivion as soon as they had seen the light, while those of Luther were read and sought after by all the world.

Miltitz after this requested a fresh interview with Luther. It was granted him, and took place at Libenverde, a little town in the neighbourhood of Wittenberg. The result was, that Luther should appear before the archbishop of Treves, but should receive neither censure nor excommunication on the part of the pope. The elector approved of this determination; but the nuncio, a little after his departure, wrote to Frederick that the pope began to lose his patience; that Luther preached incessantly; that there were bishops who advised his holiness to recal Miltitz, and to commit this business to another who possessed more vigour and less complaisance; and that it was to be feared lest the court of Rome, wearied out with so many delays, might at length let

fall the thunder which it had held suspended for such a length of time. The elector, who saw clearly that these menaces regarded himself, being invariably resolved not to commit his authority, nor to afford any handle whatever to the pope, put an end to the negotiation, and declared that he would no more intermeddle in it. This is the whole of what took place on this occasion, in the year 1519.

During these transactions Luther continued to explain the Psalms in his public lectures, the gospel and the book of Genesis in his sermons. He fulfilled, besides, all the duties of his situation; he wrote and received letters from all parts, and his knowledge increasing by study and meditation, he began to doubt concerning the number of sacraments, auricular confessions, communion in one kind, the sacred rights of the priests, and other points of the doctrine of the schools. The elector having fallen sick during this period, he sent him a little book of consolation, which contained fourteen meditations, seven upon the evils which afflict Christians, and seven upon the advantages which ought to console them. This little work was thought an excellent one, and was universally esteemed. The elector also required from Luther an explanation of the epistles and gospels for Lent. He promised it, although he was overwhelmed with business.

But of all the works of his which appeared this year, the most considerable is his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians. It was translated into several languages, and printed, in the following year, in Spanish, with his other works. It is a theological and moral commentary. Excellent remarks are to be found in it for the clearing up of the text, although the author (who held this epistle in such admiration, that he called it his epistle, to which he was, as it were, entirely devoted) had not then considered it so thoroughly as he has since done. He explained at great length, in that work, his opinion upon justification by faith; but he was so far from making any attack upon the necessity of sanctification, that he treated as deceivers those divines who asserted that a single degree of charity was sufficient to salvation. He maintained that these persons destroyed the spirit of Christianity, and the law of Jesus Christ, the object of

which is to render man perfect. In it Luther censured the errors of the court of Rome, which he distinguished in the dedication from the Roman church; but in order to soften the censures, he subjoined great protestations of obedience to the see of Rome. He was at that time influenced by those sentiments of reconciliation to which the negotiation of Militiz had inclined him; and he hoped the pope would enter into the same. Both the censure and the protestations were omitted in the second edition, in 1524. To this there are two prefaces, which deserve to be read. The perusal of the sacred books is therein recommended, and censure passed in a grave and modest manner upon the negligence of the age in regard to the study of those books, while men attached themselves with an insatiable curiosity to that of books merely human.

These prefaces appeared to be the work of Melancthon, although the style of them is more florid than the style of that great man at a later period; but this may be a consequence of his youth.

There sprang up at this period (1520), two new adversaries to oppose Luther, but so contemptible, that no mention would be made of them, unless on account of a particular matter to be found in the answer which Luther returned to one of them. This circumstance is, that there were people still living who remembered to have seen the pallium eight times paid for by the archbishop of Mentz. Now for each pallium near thirty thousand crowns were paid, which made a very considerable sum at that time. Leaving to themselves those petty adversaries, who barked in vain against him, Luther conceived a great project in his mind. When he had discovered that the pope's authority was not of divine right, he drew from it a consequence extremely natural,-namely, that it ought either to be abolished or moderated. As to its abolition, he entertained, at that time, no sentiment of the kind, either because of its antiquity, or because it might have its use in maintaining the unity of the western church. He therefore thought of moderating that authority, because tyrannical and destructive to the people; and because the avarice and ambition of the court of Rome encouraged it to support abuses, which were the source of its riches.

In order to accomplish so great a design, Luther composed a work in German, which he addressed to the emperor and to the nobility of the empire, in which he saps the foundation of the papal dominion and oppression. These foundations, according to him, were, first, the PRIVILEGES which the clergy assume to themselves over the laity; secondly, the right of determining the sense of scripture, of which the pope had possessed himself, and by which means no interpretation could be received which was not conformable to his interests; thirdly, the power of assembling councils and of presiding in them. In this work he attempts to destroy these three foundations. On the first he observes, that between the clergy and laity there was not that distinction which the former arrogate to themselves, and that Jesus Christ having consecrated all the faithful, and having made so many kings and priests from among them, it was lawful for every layman to exercise the ministry in case of necessity. Upon the second, he proves, that the pope, being liable to err as other men, could not determine with certainty, and by his own authority, the sense of the scriptures. He made it evident upon the third, that to convoke councils is a right of princes, which the popes have usurped over them. He afterwards descends into the detail of the abuses of the court of Rome, and proposes the means of correcting them; but he does all this with an ability surprising in a man who had been brought up remote from the affairs of the world. The part of this work most delicate in the handling is, the celebrated question of the pretensions claimed by the popes over the empire and the emperors. Luther had not been enabled to observe without indignation, that Prierias, treading in the footsteps of so many other slaves of the court of Rome, was changing the papacy into an universal monarchy, by giving to the Roman pontiffs an absolute sovereignty over all states, in virtue of which kings are but their vassals, and enjoy their crowns only through the favour of the pope. He knew, moreover, with what affectation the bishops of Rome boast of having taken the empire from the Greeks, and given it to the Germans; and that, under pretence of homage and acknowledgment, they thought themselves entitled to require everything from the German nation. This was the usual language of the legates when they made demands

on the part of the pope. Luther took in hand, therefore, to examine that difficult question, and exposed the vanity of the pretensions of the popes, their revolt against the emperors, above whom they exalted themselves, although they were their subjects; and the unjust and artful means they made use of to drain Germany. He admits, however, that the pope has a spiritual superiority over the emperor (because he preaches the word of God and administers the sacraments to him), such as St. Ambrose had possessed over Theodosius, and Samuel over Saul and David; "but," exclaims he, "let the emperor shew that he is emperor, really sovereign; that he will not let himself be imposed on by the delusions of Rome; and that he will not suffer the pope to possess himself of his authority, and to wrest from him the sword which God alone has placed in his hands."

After all, there was nothing in what Luther advanced upon the subject of the chimerical pretensions of the popes, which was not exactly true, and which had not even been proved by modern historians, extremely attached to popery. Besides, the emperors were not ignorant of their rights, as Maximillian clearly shewed at the diet, in 1507. Meanwhile, Luther's work made a terrible noise. The partisans of the court of Rome were in an inexpressible rage at it. Luther's friends trembled for his safety, and clearly saw that after such an affront the pope never would forgive him.

With respect to success, it is very doubtful whether this work did him more good or harm. In fact, it must have been agreeable to the nobility and secular princes, to see him promulgate their rights, and avenge them of the papal tyranny: but, on the other hand, he rendered himself odious to all the clergy of Germany, who were equally numerous and powerful, by striking at their privileges, and placing them on a level with the laity. Be this as it may, as soon as it was known that Luther had composed a thundering work against the pope, he was entreated to suppress it; but he replied that it was impossible, four thousand copies having been sold since the 17th of August. To this he added, "We are persuaded that the papacy is the seat of antichrist, and that it is allowable for us to attempt everything against its impostures, its seductions, and its knavery." Meanwhile, although

he expresses himself in this manner, it appears by his answer to the cordelier, Augustine Alfeldensis, that his design was not to throw off the yoke of the Roman church, as has been remarked, but to confine its authority within just bounds, by declaring that its superiority over all the church was not of divine right, and that Christian societies which did not acknowledge its authority did not therefore make less a part of the church of Jesus Christ, and ought not to be regarded as heretics and schismatics. Such was his declaration at that time, and in the work just mentioned. In short, Luther believed that the electoral court was not sorry that he had published the work, and that it was even well pleased that the pope had received that mortification.

It is not known what business the elector of Saxony had at Rome; but Valentine de Teutlebe, who was afterwards bishop of Hildesheim, wrote to him that he ought not to be astonished it succeeded so ill with him, because it was publicly said, that he protected a man who spread abroad new doctrines, to the injury of the holy see. At the same time, Cardinal de St. George (Riari) acquainted him that preparations were making to excommunicate Luther. These letters were undoubtedly written in concert with the pope, who wished to compel the elector to declare himself in an answer. The prince replied to Teutlebe, that he had never claimed the right to judge of Luther's doctrine, far less did he wish to defend it; that, in fact, he had suffered him to go on upon the assurances he gave to maintain his doctrine in every place where called upon, as soon as he had obtained a safe-conduct; and to retract it from the time he should be convinced of error; that he had solicited him voluntarily to quit his dominions, but that Miltitz had opposed it, fearing he would write elsewhere with more freedom. Frederick added a caution, which was sufficient to induce the court of Rome not to precipitate the excommunication of Luther: "Germany," he said, "was full of persons skilled in all the sciences; that the people testified an extreme desire to read the scriptures; and that if the court of Rome was absolutely determined to reject the offers of Luther, and to treat his affair with haughtiness, it ought to dread troubles difficult to be appeased, and revolutions which might be as fatal to the pope as to others." There is reason to believe that Luther was concerned

in this answer, as the letters of Teutlebe and Cardinal Riari were communicated to him.

Teutlebe did not fail to communicate the elector's answer to the pope; and as that prince had protested he should be extremely sorry to afford any protection to error, Leo pretended to take that declaration for a formal condemnation of Luther's doctrine. Upon this, he wrote a letter to Frederick, quite full of praises, wherein he made it a doubt, which he ought most to admire in that prince, his prudence or his piety. He returned him thanks for having afforded neither aid nor protection to Luther, whose portrait he drew in these terms:—"He is the wickedest and most detestable of all the heretics, having no other mission than that which he has received from the devil." The pope concluded with informing the elector, that Luther's doctrine having been condemned in a congregation appointed to examine it, he sent him the bull of condemnation, and that in case Luther should not retract within the time prescribed, he entreated him to secure the heretic.

While proceedings were carried on against Luther at Rome, Providence raised him up protectors in Germany. Sylvester de Schaumbourg, of an illustrious house among the nobility of Franconia, and Francis de Seckengen, a gentleman who possessed great interest in the empire, wrote to him to assure him of their support and friendship. Schaumbourg wrote to him, that he had been informed by persons of worth and learning, that as long as his doctrine was founded only upon scripture, and submitted to equitable and enlightened judges, he would not fail to be persecuted; that he entreated him not to seek an asylum in Bohemia, because the smallest communication with the Bohemians would render his cause odious; that he offered him a retreat, together with the protection of an hundred gentlemen, with whom he might await in safety the decision of his affair.

It was extremely pleasing to Luther to perceive that Providence raised him up friends, so much the more faithful, as he had gained them only by the force of truth and the justice of his cause. He was not satisfied with informing the elector of it; he wished it to be known at Rome; and requested Spalatinus to tell his master, that it would be well to mention it when he wrote to Cardinal de St. George. Luther's design was to put a stop to the bull, which

he knew was preparing against him. He subjoined, nevertheless, " For myself, the lot is cast; I equally despise both the resentment and the favour of Rome. No longer do I wish to cultivate either peace or communion with her; let them condemn, let them burn my books, if they choose so to do; I will condemn, I will burn, in my turn, the ordinances and constitutions of the pontiffs, and I will for ever renounce the idea of submissions. I have made too many already, since they have only served to inflame in proportion the bosoms of the enemies of the Gospel. I have no doubt, however, but that the Lord will complete his work, either by me, or by some other person." He wrote, nevertheless, a little time after, to the cardinal de St. Croix, in very different terms. His letter is not to be found among his works, but the substance of it is contained in another which he wrote to Spalatinus on the 23rd of August. "He entreated that cardinal to become a mediator in his cause. He was willing to yield in everything except recantation, the stigma of heresy, and the freedom which he reserved to himself of teaching the word of God." Finally, he added, "that he was in dread neither of censure nor violence; that he had a secure asylum in the hearts of the Germans: and that it would behove his enemies to take care, lest in destroying one adversary they might cause many others to spring up."

It might seem astonishing that Luther should have written, almost at the same period, things which appear so opposite. But these variations must be attributed to the uncertainties and agitations which the human mind endures in difficult cases. Struck, at one time, with the tyranny of Rome, and the abuses which she had introduced or authorized, he was filled with indignation against her, and thought only of breaking with the pope, whom he regarded as antichrist; at another, either fear of danger, or the solicitations of friends, or the hope of a practicable reformation, led him to adopt sentiments of a more moderate kind. This, doubtless, is one of the principal causes of the frequent inequalities which are to be found in the conduct and writings of Luther; and so much the rather as it was known to be a vehemence of spirit which hurried him impetuously to extremes.

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In the midst of these perplexities, Luther did not cease to write; and all his writings tended to one object, which was, if not to abolish, at least to moderate, the authority of the pontiff of Rome. He had perceived at first sight that this authority was so strongly connected with the reigning superstitions, that they mutually supported each other. In fact, the authority of the pope upheld the abuses; it was that which consecrated them, and, by the respect entertained for the papal decisions, prevented even the examination of them; but on the other hand, the abuses were, in return, the foundation of the pope's authority; for it was through the influence of superstition that he was master of the consciences and wealth of the people. Luther, therefore, equally adopted the two following measures-namely, sometimes that of opposing the pope's authority, in order to destroy the superstitions; sometimes that of destroying the superstitions, in order to pull down the authority of the pope. It was the latter of these modes which he pursued in a book which created, at first, some surprise, by the novelty of its title and subject. He there treats of the sacraments; and as nothing had more contributed to raise and support the authority of the pope and the clergy than the number and efficacy of the sacraments, as well as the exclusive power of administering them, I shall particularize the principal points explained, which are as follow:-

He examines, in the first place, the number of the sacraments. The school-divines had made seven of them; to Luther it appeared that, at the most, there were only three: baptism, the eucharist, and penance. He remarked, however, at the conclusion of the work, that penance was not properly a sacrament, because it possessed no visible sign, and that, consequently, the definition of the schoolmen did not agree with it. He attaches, in a word, little weight to this controversy; and all he attempts to prove is, that the number of seven sacraments is not found in scripture.

After this, he proceeded to discuss various other matters, such as the sacraments, communion in both kinds, the doctrine of transubstantiation, &c.; but on these enlargement is unnecessary, because that, at a subsequent period of his life, Luther saw reason to alter his mind on some of them. He is censured by many,

and not unjustly, for being changeable on the subject of the eucharist. At first, he lays down transubstantiation as the catholics do. He afterwards denies it, and admits consubstantiation. He seeks for the ground of his opinion in the words of the eucharist; he searches for it in the entire presence of the human nature of Jesus Christ; he quits, he resumes, the same sentiment. The only fault I find on the occasion-and which people may, if they please, attribute to my prejudices, but which for my own part I attribute to his-is that of being too firm, and not of having totally abandoned an opinion which he did not know how to support. After all, nothing can be more excusable than his changes; for if it be supposed that the corporeal presence be real, Luther has only varied in the manner of explaining or defending it; in the opinion itself he remains the same. He believed, or wished to believe, that the scripture established this presence; but not explaining himself upon the mode, he has pursued the subjects as others have done, and, in like manner, has been mistaken. He could not do otherwise; and although he had even been a hundred times more ingenious and acute than he was, he must have been deceived. He acted like those philosophers who endeavour to give an account of a phenomenon known to them only through the medium of false representation.

From this subject Luther proceeds to the sacrifice of the mass. It is the basis of the greatest superstitions, and, as it were, the chief idol of popery. Although he has but slightly touched on this matter, yet he has undoubtedly established just and sure principles, and drawn from them an argument sufficiently strong against this pretended sacrifice. He remarks, therefore, at first, that there is an essential difference between the nature of a sacrament and that of a sacrifice; because in every sacrament it is God that gives to man; whereas in every sacrifice it is man that offers to God, and it is God that receives what is presented to him by man. This is founded on the very nature of things, and proved by the single consideration of all sacraments, and of all sacrifices. He next observes, that the institution of the supper contains nothing which affords the least idea of a sacrifice; that Jesus Christ undoubtedly offered prayers and thanksgivings to

God when he took in his hands the sacred symbols, but that he did not present them to God as a victim; on the contrary, he gave them to his disciples, who received them. With respect to the title of sacrifice which the ancients have given to the eucharist, that they have so done only because they took into view either the prayers which accompany the celebration of the eucharist, or the usage of the primitive church, which celebrated the Lord's supper with a part of the bread and wine which were offered by believers; or, finally, because the supper is the commemoration of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ.

From this principle, that the mass is not a sacrifice, he draws two consequences. The first, that mass cannot be celebrated for any but those who communicate; because, the eucharist being only the sign and seal of the promises of God, no one can receive that sign and seal for another; and that it is not less absurd for a priest to communicate for the people, than it would be for a priest to be baptized for the people. The second, that yearly obits, masses for the dead, and for the living who are absent, and of course the foundations for them, ought to be abolished; this was, in fact, utterly to destroy that infinite multitude of priests and monks who were of no other use than to repeat masses.

What Luther advanced on the subject of baptism, or rather on the efficacy of the sacraments, is worthy of remark. It was a sentiment propagated by the schoolmen, that there existed in the sacraments a virtue which justifies,—that is to say, which actually sanctifies all those who receive them, provided there be no real and present obstacle. On this head Luther asserts, that it is not properly the sacrament which justifies those who receive it, but the faith which they have in the testimony and promises of God; for that circumcision did not justify Abraham, because he was already justified by the faith which he had while an uncircumcised Gentile; that, in like manner, the apostle Paul calls that circumcision "a seal of the righteousness," or of the justification which Abraham had already obtained by faith. "It is thus," says Luther, "that baptism neither justifies, nor is of value to any one; the whole efficacy proceeds from the faith a person has in the promises of God, to which baptism is added, because it is this

faith which verifies and accomplishes that which is represented by baptism. It is faith which plunges the old man into the water, and causes the new man to arise out of it. It cannot therefore be true," says Luther, "that there is in the sacraments an efficacious virtue which justifies, or that they are the effectual signs of grace; it is only when faith accompanies the use of them that they confer grace, or have any saving efficacy."

Luther proceeds to other points, which were still better examined in the sequel. We shall only add, that, judging at that time, from the principal object of baptism, as being less a symbol of the remission of sins, than of the death and spiritual resurrection of a believer, he could have wished that the ancient ceremony of immersion had been re-established. Not, however, that he thought it absolutely necessary, but because, according to his judgment, it would have been well to preserve the entire and perfect sign of our new birth, and to conform in every particular to the institution of Jesus Christ. He added, at the conclusion of his treatise, these lines, which appear to be addressed to the pope:—

Hostis Herodes impie, Christum venire, quid times? Non arripit mortalis Qui regna dat cœlestia.

TRANSLATED.

Say, impious Herod! sanguinary king!
Why shakes thy guilty soul with coward fear?
What though the Christ, whom ancient prophets sing,
Within these realms in mortal guise appear?
Yet learn, the hands that heavenly crowns bestow,
Stoop not to seize the dross of those below.

LECTURE LXV.

The Lutheran reformation continued—Miltitz, the papal nuncio, strives to reconcile Luther—An interview takes place between them —Luther writes to the pope, and sends him his treatise on Christian Liberty—Death of Miltitz—Echius goes to Rome, and obtains from the pope a letter of excommunication against Luther—Abstract of the pope's bull—The bull censured for its bombast—Echius brings the bull into Germany—The Bishop of Brandenburg dares not publish it at Wittenberg—Luther pours contempt on the thunderbolt—And publishes a work in which he exposes the hypocrisy and vices of Echius, and the tyranny and injustice of Rome—Luther denounces the pope in thundering expressions—Is informed that his books are burnt by the pope's orders, and he in return burns the pope's bull, the decree, and the decretals—And justifies the act—Erasmus' opinion of Luther. A. D. 1520.

While Luther was publishing in succession the various pieces mentioned in my last lecture, Militiz continued his best efforts to accomplish the object of his mission; and as he had his interest to consult on all sides, he would have been extremely well pleased to satisfy the pope, on whom his fortune depended, without disobliging the elector of Saxony, from whom he received a pension. Influenced by these sentiments, he sought every possible expedient to reconcile Luther with the pope. The archbishop of Treves was a prince in the good graces of all parties. The pope was by no means displeased that he should determine on Luther's case, nor Luther that he should be his judge. For these reasons

Miltitz unceasingly solicited the archbishop to send for Luther to Coblentz, because, as he continued to preach and to write, the evil became every day more difficult to cure, and the pope more incensed. But the archbishop, fearing to commit himself with the court of Rome, -which had not sent him any instructions, or with the powers who interested themselves in the reputation and safety of Luther, wished to refer the examination of this dispute to the next diet which Charles the Fifth was to assemble at his return from Spain,-promising, moreover, that in case the emperor did not arrive speedily, other methods should be devised to remedy the evil. Miltitz, therefore, not being able to obtain anything from the archbishop, applied himself to the elector of Saxony and to Luther. He entreated the elector to prevent the publication of a book which Luther was then preparing, and which, according to what was said of it, would lower the court of Rome so much that she could never recover it. This book was the work addressed to the emperor and the nobility of the empire, of which mention has been already made. elector informed him that the book was already published; and that, not having known of the printing of it, he had been unable to prevent it; whereupon Miltitz, who was then at Halle, in Saxony, proceeded to Isleben, where the chapter-general of the Augustines was to assemble on the 29th of August, being the feast of St. Augustine.

It was here that the nuncio represented to these monks how much it was the interest of their order to reconcile Luther with the pope; the shame that would result on the whole body of the Augustines if one of their members were disgraced by the crime of heresy, and excommunicated by the pope; the glory which would, on the contrary, be gained by the assembly if it were able to triumph over the obstinacy of Luther, and to bring back to his holiness a revolted subject, whom no one had been able to reduce to obedience; the gratitude which the holy see would feel on the occasion; and the service, in short, which they would render to the church, menaced by a schism which could not prove fatal to the papacy without being so to all the monks, whose privileges had no other support than the authority and protection of the sovereign pontiffs.

The fathers resolved to send a deputation to Luther, consisting of John de Staupitz, who had resigned the vicarship, and Venceslaus Linccius, who was invested with it,—both able meu, and possessed of authority in the order, and in habits of friendship with Luther. Miltitz charged them with a very courteous letter, in which he conjured Luther to yield to the persuasion of his brethren, and assured him that he would have been happy to accompany them if he had not been afraid of exposing himself in a place where a pope's nuncio would be looked upon with an evil eye.

Staupitz and Linccius arrived at Wittenberg, attended by some other monks. They agreed that Luther was in the right, and condemned with him the superstitions of the age. after all, said they, obedience must be yielded to the pope to prevent bringing upon yourself the vengeance of so formidable a power. The persuasions of these persons had formerly had much influence on Luther's mind, at the time he appeared before Cajetan; they had scarcely less now; and he was at last prevailed upon to agree to write a submissive letter to the pope, in which he would promise him a filial obedience. Miltitz was overjoyed at the success of this negotiation: but Eckius having in the meanwhile arrived from Rome, and having brought with him the bull-of which we shall speak hereafter,-Luther altered his sentiments, and acquainted Spalatinus that, not having written the letter promised by him, he had now entirely resolved against writing it.

Miltitz, who was then at Leipsic, hearing that Eckius had arrived in the capacity of nuncio, and that he was charged with the bull against Luther, was extremely chagrined at seeing his schemes disconcerted, and at being supplanted by Eckius, who, no doubt, had done him disservice at Rome. He immediately sought an interview with Luther, and promised the court of Saxony that, in case the latter would adhere to the plan agreed upon with the Augustins, he would procure the bull to be either recalled or moderated before the term of one hundred and eight days, allowed by it to Luther, had expired. Luther consented to the interview, which took place at Lichtenberg, on the fourteenth of October; and Miltitz, who expected to see him extremely

enraged, was so surprised at finding him easy and cheerful that he stated to the elector that it could only be through an inspiration of the Holy Spirit, which was willing at length to favour the reconciliation. They came to an agreement that Luther should write to the pope, in twelve days, a humble and submissive letter, under pretence of sending him a book he was employed upon, and that this letter should be dated the sixth of September, in order that it might not appear to be written since the arrival of the bull. or extorted through fear of excommunication. Miltitz added, in his account of this conference, that he should completely prevent the matter from going according to the will of Eckius and those of his faction, and that they should have the mortification of seeing the revocation of the bull which they prided themselves on having obtained. It was his intention, at that time, to go himself to Rome, in order to get there before the expiration of the hundred and eight days, and to negotiate with the pope upon the spot. No one will be displeased to find that he applied to the elector for money to procure patrons at Rome; for forty or fifty florins for Pucci, cardinal of Santiquatro; and likewise for some medals for the young cardinals.

Luther wrote to the pope according to his promise. His letter is too flattering to Leo, but so disgraceful to the court of Rome as to make it seem astonishing that Miltitz would venture to take upon himself the office of sending it to the pope. This letter was accompanied by a treatise upon Christian liberty, which turned entirely upon the clearing up of these two propositions, contradictory in appearance to each other: -- "The Christian is master of all things, and is subject to no one; the Christian is the slave of all things, and subject to every one." They are comprised, in some degree, in these words of the apostle Paul: "Although I am free, I make myself the slave of all." The design of this work is not so much to oppose the ecclesiastical laws and external ceremonies as the opinion of righteousness and merit attached to them; and as it appeared to Luther that by establishing justification by faith alone the merit of works would be completely destroyed, he set out with that doctrine.

As tyrants cannot endure that any one should talk of liberty, and consider as rebellious even the very sighs that are breathed

for it, this book of Luther's excited great murmurs among his adversaries. They exclaimed everywhere that he was a seditious person, who endeavoured to raise commotions among the people, who wished to overturn all the laws, to destroy the ecclesiastical discipline and ministry, and to introduce confusion into church and state; that he was, besides, an open enemy to good works, and aimed at forming a sect of profane libertines. It may be seen, by a reference to his book, how far he was from entertaining these sentiments. It must, however, be allowed, that he was not sufficiently circumspect in his expressions, and that inexcusable exaggerations sometimes escaped him, which gave a handle to his enemies. He was a daring genius, that delighted in paradox. But, with this exception, the liberty which he inculcates is a liberty perfectly free from anything vicious; and Rome would have been able to relish his doctrine, or at least to tolerate it, if she had been capable of that simple moderation which her interest required.

Miltitz received Luther's letter, together with his book. This was the close of his negotiation, from which he derived neither profit nor honour. The court of Rome was of opinion that he had degraded his rank by the adoption of measures approaching to meanness, and which inspired Luther with courage. It is certain that he was not esteemed in Saxony; but this was owing to the irregularity of his manners, and not to any defect of prudence in his negotiation. Even Luther himself has borne this testimony in his favour, that if the archbishop of Mentz, and then the pope, had, like him, censured Tetzel and the collectors, the reformation would have fallen to the ground of its own accord. Luther offered to be silent, and submitted himself to the pope; it remained only to accept his offers, to impose silence on both parties, and to let the affair drop into oblivion. Miltitz retired, and soon after died. According to some accounts, he was drowned in passing the Rhine, after a debauch, and five hundred ducats were found upon him.

After the famous disputation of Leipsic, Eckius, who thought only of reaping the fruits of his imaginary victory, and of assuring his triumph by the condemnation of Luther, repaired to Rome, under pretext of a cause which he had there, and which he carried by favour, although, by his own confession, the right was not on his side. Having boasted of his zeal, and the advantage he had obtained over Luther and Carlostadius, in the same proportion as he exaggerated their heresies and the necessity for condemning Luther at least, the pope, importuned by the monks, had the weakness to appoint a congregation for that business. Prierias and Eckius were summoned; and, in order that no one of Luther's chief adversaries should be wanting, Cajetan had himself conveyed thither, although extremely indisposed. The matter of condemnation was easily agreed upon; it was only upon the manner that any difference of opinion existed. The divines were desirous of proceeding directly to excommunication, because Luther's heresies were notorious from his books. The canonists. on the other hand, chose to begin by citing the offender-selfdefence being a natural right, and inviolable upon the principles of equity. They took, at length, a middle road, which was to condemn Luther's doctrine, it being well known, and to allow him time to retract. When it became necessary to draw up the bull, sharp contests arose between the cardinal of Ancona and the cardinal Datario. They had each of them prepared a rough draft; and both the one and the other was so desirous of having his own adopted that the pope had much difficulty to appease them, and to bring them to an agreement.

He preferred that prepared by the cardinal of Ancona, after making several alterations, and holding four consultations in the space of ten days. The bull was dated the fifteenth of June, in the eighth year of Leo's pontificate.

Luther says, in his answer to the divines of Louvain, that it was certain the whole was transacted with great confusion, and in spite of the strong opposition of the cardinal of St. Croix, and many others.

The pope begins his bull by addressing himself, in very pathetic terms, to Jesus Christ, to St. Peter, to St. Paul, and, in short, to all the saints. He represents to them the miseries endured by the church, and how much it concerned them to succour it. He then collects against Luther all the most odious terms that can be thought of, even so far as to call him another Porphyry, since, as the former had presumed to gainsay the holy apostles, so

did this man dare to oppose the holy pontiffs of Rome; and that, despairing of being able to defend his cause by reason, he betakes himself, after the custom of heretics, to reproach,—the last resort of persons of that description, according to the remark of St. Jerome. The pope next exaggerates the extreme grief under which he labours, so great, indeed, as scarcely to leave him the power of speech, but which is yet increased, whether he considers the nature of the heresy, which is the same as that of the Greeks and Bohemians,—that is to say, which wounds the universal and infallible authority of the pontiff of Rome, or whether he adverts to the German nation afflicted by it,—a nation, continues be, always so dear to his predecessors that they had introduced it into the bosom of their affection, had honoured it with empire taken from the Greeks,—a nation which, always inviolably attached to the holy see, has signalized its zeal for the defence of the church and the catholic truth, evidenced by proofs to be found both in the ordinances of the emperors against heretics, which have been confirmed by the holy see, and in the punishment of the perfidy of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, in the council of Constance, and lastly, in the battles wherein the Germans have so freely shed their blood against the heretics of Bohemia.

Passing on to the doctrine of Luther, he condemns forty-one of its articles, as full of deadly poison, and highly pernicious—capable of seducing the pious, contrary to the love and respect due to the holy Roman church, the mother of all believers, the mistress of faith,—and contrary to that obedience which is the source and origin of all the virtues, and without which every Christian is an open rebel.

This last argument is one of the war horses of the popes, who generally make use of it under the name of St. Augustine, and, if I am not mistaken, of St. Gregory, applying to the blind obedience of the pontiffs of Rome what those fathers have said concerning the spirit of obedience towards God, in like manner, as they apply to the same church all that the scripture has said respecting the church and the society of true believers.

The pope, after having condemned Luther's doctrine, prohibits all kinds of persons, of whatever rank they may be, whether civil or ecclesiastical, monastic or secular, from listening to, preaching, or favouring, that doctrine, under pain of excommunication, degradation, and infamy, together with privation of their fiefs. He denounces the same penalties against those who shall possess, read, or retain, the works of Luther, and who shall not commit them to the flames.

In the next place the pope states with how much patience he had borne with Luther. After summoning him to Rome, he had invited him with kindness, he had exhorted him, both by letters and by his legates, to become obedient, and he had offered him money, and a safe-conduct for the security of his person. If he had come, continues the pope, he would, no doubt, have acknowledged his errors, and would not have found so many defects in the court of Rome, against which he spreads such injurious reports; and we should have convinced him that our holy predecessors have never erred in their ordinances; because, according to the prophets, neither the balm nor the physician are ever wanting in Gilead, Jerem. viii. 22; but instead of obeying, he had persevered, for more than a year, in a state of obduracy, notwithstanding the censures issued against him; and, to complete the mischief, he had dared to appeal to a council. In the last place, the pope, informed of the state of affairs in Germany, endeavours to regain Luther by a very pathetic exhortation, and by the hope of pardon, allowing him and his adherents sixty days to be converted, to retract their opinions, and to experience his clemency. But upon this term being expired, in pursuance of the apostle's doctrine, which directs that "an heretic be avoided," the pope orders all persons, of what rank soever, to apprehend Luther and his adherents, and convey them to Rome, promising a recompence proportioned to so great a service; lays every place under an interdict to which Luther shall have retired during his continuance therein, and for three days after his departure; commands that all his books be burned, as well those already written as those which he shall hereafter write; forbids any one to read, print, or even to value or praise them; subjects to all the penalties therein contained whoever shall oppose the publication or execution of his bull, on which he bestows titles savouring more of bombast than of apostolic simplicity and charity.

This bull did little honour to the pope. Its style was such as pervaded all the bulls of Leo, made up of periods so long and so interrupted by parentheses, as to render the reading of it more tiresome and fatiguing than can be expressed. This was, however, its least fault; it was full of tragical exclamations and puerile amplifications, which, far from rendering it affecting, only made it contemptible. It could not be conceived how a pope, plunged in luxury and dissoluteness, could be afflicted with such violent grief as he represented, since he had never, even for a moment, suspended the amusements of the court. It was found that this bull justified what Luther had advanced respecting the tyranny of the popes, because nothing could be more tyrannical than to condemn princes, ecclesiastical and secular, to lose their wealth and dignities, if they afforded the least protection to Luther, although his doctrine had not as yet been judicially condemned. To this was added, that it was absurd to give the title of A learned Refutation of the Works of Luther, to the censures of Cologne and Louvain, which were only simple extracts from his books, accompanied by a condemnation destitute of every kind of proof; that it was an act of blind passion to burn all the books of a man, without any distinction, even those which were purely works of devotion; but that it was carrying violence to the highest pitch, to order, at the same time, all his future compositions to be burned. Finally, there was remarked in this bull a vain and tiresome exaggeration of the papal power, and a vague and undeterminate condemnation of Luther's propositions, which were respectively styled, false, heretical, &c., without distinguishing which of these epithets agreed to each of the propositions; and it was asked on this head, whether the Holy Spirit speaking by the pope, had not been able to make this distinction, or whether it had not chosen so to do? of these was found equally unworthy of it. Ulric de Hutton had this bull printed, with notes full of poignancy, wherein he displays all its defects, and charges the pope and the court of Rome with all the outrages committed upon Luther. He closes his remarks with these words of the second Psalm,-" Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their yoke from us."

Eckius, invested with the new dignity of nuncio, was charged

with the bull just mentioned; but he did not meet with the applause he expected in Germany. At first, he boasted of having procured the condemnation of Luther; but perceiving that his violence was disapproved by every equitable monk, he suddenly changed his tone, and endeavoured to have it thought that he had been rather the apologist than the accuser of his adversary. This last measure succeeded worse than the former; for he was convicted by his letters of having been the most violent advocate for the bull, and as it was at Leipsic that he entered into contest, and hoped to receive the crown of victory, so it was there he was treated with the utmost disrespect. The Duke George forbade the senate to allow the publication of the bull, without the express order of the bishop of Mersburg; and when it made its appearance, the people and the students tore it to pieces, and cast it into the dirt. As for Eckius, he had the mortification of seeing libels posted up in the most public places, in which he was strangely depicted, and of hearing satirical songs sung about in ridicule of his pride and improper conduct. They even threatened to treat him as a person who had gone to seek, at Rome, the brand which was to set fire to Germany.

He was therefore under the necessity of retiring into the convent of the Dominicans, where he dared not let himself be seen by any one; so much had his boldness and resolution of mind forsaken him. Thus was this man, who had entered Leipsic in triumph, breathing, like another Saul, only menaces and destruction, overwhelmed with contempt and shame, and loaded with the public hatred, in the same spot where he had boasted of having obtained, the year before, one of the most memorable victories of the school.

Having withdrawn from Leipsic during the night, he took the road to Friburg, passed on to Erford, and presented the bull to the University. But it was rejected there, under pretence of some defect in point of form; and he beheld it torn to pieces and thrown into the water, the students having actually beset him in his dwelling. The Bishop of Bamberg made the same objections as the University of Erford. That of Eckstadt, to whose chapter Eckius belonged, was the first who published it. The University of Mersburg waited until the month of April,

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of the following year; and that of Misnia, the most violent of all against Luther, did not publish it until the 7th January. Two manuscript letters have been handed down to us from a monk of Venice, named Burchard, of the illustrious house of the Barons of Schenk, in Thuringia. In the first, he writes, that the bull was not published at Venice until the festival of Easter, 1521, and that the senate had caused almost all the people to withdraw before it was read. In the second, he observes, that Luther was greatly esteemed at Venice; that his books were sought after with great eagerness; and that his doctrine and his conduct were highly praised.

It was the duty of the bishop of Brandenburg, in whose diocese Wittenberg was, to publish the bull in that city. He went thither with the elector of Brandenburg, and Albert, duke of Mecklenburg. He thought that, being accompanied by these two princes, he might undertake it without risk. But having observed the esteem this city entertained for Luther, and having heard the elector and the duke his brother speaking of him in very high terms, he became of opinion that he ought not to undertake so odious a business, and departed without doing anything.

Luther saw the bull, and held it in contempt. He lost nothing of his usual cheerfulness. Not to neglect, however, the precautions necessary for his safety, he was of opinion that he ought to apply to the elector, who was then at Aix, where the emperor was crowned in the month of October, to obtain of his imperial majesty a rescript, prohibiting any one from condemning him, as he had not been convicted of error by the scripture. He commissioned Spalatinus to make the proposal to the prince his master. But when he had learned, by a letter from Erasmus, that the emperor was beset by the monks, and much prejudiced against him, he changed his sentiments, and represented to Spalatinus that the elector ought not to be exposed to a refusal; that it would be better he should appear entirely unacquainted with the bull, and should treat it with contempt. For his own part, he assured him he should esteem himself happy to suffer persecution for the truth; that the ill-treatment he received from Rome, far from terrifying him, served only to raise his

courage and to confirm him in the opinion that it was the seat of antichrist.

After taking these steps, Luther attacked Eckius in a work written in German, wherein he exposed the vices and hypocrisy of this man, cleared himself from the accusations which the former had spread abroad against him, took decidedly the part of John Huss, whose books he had now read, and declared that he repented having abandoned him in the disputation at Leipsic. not having been at that time acquainted with his sentiments. He then renewed his appeal to the council, founded upon these new grievances, that the pope had condemned him without a hearing; that he commanded him to renounce the faith taught in scripture, without proving him wrong in his explanation of it; that he decided on matters with which he was unacquainted; and that, lastly, he tyrannized over the church in condemning those who appealed from his decisions to a general council. On these grounds he considers the pope as a tyrant, an apostate, and as antichrist; conjures the emperor and the states of the empire to take his appeal into consideration, and to suspend the execution of the bull until he should have been heard and convicted of error by scripture. But he did not stop there: he attacked the bull in two thundering writings. In the first he passes censure on it, and in the second he defends the propositions which were condemned in it. Luther, therefore, no longer observed any restraint, and addressed the pope himself in these thundering expressions,-" If you do not renounce your blasphemies and impieties, know that not I only, but all those who serve Jesus Christ, regard your see as the damnable seat of antichrist, to which we will neither pay obedience, nor be united. We detest it as the mortal enemy of Jesus Christ, being every one of us ready to suffer, with joy, your unjust excommunications; and that you may be enabled to satiate your barbarous tyranny, we devote ourselves voluntarily to death. If you will still persevere in the madness with which you are possessed, we condemn you, and deliver you over to Satan, together with your bull and your decretals, to the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of Jesus Christ." (1 Cor. v. 5.)

While Luther was labouring in the defence of his doctrines,

the pope's bull having been circulated everywhere, the Universities of Cologne and Louvain were the first to signalize their zeal by burning his books. Aleander, who was at Louvain, exhibited this spectacle to the people on the day the emperor set out for Spain. An attempt was made to do the same at Antwerp, but it could not be accomplished. Those who undertook it at Mentz, did not execute it without danger; and if they escaped the fury of the people they endured their utmost contempt. In other places, the monks purchased this permission from the magistrates, who made them pay dear enough for it. Luther having been informed of the burning of his books, resolved to burn, in his turn, the decree, the decretals, the Clementines, the extravagantes, and the bull issued by Leo. The ceremony took place the 10th of December. prepared in the market-place; and Luther having repaired thither, accompanied by all the doctors of the University, followed by the people and the whole of the students, had the pile kindled by a master of arts, and cast the books into it, pronouncing at the same time these words,—"Because thou hast troubled the holy one of God, may eternal fire consume thee."

An action so bold required apology; Luther soon brought his forward. He stated, that being a Doctor of Divinity it was his duty to prevent impiety from increasing and acquiring authority; that it was proper to let the pope and his agents who had dared to burn books in which the gospel was taught, know what treatment those writings deserved upon which antichrist founded his tyranny; that it was necessary to revive the courage of the people, whom the violence done to the doctrine of Jesus Christ might terrify; and to shew, in fine, to all the world, that he, Luther, convinced that the pope was antichrist, had shaken off his yoke, and was resolved to sacrifice everything to the truth of the doctrine he had taught. In this apology he introduced thirty impious propositions, taken from the decretals, of which the following are a part:-" That the successors of St. Peter are not subject to the command which that apostle gives to all believers to obey the temporal powers; that the power of the emperor is as much below that of the pope, as the light of the moon is below that of the sun; that the pope is superior to councils, and may

abolish their decrees; that all authority resides in his person; that when he shall please to send numberless souls to hell, no one has a right to bring them out of it; that no person is entitled to pass judgment either on him or his decrees; that God has given him sovereign power over all the kingdoms of the earth, and over the kingdom of heaven; that he is the heir and master over the Roman empire; that he may depose kings, and absolve from all oaths and all vows; that he does not depend on scripture, but that scripture, on the contrary, derives its authority, force, and dignity, from him; that he alone has the right of interpreting it, and that no one can attempt it, except by following the meaning which the pope affixes to the words of scripture." These impieties, and others of a similar kind, which Luther had collected together, were a specimen of the doctrine contained in the decretals, and of the reasons assigned by Luther for his conduct; but as he had also burned the decretum of Gratian, and as he himself acknowledged there were some good things in that collection, he excuses himself by saying that everything therein was corrupted by the bad use made of it, which was to support the authority of antichrist. He concluded his apology with these words of Samson:-" As they did unto me so have I done unto them;" and those of the Apocalypse, "Treat Babylon as she has treated you; and render unto her double what she has done unto you."

The day after this execution, Luther continued his public lectures upon the Psalms, delivered a discourse upon "the necessity of renouncing obedience to the pope," because he manifested an invincible hardness of heart. "There is no middle path," said he, among other things, to his pupils, "for those who aspire to the sacred ministry; they must either expose their lives by resisting the dominion of error, or renounce eternal life by not opposing it. For my own part, I had rather run all the dangers of the present times, said Luther, than load my conscience with the account which I should have to render to God of a criminal silence; on which account I this day protest, that I hold prostituted Babylon in abhorrence. This is what I am resolved to declare to my brethren as long as God shall preserve my life." This discourse, with the action which preceded it, was, as it were,

the solemn act of separation between Luther and the church of Rome; a resolution which he was induced to take, as he himself said, only by the unconquerable hardness of heart of the pope and his adherents; declaring, at the same time, that he was always ready to reunite himself to the church of Rome, provided that church would consent to a reformation.

While these things were going on at Wittenberg, the pope used his efforts to gain the elector of Saxony, who was gone to meet the emperor. There was in the suite of the latter two nuncios, whom Leo had sent to wait on him as soon as he arrived in the low countries; one to congratulate him upon his accession to the imperial dignity, the other to communicate with him on the subject of Luther. The first was, Marinus Caraccioli, of a considerable house in the kingdom of Naples; the other, Jerome Aleander, of Jewish extraction, native of a small city of Trevisan, called La Motte, a learned, able, ambitious man. He had been secretary to the famous Cæsar Borgia, nephew of Alexander VI., and was afterwards promoted to the dignity of archbishop of Brindisi, with which he was invested when the pope sent him into Germany. What Luther has said of him in the introduction to the acts of the University of Louvain, is so much the more remarkable, as Cardinal Pallavicini, who wished to defend his reputation, has not thought proper to reply to it. "He was born a Jew. It is not known whether he was baptized, but it is well known that he is not of the sect of pharisees, for he lives in a manner which shews, but too clearly, that he does not believe in the resurrection of the dead." Aleander, in fact, passed for a true Epicurean, so much were his manners corrupted. This was the person to whom the affair of Luther was committed.

Frederick was at Cologne; he had followed the emperor thither, and taken up his residence with the Franciscans, where he had been hearing mass, when Caraccioli came to pay his respects to him, and presented him with a brief on the part of the pope. The bishop of Trent and Trieste, and some counsellors, accompanied the prince. The nuncio set out with extolling his merit and that of his ancestors; he enlarged upon the esteem and affection the pope entertained for him, and did not fail to remind Frederick, that if he had the honour of electing

the emperors he was indebted for it to the holy see, which had given the empire to the Germans, and constituted or confirmed the electors. As Caraccioli was proceeding in his harangue, Aleander came in unexpectedly. All their measures, however, had been pre-concerted, and as soon as the latter appeared, the former withdrew, saying to Frederick, that it was incumbent on him to leave to his colleague an affair with which he was specially Aleander presented the elector with a second brief from the pope, took up the discourse of Caraccioli, and repeated nearly all he had said; then, proceeding to speak of Luther, he enlarged upon the magnitude of his heresy, the danger into which he was leading the Christian republic, and the pressing necessity of a prompt and effectual remedy. To remonstrances he added menaces; and by observing that the Greeks had lost the empire for having been wanting in fidelity to the holy see, he gave the elector to understand, that Leo X., who was master of that empire, had it in his power to take it from the German nation, to whom his predecessors had transferred it, for the purpose of conferring it upon a people attached to the see of Rome. His discourse was rather tedious, and he concluded it by these two requisitions,—the one, that Frederick should cause all Luther's books to be burned in his dominions; the other, that he should cause Luther himself to be committed to the flames. in order, by that sacrifice, to appease the court of Rome; or that, at least, he should keep him in close confinement, in case he did not choose to send him to Rome in chains; which, however, would be more agreeable to the pope, and more suitable to an obedient prince.

The elector listened to the whole of this discourse with a grave and serious air, and told the nuncio he would consider of it. A few days afterwards, he replied through his counsellor, who signified on his part to the nuncio, in presence of the bishop of Trent, "that the two princes, the elector, and the duke his brother, had always entertained a high veneration for the holy see; that they had nothing to do with Luther's concerns, and were resolved not to interfere in them; that Frederick, nevertheless, had omitted nothing that could satisfy the pope, that he had sent Luther to Augsburg, and should have compelled him to leave his dominions

if Miltitz had not opposed it, by saying, that it was to be feared he would speak elsewhere with greater freedom than he then did; that Luther would afterwards have appeared before the archbishop of Treves, if a safe-conduct could have been granted him; that, as to other matters, such different sentiments were entertained concerning his books, that it would, in his opinion, be precipitate to have them burned before they were well examined; that he entreated the nuncios to suspend the execution of this measure, and to obtain from the pope, that the decision of Luther's cause should be committed to German prelates of acknowledged integrity and abilities; that if this mode were adopted, as he wished it might be, and if Luther were convicted of error by the scripture, he should not fail of doing, for the honour of the holy see, and the defence of religion, everything his holiness could require from an obedient and faithful son." This prince made complaints, at the same time, to the nuncios, against Eckius, inasmuch as in his country, and without his permission, he had had the audacity to include in the papers he had posted up, upon the publication of the bull, persons not specifically named in it.

The nuncios, after deliberating on this answer, insisted upon the pope's demands. They asserted, that the commission of the archbishop of Treves had expired; that the pope had taken the affair entirely into his own hands; and that no more right existed to require him to assign the determination of this matter to any other, than to propose to the elector that the king of France should take cognizance of an affair relative to one of his subjects. But the counsellors of Frederick persisting in their master's reply, the nuncios declared that they would proceed to burn Luther's books. It appeared, however, by a letter from the elector to the emperor, of the 20th of December, that the nuncios had promised him to suspend the execution of this act, and that prince complained of their having broken their word with him.

But the promise made by the nuncios was doubtless posterior to what took place at the conference just related. However it might be, Aleander, seeing clearly that he should not be able to get Luther out of the elector's hands, and that it was no less impossible to persuade him to put him to death, was desirous of

repairing the odious and rash step he had taken, and of preserving the honour of the pope. He therefore declared to the counsellors of the elector that his holiness had no design against the life of Luther, and would be extremely sorry to imbrue his hands in his blood.

Erasmus was then at Cologne. He had written to the elector, and this prince, who wished for advice and instruction in an affair so delicate and so obscure in his eyes, thought it incumbent on him to consult a man who was uninterested in the dispute, and whose learning and prudence were esteemed by all the world. He therefore sent for him, the day after his reply to the nuncios, and Spalatinus was the only person present at their interview. Frederick was desirous that Erasmus should converse with him in Dutch, but he chose rather to express himself in Latin, which the prince understood; but the latter not being in the habit of speaking that language, Spalatinus was his interpreter. After some civilities, he said to Erasmus, "I have the highest antipathy to heresy, and I would rather that the earth should swallow me up alive than that I should support and favour it. But if Luther teach the truth, I never will suffer him to be crushed, let the danger of defending him be ever so great to me and mine. I confess that the points at issue are above my skill, and I do not pretend to judge, of myself, whether Luther be in the right or not. I wish to be informed, and to consult the learned. I have brought you here to know your opinion, and I entreat you to give it me with sincerity."

Erasmus appeared surprised at this discourse; and whether it was that he was considering of his answer, or was afraid to explain himself, he remained for some time in silence. But the elector regarding him steadily, and with that grave and solemn air which appeared upon his countenance whenever he was engaged in an affair of importance, Erasmus at last broke silence. "Luther," said he, "has committed two capital offences. He has struck at the crown of the pope and the belly of the monks." The prince could not refrain from laughing, and never forgot this reply. Erasmus, continuing his discourse, admitted that Luther was justified in attacking the abuses introduced into the church; that it was necessary they should be corrected; that the foun-

dation of his doctrine was true, but that he could have wished for greater moderation.

Spalatinus attended Erasmus to the house of the provost of the chapter. As soon as they arrived there, Erasmus took a chair, and immediately wrote in short and distinct sentences his opinion concerning Luther. This writing was put into the hands of Spalatinus, to convey to his master; and as it contained the opinion which not only Erasmus, but the most worthy part of mankind, entertained at that time of Luther, it will not be improper to give the substance of it. He observed, then, "that the violence of Luther's enemies proceeded from two principles, first, an aversion to polite literature, which was beginning to extricate mankind from ignorance, and of course from the yoke of the monks; and secondly, the desire of supporting tyranny at all events; that they conducted this business in a manner suitable to such bad principles, supporting their cause only by clamour, by intrigues and conspiracies, by inveterate hatred, and by poisonous writings; that whoever interfered became suspected; that men of the greatest worth, and the most conversant in scripture, were not offended at what Luther had written; that it was well known there were persons who abused the easiness of the pope, and that therefore it was the part of prudence not to precipitate anything in an affair of such high importance, and which would undoubtedly be productive of consequences much greater than were imagined; that the cruelty of the bull had disgusted the worthiest part of the community, who esteemed it unworthy the charity and mildness of a vicar of Jesus Christ; that two Universities only had as yet condemned Luther; that they had done so without convicting him of error, and even without being themselves agreed upon the points condemned; that the conditions which Luther offered were equitable, seeing he was willing to support his doctrine in a public disputation, and to submit it to the examination of enlightened and upright judges; that his adversaries advanced positions which struck all pious persons with horror; that, being void of ambition, Luther ought to be supposed to be actuated by greater zeal than his adversaries, who were visibly labouring for their private interests; that the pope ought to have the glory of Jesus Christ and the

salvation of souls more at heart than his own glory and advantage; that although it should have been necessary to come to the extremities to which they had proceeded, it was evident the same had been adopted with too much precipitation, and out of season; that the state of affairs in the empire, and the interest of the emperor, required that the beginning of his reign should not be stained with barbarous executions, which would be a bad omen of that which was to follow; that the pope himself was interested in accommodating this affair by the mediation of wise, prudent, and judicious persons, and that this was the best means of supporting his dignity; that Luther's adversaries wrote things which even those divines who were the most opposite to him in opinion disapproved; that, in fine, the world sighed for evangelical doctrine, and that it would be extremely dangerous to oppose the general wish in an odious and violent manner."

In this statement we find displayed the true causes of the progress of the reformation; a great knowledge of the affairs respecting Luther; and a prudence keen, penetrating, and almost prophetic, joined with the greatest candour. Erasmus might readily have said all the above to the elector in the private conversation he held with him; but for a man resolved to remain neuter, it was hazarding too much to commit such opinions to writing. From the moment, therefore, that Spalatinus left him to take the writing to his master, he trembled at the danger into which he had brought himself, and wrote to him at the instant to conjure him to return to him, as he was undone if Aleander should see it. The manuscript was returned, but a copy was first taken of it, and what was more distressing, this copy was printed at Leipsic, with an account of the interview he had had with the elector. Both Luther and Spalatinus protested that they had nothing to do with this publication. It is not known who caused it to be done; and it remained doubtful whether it proceeded from a wish to serve Luther, or to embroil him with Erasmus, who was extremely irritated at the treachery used to him, and the danger to which he was exposed by the publication of his secret sentiments. However it might be, this step gave great chagrin to both parties. Erasmus did not admit all which it was pretended he had written and said; but Aleander

entertained no doubt of it, and although he had been one of his friends, and was even under obligations to him, he did every thing in his power afterwards to ruin him, after having in vain endeavoured to engage him to write against Luther by the promise of a bishoprick.

It is even said, that one day being much pressed, Erasmus replied, that the undertaking was beyond his powers; and that he found more true divinity in one page of Luther's writings than in all the compendium of St. Thomas. Attempts were also made to gain Luther by great offers, but they were rejected in such a manner as caused Aleander to let slip these expressions:—
"He is a ferocious brute, whom nothing can soften, and who regards riches and honours as mere dirt; otherwise the pope, long before this, would have loaded him with benefits."

The elector, confirmed by the opinion of Erasmus in the esteem he had for Luther, solicited the emperor more than ever to give him a hearing before he was condemned, and entreated William, duke of Crouy, and the count of Nassau, governor of Holland, to support this request. Crouy was a man of merit, who had brought up Charles V. as an emperor ought to be. He entertained equitable sentiments towards Luther, being acquainted with a part of the abuses, and not disapproving of the reformation. The Count of Nassau knew them still better; and it is reported, that some priests having applied to him at the Hague, he addressed them in these words:—"Go and preach the gospel in purity, as Luther preaches it; do not give cause of offence, and you will have no reason to complain of any one."

The elector had too much prudence to undertake the charge of conducting Luther to Worms. It would have been to declare himself too openly his protector. He wrote therefore to Charles "that he had never pretended either to defend the books or the discourses of Luther, as he had frequently protested; that if he had entreated his imperial majesty to suspend the execution of the bull, it was to avoid precipitation in a delicate matter, in which religion and the peace of the empire were concerned, and respecting which people were not sufficiently informed; that, moreover, the person accused offered to appear at any place to which he should be cited, provided equitable judges were assigned

him: and that, in the last place, the nuncios themselves had promised him the means of an amicable settlement." He added. "that he had learned with astonishment that Caraccioli and Aleander, in violation of the promise they had given him, had done everything in their power to expedite the burning of Luther's books at Cologne and Mentz; that they ought to have refrained from these violent measures, at least in consideration to him; and so much the more, as they did not, he believed, act in pursuance of the emperor's orders; and that such a procedure being calculated only to drive Luther to extremities, he could not be answerable for his not attempting, in his turn, some action, that might render his journey to Worms both difficult and dangerous." Frederick, with much address, insinuated to the emperor what had actually taken place at Wittenberg ten days before, when Luther had caused both the ordinance and decretals to be burned. He concluded by entreating his majesty "to dispense with his bringing Luther to Worms, and not to give credit to the false reports in circulation, that he meditated pernicious designs against the Christian religion."

Before anything more could be done in this affair, it was necessary to know whether Luther had the courage to appear at Worms in case he was summoned thither. Frederick directed Spalatinus to learn his intentions. He replied, "that he looked upon the orders of his imperial majesty as a call from heaven. which he would never resist; that if any attempt were made on his person, he would recommend himself to God, who had preserved the young Hebrews in the furnace; that Jesus Christ alone could judge what was most serviceable to religion and to the state, whether he should live to defend the truth, or whether he should die in the confession of it; but that whatever it should please Him to appoint, he was ready to obey him; and that he would never expose the gospel to the insults of the wicked by giving them occasion to say, that he was afraid to avow the truth which he had taught, or to shed his blood for its confirmation. I have but one thing," continues he, " to ask of God,—namely, that he will not permit his imperial majesty to dishonour the outset of his reign by unjust punishment, and by the protection of impiety. I have repeatedly declared I would rather perish by

the hands of the agents of Rome, than that the emperor should be involved in such a crime, or the evils which will ensue from it. You are acquainted with the misfortunes that pursued the Emperor Sigismund after the death of John Huss. He saw all his sons perish; Ladislaus, the son of his daughter, died soon after; by which means his whole family became extinct in the course of one generation. His wife Barbe was the disgrace of queens. You are not ignorant of the other calamities which oppressed him. If, however," added he, "it be the pleasure of God that I should be delivered up, not only to pontiffs, but to nations, His will be done: such is my determination. You may expect every thing of me except flight or recantation. May God strengthen me in this resolution!" A reply so heroic and so Christian rejoiced the elector, and he even began to entertain hopes,

The result was, that a diet of the empire was convoked by the Emperor Charles V. to meet at Worms, early in January, 1521. When Frederick waited on the emperor to accompany him to this diet, as they proceeded on their way, he obtained a promise from him that he would not condemn Luther without a personal hearing. When Luther was informed of this by the elector, he expressed great satisfaction, and on being furnished, through the same friendly channel, with a safe-conduct by the emperor, he left Wittenberg, and arrived at Worms on the 16th of April. His entrance was highly calculated both to flatter and encourage He was met and conducted into the city by a greater multitude of nobles and citizens than had attended the entrance of the emperor. He was waited on at his lodgings by persons of the highest rank in the empire; and was next day received in the diet with the utmost respect which could be paid to one in his circumstances. He was immediately informed of the cause of his being sent for, and was interrogated whether he was the author of the books the titles of which were read to him, and whether he would retract or persist in maintaining the doctrines which they contained. "I own the books to be mine," he firmly replied; "but whether I shall defend what I have written is a matter of such consequence as will require time for due consideration." One day was allowed him, and most people concluded that his request of this delay indicated symptoms of a

relenting mind; but next day, on the same question being repeated, he answered,-- "All the books which I have written are not of the same kind, nor do they treat of the same subject; for some of them relate only to the doctrine of faith and piety, which even my adversaries commend: and should I abjure these. I might justly be accused of neglecting the duty of an honest man. There are others in which I censure the Roman papacy and the doctrine of the papists, which have plagued Christendom with the greatest of evils; now, if I should retract these books, I should confirm that tyranny, and by the authority, too, of the princes and emperor. There is a third sort of books which I have written against private persons, the abettors of the papacy. who have calumniated me, provoked me to treat them, I confess, with unbecoming vehemence and asperity: he would not arrogate perfection: he might have erred, and would be thankful to any man who would shew him his errors by the light of the sacred scriptures." Being required to be more precise in his answer to the question, whether he would retract or not, he declared "that unless he was convinced by scripture and evident reason, he would not retract anything of what he had written or taught, adding, for I will never do that which may wound my own conscience." Some of the members continued to deal with him for several days more privately, but without effect. The emperor was exasperated, and proposed to put him and his adherents to the ban of the empire. Other members were for violating the letter of safe-conduct, and for treating him as the council of Constance had treated John Huss. Through the influence of the elector, however, and the emperor's regard to his honour, pledged for his safety, Luther was allowed to depart from Worms, on the 26th of April, under the conduct of the herald who brought him.

As he returned, however, on the 3rd of May, some horsemen in disguise, authorized by the elector, who had reason to be apprehensive of his safety if he went directly and openly home, seized him as he passed through a forest near Wirtemburg, hurried him away from his friends, who were attending him home, and carried him to the castle of Wardburg, where he remained in a state of concealment nine months. There, in what he

called his Island of Patmos, he wrote some books against the catholic church, confirming his former doctrine; and many letters to animate his friends, and promote, even under his confinement, the great work of reformation. Among others, he addressed the Augustine friars on the subject of abolishing private mass, which they first had the courage to leave off. Their conduct in this matter excited much attention. The elector, thinking it rash, judged it prudent to check them, till at least the opinion of the University should be obtained. The opinion of that learned body went much further, for, as the result of their conference, they recommended to the elector, and entreated him, to abolish the impiety of the mass, and restore the true and simple ordinance of the Lord's supper over all his dominions. He was willing, in answer to them, he said, to authorize whatever was clearly conducive to genuine piety: if this were so, it would silently and gradually prevail, without civil authority; which mode of reformation he ackowledged that he greatly preferred.

Considerable changes, however, took place in Wirtemburg, and over Saxony. The monks and nuns deserted their convents, returned to society, and many of them entered into the conjugal state. Private masses were given up as impious. The worship, and discipline, and government of the church, were attempted to be reduced almost to their native simplicity. Carlostadius, archdeacon of Wirtemburg, less prudent and more impatient than Luther, presided in these alterations; and, either incapable of moderating his own zeal, or of restraining that of the people, proceeded to acts of violence; they broke the images in the churches, and overthrew the altars. When Luther heard of these tumultuous proceedings, he sprang from his hiding-place; returned to Wittenberg; ascended the pulpit; disapproved of the length to which these innovations had been carried, and especially of the disorderly manner in which they had been conducted. He reproached Carlostadius as an Iconoclast: he said that the people might have been taught and assured that images were unavailing and inoffensive in themselves; but if they were to be removed, that it should have been done in an orderly way, and by the authority of the civil magis-In an epistle on this subject to Gasper Guttelius, Luther

writes thus:—" I have offended Carlostadius, because I have disannulled his proceedings; although I did not condemn his general principles, excepting that I regretted that he should have occupied himself and the people more with the abolition of mere ceremonies and outward forms than with the cultivation and exercise of true Christian faith and charity. For by his unfortunate zeal he had led the people to believe each himself to be a Christian, provided only he communicates in both kinds; if he handles the elements, if he does not confess to the priest, if he breaks images. Thus Satan tempts them under a new form. I had hitherto endeavoured to instruct and liberate their consciences, hoping that the outward reformation might be accomplished gradually, silently, and with universal consent. But this new leader was ambitious of completing his work, and as if by my authority, too, in one day."

One of the greatest efforts of Luther's genius and industry, and one of the most effectual means of promoting and establishing the reformation in Germany, was his vernacular version of the New Testament, which he had translated during his confinement. It was published in parts successively, and completed in September, 1522. The catholic clergy represented it as erroneous and pernicious; but the people purchased and read it with avidity; even the women and children exulted in the lustre which it diffused on subjects so interesting, and in the dignity of religious sentiments with which these subjects inspired them. It was impossible to hold their minds any longer under the thraldom of a debasing superstition and a tyrannical clergy. They deserted the ministrations of the catholics, and deprived them of their livings. They converted the cathedrals into churches. and the monasteries into colleges and schools. The funds belonging to them were partly retained for these new institutions. and for the ministers and service of the reformed church, but a considerable part of them also fell into the hands of the secular The states of the empire, in fact, seemed, in general, well affected towards the reformation. The emperor, young as he was, inclined to it, and so prevalent was this inclination throughout the empire, that it had extended to the ecclesiastical princes. The cardinal of Mentz, though timid and voluptuous

in the extreme, entertained the same sentiments. The archbishop of Treves, a man of understanding, and of great capacity in such matters, was a wise and prudent prince, and although attached to the pope, had prevented the burning of Luther's books in his diocese. George, duke of Saxony, was so persuaded of the necessity of a reformation, that he introduced a plan into the diet of Worms, which is still in existence, and which contained twelve articles. The sixth, which related to indulgences, was conceived in these terms:-" The monks extol them with the most consummate effrontery; their only end is to amass money; and for this purpose the preacher preaches only impostures and untruths, instead of preaching the gospel." The memoir concluded with these words:--" The great source of the damnation of souls is the scandal afforded by the clergy. For this reason it is necessary to labour for a general reformation, and as this cannot be anywhere accomplished more advantageously than in a general council, we all require that it be immediately convoked."

Luther's translation of the Bible had now circulated like the sun, through Germany, and cast a flood of light upon the benighted minds of men. His works were diffused through Christendom. England and the low countries received vast edification from them. They fanned the fires which had been there previously kindled, though kept under by the strong arm of authority and clerical tyranny. The Saxons, and many of their neighbours, had taken the liberty to reform their own abuses. The impious mass was abolished; the convents evacuated, and the priests chose a wife, a sister, to live in the holy estate of marriage, instead of unnatural and criminal celibacy. The chief of the reformers set the example, and were quickly followed by the multitude of their brethren.

In the midst of this turbid state of the church (1522), Leo. X. departed to give an account of himself to a higher tribunal; and left his successor, Adrian VI., to endeavour to compose a contest which his rashness and imprudence had set on foot.

And here I may, at least for the present, take leave of the Lutheran reformation, to attend to the labours of his successors in the same great undertaking.

LECTURE LXVI

Progress of the Reformation in Switzerland and the Genevese Territory—Some account of the life and labours of William Farel, of John Calvin, and of Theodore Beza. A.D. 1525—1605.

In a former lecture, I took an opportunity of furnishing some little information respecting the principal persons who were associated with Luther in the great and arduous work of reformation, to which Providence had called him: and to whose labours, under the exalted Head of the church, we owe a debt of gratitude which is not easily paid. I intend, in the present lecture, to follow up that branch of the subject, by giving some account of what I may call their successors in the same noble undertaking—persons who entered the field of conflict with the powers of darkness, as Luther and his associates were retiring. In doing this, the theatre of warfare will be transferred from Germany to Switzerland—from Wittenberg and Strasburgh to Geneva and Berne. The worthies, to whose biography I shall especially direct attention on the present occasion, are, Farel, Calvin, and Beza.

WILLIAM FAREL was born at Gap, in the province of Dauphiny, in the year 1489. He belonged to a family of rank, and possessed of considerable property. Of his earliest years, little is known; or yet of his preceptors, excepting that they were but indifferently acquainted with the Latin language. Their deficiencies, however, were in some measure compensated by his

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removal to the University of Paris, which took place before the year 1512.

Precept and example united to confirm Farel in the errors of popery, in which he had been brought up. The authority of the church, and the discipline of the schools, combined to fix him in a state of mental bondage. His attachment to the papal system proceeded neither from the hope of worldly emoluments nor from an inclination to those licentious practices in which so many of its adherents indulged, but from the firm belief that the pope was ordained of God to be the visible head of the church, and that he was, in fact, a God upon earth, whose commands were to be held sacred and essential to salvation. However arrogant and impious the claims of the Roman pontiff might be, they fall short of the devotion and reverence of Farel, of whom it might be justly said, that he was more popish than the pope himself. Dazzled by the false splendour of the Romish church, he looked with abhorrence on every attempt to impugn its authority, and was ready to hazard his property, his life, and even his soul, in its defence. Highly applauded by those who were involved in the same errors, he was led to entertain the vain opinion that he was one of God's true worshippers, while he was wandering farther and farther from the truth.

Farel read much, but without discriminating truth from false-hood. The legends of the saints inflamed his imagination: his superstitious reverence for the Virgin Mary was extreme. He knelt before the images of the saints, invoked them as intercessors, celebrated their festivals, considered pilgrimages to their shrines as meritorious, and trusted in the efficacy of their relics. The consecrated wafer which he received from the hands of the priest he doubted not was the true God. His tutor, James Faber, was his model in the adoration of the saints. At his command, he adorned the images with flowers; and when joining with him in repeating the appointed prayers, felt it an honour to have so distinguished and devout a fellow-worshipper.

All these observances, however, gave no repose or satisfaction to Farel's mind, nor were his studies better adapted to promote it. The writings of Aristotle were recommended to him as a guide; and in the vain attempt to pluck good fruit from a cor-

rupt tree, he became increasingly unhappy. His mental anguish was extreme; and on turning from the pages of the philosopher to the inspired volume, he was struck with astonishment at the discrepancy between its doctrines and precepts and those of the church of Rome. But whom was he now to believe and follow? Unable at once to throw off his shackles, and equally so to reconcile the plain letter of scripture with the tenets in which he had been educated, he strove to maintain an implicit belief in the authority of the pope and the church, and allowed himself to be persuaded that the real meaning of scripture was different from the obvious and literal interpretation. In this way he repelled the first rays of light which penetrated his benighted mind; but they were not wholly inefficacious; his soul was roused from its slumbers; rites and ceremonies, to which he had been used to attend with the fervour of unhesitating belief, were now performed with scruples and misgivings; the first spark was kindled that ere long would be fanned into a flame.

The illumination of Farel's mind was gradual. His extraordinary veneration for the saints and martyrs induced him to compile an account of their lives; and while the work was passing through the press, he was struck, on reading the prayers addressed to them, with the impiety of such homage. He renounced the study of the legends, and applied himself to the holy scriptures. In doing this, he soon learned to distinguish true religion from the superstitions which had been incorporated with it, and raised a warning voice against those who imposed on the people heavy burdens, which Christ had not authorized. The merits of the saints, which he once so highly extolled, lost their lustre before the glory and efficacy of the work of Christ. "We will follow," was now his resolution, "what is certain, and abandon what is doubtful. We will cleave to the Saviour alone, and to the doctrine of his apostles, which points out to us the way of salvation. There is only one true religion; it has one foundation and object, one Head, even the Lord Jesus Christ, who alone is to be worshipped and honoured."

The study of ecclesiastical history, added to the perusal of the scriptures, contributed to eradicate many deeply-rooted errors from the mind of Farel. On investigating the faith of the

primitive church, he found that the prayers were addressed, not to the saints, but to God. In the confessions of the early Christians, he in vain sought for purgatory, the mass, or the worship of images; yet, in consequence of having been so constantly addicted to the worship of the Virgin Mary and the saints, he felt it difficult, at first, to worship God alone. It was a still harder task to abandon the mass, and to renounce the absurd dogma of transubstantiation.

The better to understand the holy scriptures, he applied very diligently to the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages. The commencement of his religious change took place early in life; but he appears to have made the most rapid advances in the knowledge of the truth when he was about thirty years old, between the years 1519 and 1522, at which time Luther had begun his career, and made a powerful impression in France. As his belief in the doctrines of the gospel became settled, his attachment to the popish ritual declined. The numerous fasts and festivals, the injunction of celibacy, and the various rites of Jewish or pagan origin, became highly offensive to him. In the priesthood of the catholic church he saw, with abhorrence, the substitution of external splendour for inward purity, and the prevalence of an assumed devotion, combined with a secret addiction to the grossest sensuality. He now became convinced that the traditions of man had taken precedence of the divine oracles; and the spirit of devotion, the love of God, and the saving truths of the gospel, were discarded to make way for the corrupted schemes of base self-interest. He was astonished beyond measure when he saw the legerdemain, the pretended exorcisms, and disenchantments, in a word, the impious jugglery carried on with the relics of the saints. The veil was taken from his eyes, and a new world now opened to his view. The word of God became clearer, the prophets and apostles more intelligible; and above all, he heard the voice of Christ more distinctly: in HIM he found that peace which he had so anxiously been seeking, and from a sense of gratitude for the blessings of salvation, began to love God supremely, and his neighbour as himself.

Thus convinced how widely the church of Rome had departed from the doctrine of Christ, Farel forsook its communion with a

feeling of abhorrence of himself and of the errors in which he had been so long enthralled. This sentiment of self-reproach for his zeal in behalf of a corrupt system of religion continued with him through life. Having been more deeply sunk in superstition than many others, his deliverance appeared a more signal miracle of divine grace: he felt that he could never be sufficiently thankful for such a merciful deliverance; and he was henceforth determined to cleave to the Lord with full purpose of heart. He no longer submitted to human authority in matters of religion; nor could he look up with the same deference as before to professed theologians, or even to his beloved tutor. To him, indeed, from the earliest period of their infancy, he felt indebted for the high moral tone of his example, and for his paternal affection, which had a most beneficial effect on his pupil's mind, by exciting disgust at the prevailing depravity of manners.

Farel's early proficiency in his studies procured him not only the increasing respect of his tutors, but public marks of honour. Having taken the degree of master of arts, he was, on Faber's recommendation, made regent of the college founded by Cardinal le Moine, an office which had always been filled by men of eminence. His high character for integrity induced many persons of rank to entrust him with various sums of money for the support of poor students, which he distributed most conscientiously. He discharged the duties of his office, for the short time he filled it, with honour, and was held in affectionate remembrance by his colleagues.

Some time after this, in consequence of the preaching of Farel, and a few others who were like-minded with him, a storm was raised, and Farel, no longer secure in France, sought an asylum in Switzerland. The first town he entered was Basle, a place celebrated for the promotion of literature, and rendered illustrious by the residence of Erasmus and Œcolampadius, the latter of whom received him in the most friendly manner, and he became his guest. Farel's fame had preceded him as a reformer, and in Switzerland, Zuinglius had, by preaching and writing, spread evangelical doctrine pretty extensively. On the other hand, the members of the University, encouraged by the court of Rome,

were intent on suppressing it, by means of public disputations. But not only were these attempts abortive, they promoted the cause of truth, by suggesting to its friends the use of the same instruments in its defence. Ecolampadius posted up four important propositions, and invited all who had taken offence at his doctrine either to refute it or yield to the force of his arguments. was followed by a second disputation; after which, Farel requested permission of the rector and prior of the University to exhibit and defend certain theses, more, as he modestly represented it, for his own information, in case he was in error, than with the view of teaching others. His request was denied; and he then applied to the senate, and submitted to them the theses translated into German by Œcolampadius. The senate granted leave to hold the disputation, and declared "that the theses were framed in becoming language, that the sentiments were scriptural, and conducive to general edification." This gave rise to an altercation between the senate and the University, in consequence of which the latter issued an edict, prohibiting the pastors, preachers, priests, students, and other persons connected with the University, from attending the disputation, under penalty of being deprived of their benefices and the protection of the laws.

In these propositions, Farel did not attack by name any particular doctrines or set of men, though they were directed against all doctrines not emanating from the word of God. He introduced the subject by saying,—" It is my opinion, that every Christian ought to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the truth which Christ has declared himself to be."

He called on all those who were concerned for the welfare of their fellow-creatures, the pastors and teachers of the church more especially, to state with clearness and precision the grounds of their belief, as children of the light, without fear of doing wrong in making such a public avowal, and he closed with saying,—"Hasten, then, as the Lord enjoins, with a pure heart, and strive that the word of God alone may gain the victory. This I entreat and exhort, for the sake of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, who has so strictly commanded us to seek the welfare of our fellow-men."

The disputation began in Latin: Œcolampadius acted as in-

terpreter, as Farel, on account of his French accent, was not easily understood. For the purpose of trying Farel's skill, and confirming the points in debate, Œcolampadius brought forward the views of their opponents with no inconsiderable show of argument. Their adversaries, who had been so violently opposed to the meeting, did not make their appearance, but contented themselves with boasting in private how much they could have done had they been there! The documents relating to the disputation no longer exist; but the results were, beyond all doubt, very beneficial. The attachment of the friends of the reformation to Farel was much increased by his conduct on this occasion, and by their continued intercourse with him. His learning, piety, and scriptural knowledge, combined with undaunted courage and fervent zeal, were so conspicuous, that, in the judgment of Œcolampadius and others, he was more than a match for all the doctors of the Sorbonne. His zeal, it cannot be denied, sometimes betrayed him into intemperate language, which his best friends acknowledged and lamented. Œcolampadius, in particular, sought to correct the infirmity, by admonishing him in the hours of social intercourse; and since his own temper also was hasty and warm, they entered into a mutual engagement to cultivate meekness and humility; whilst, at the same time, the former recognised in Farel's warm zeal an invaluable virtue, which was on many occasions of as much importance as his meekness.

The spirit of hostility which now prevailed between the senate and the University, issued in a peremptory order for Farel to leave Basle, which he did, accompanied by a Frenchman of noble family. He had been previously invited by a society of Christians in Montbeliard to become their pastor; and shaping his course thitherward, he proceeded, by way of Strasburg, as far as Wittenberg, being provided with letters of recommendation from Ecolampadius to Capito and Luther. His stay with Luther appears to have been but short; and in July he commenced his labours at Montbeliard with such astonishing success as warranted the expectation of still greater things. Farel lost no time in acquainting his friends at Basle of the favourable commencement of his ministry. Œcolampadius wrote to congratulate him, and said,—"I rejoice that the doctrine of Christ flourishes so much at

Montbeliard through your instrumentality, and pray that he who employs you to plant, would also water the seed sown, and preserve it alike from insidious attempts to injure it, and from open violence. It is gratifying to cultivate a soil in which the seeds spring up so rapidly; but let us not be satisfied unless we see the fruit matured, and our hopes realized, or at least, unless we have so fulfilled our office as to leave no occasion for any just reproach to be cast upon us. Be anxious to form, not learned, but good men,-I mean, such as are well instructed in divine truth, and taught of God. It is not a difficult task to gain the attention of people to certain doctrines, and excite a zealous attachment to them, but to impress the heart aright is indeed a divine work. We must first of all pray for the Holy Spirit, and put out our talents to interest. For this purpose we have need of meekness, patience, and love, and above all, of faith. We require a holy wisdom, which is not of this world, but imparted from above, and which will teach us to become, after the example of Christ, 'all things to all men.' But why do I remind you of these things, since I am confident that you are under the guidance of the Holy Spirit."

Farel's exertions in the cause of Christ were not restricted to the sphere of his personal labours. By means of an active correspondence, he kept up a constant intercourse with his friends at Meaux and Basle, which was mutually beneficial; add to which, that, at this juncture, he became an author, in which capacity his modesty had hitherto prevented him from appearing. He had assumed the pastoral office in compliance with the advice and persuasion of Œcolampadius, and it was owing to the encouragement of the same friendly adviser, that he now attempted to enlighten his countrymen by means of his evangelical writings. He drew up, with all possible brevity and plainness, "A Summary of what a Christian ought to know, in order to trust in God and serve his neighbour." The book was well received, and went through several editions. After this first attempt, he sent several small treatises to the press, some of which were his own composition, and the rest written by others. The printing also of a French New Testament was taken into serious consideration. In these undertakings Farel was assisted by his friend Anomund, who was now approaching the end of his Christian course. In the latter, truth lost one of its warmest adherents, and Farel one of his most faithful friends. Myconius wrote to console his sorrowing friend as follows: "Anomund is gone to Him to whose cause he devoted himself. I doubt not but that he will receive the reward of his faith, and of the sacrifices he has made for the advancement of the truth. Let us so live, that when our earthly tabernacle shall be dissolved, we may arrive where, we trust, Anomund has entered before us."

The spread of evangelical truth in Montbeliard met with unexpected opposition from the confederate cantons. Incensed at the progress of truth, which was continually undermining the papal system, Farel's adversaries applied to the Duke of Ulric to have him and his colleague dismissed from Montbeliard. in which they soon succeeded. The immediate occasion of this step is said to have been the zeal he manifested at the passing of a religious procession. According to general report and an anonymous narrative, he snatched the pretended relics of St. Anthony from the priest who was carrying them, and threw them into the water, exclaiming, "Ye miserable idolators, will ye never cease from your idolatry?" He narrowly escaped the rage of the priest and the people, owing to some one calling out, "The image will be lost in the water!" which alarmed the multitude, and drew off their attention from Farel. The removal of the duke and his court from Montbeliard, and the consequent loss of his protection, was an additional reason for Farel's removal. In the spring of the following year, he left the town with sanguine but not ill-founded hopes of eventually witnessing a harvest from the seed of the gospel which he had sown; and during the remainder of his life, the church in that place continued to be an object of his affectionate solicitude.

Having thus introduced Farel to the reader's notice, and adverted to some of the circumstances which marked the outset of his career in the cause of reform, sufficient, I trust, to furnish a general impression of his character, the nature of my undertaking obliges me to compress his subsequent history. It would require a small volume to follow him from year to year, and give a general detail of his active services in the ministry of the gospel,

his unwearied labours in the cause of truth, his conflicts with the papal party during the long space of forty years, from the period now mentioned, until he gently fell asleep, on the 13th September, 1565, in the 76th year of his age. I shall therefore content myself with adding to this brief account a few of the more interesting incidents in his history.

When separated from his friends, Farel neglected no opportunity of self-improvement, and of gaining that knowledge which would tend to establish himself and others in the truth. He diligently read all the writings of Zuinglius and his friends. He particularly valued that reformer's treatise on the Lord's Supper, for the simplicity of its views, combined with learning, moderation, and charity.

In the year 1530, Farel was busily employed in active exertions to promote the cause of reformation, both by preaching, writing, and visiting societies at a distance. Receiving accounts of the sufferings of his brethren in France, be addressed a circular letter to them, in which, after adducing the example of Abraham, he proceeded to say,—"I beseech you faithfully to tread in his steps, and then you will experience the glory and the power of God. You are looked upon with a suspicious eye, threatened, oppressed, and your lives embittered. You are most oppressed by those whose special duty it is to encourage and assist you; and those who were once your friends have become your foes; in short, on all sides you are pressed and surrounded by your enemies, like the prophet Elisha. But, my dear friends and brethren, be not discouraged: say with the psalmist, 'The Lord is our help, of whom shall we be afraid?' If all the powers of earth set themselves against us, we will not despair, for the Lord is with us, 'If God be for us,' saith the Apostle, 'who can be against us?' Look not at the host of the Assyrians, but at the power of God, who fighteth for us. Profit by the fear which has seized you: take courage and enter into that holy covenant which God hath made with us, through his Son. Say to yourselves, ' How will it be with us, if the Almighty King, the Lord of heaven and earth, should refuse to acknowledge us: and should say respecting us, 'Whosoever is ashamed of me before men, of him will I be ashamed before my heavenly Father."

The Christian courage which Farel endeavoured to infuse into his brethren, he was not backward to exemplify in his own conduct. The Waldenses inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, and whose history has occupied so many lectures of the preceding volume, had heard of the reformation which was at this time going forward in France, Germany, Bohemia, and Switzerland; and they sent some of their pastors to Germany to obtain further information, and bring home some of the writings of the reformers. Passing through Basle, they called on Œcolampadius, who received them cordially, and rejoiced in their faith, Christian practices, and usages. The names of these Waldensian pastors were Morell and Masson. Two others of their preachers,—viz. George, from Calabria, and Martin Gonin, visited Farel during his residence at Orbe and Granson.

These different ministers brought back with them into the valleys, in writing, the opinions and advice of Œcolampadius and Bucer, together with a proposal to convene a synod, in order to compare their doctrine and church order with the scriptures. This was decided upon: and Farel, and Anthony Saunier, his friend and countryman, who had been subjected to fourteen months' imprisonment in Paris for corresponding with him on religious subjects, were chosen by their colleagues in Granson as a deputation to attend the synod. During Farel's visit to the churches of the Waldenses, he noticed many things that required alteration in order to prevent the people from being led astray by false teachers. Schools were needed, and the holy scriptures were not to be met with among them, except in manuscript. assembled pastors and others were unanimous respecting the necessity of having Bibles printed, and establishing schools, and Farel undertook to use his best exertions to provide for the deficiency. Immediately after his return, he sent four persons,—viz. Adam, Morton, Guido, and Robert Olivetan, into the valleys, to establish schools there and to concert measures for translating and printing the Bible. They departed in October, and after enduring many hardships, arrived in the valleys, where they were well received. They instructed both pastors and people in the knowledge of the holy scriptures and urged the speedy establishment of schools. To Farel was committed the important task of editing James Faber's translation of the Bible, and thus his mission to the Waldenses proved of eminent benefit.

On their way home, Farel and his companions went through Geneva. At this time religious differences began to be more distinctly marked in that city, and secret adherents to the reformation were to be found among all ranks. The mental freedom of the Genevese languished under the yoke of a rich, ignorant, and corrupted clergy. But the papal absolutions had lost their value in the eyes of many, and even the senate had desired the priests to preach the pure gospel, instead of the fables and legends, which the people would no longer endure. Upon Farel's arrival there, he sought out some friends of the reformation, who received him gladly. He immediately began to instruct them at his lodgings. His residence in the city, and the numbers who thronged to hear him, soon became matter of notoriety. senate and the clergy, who "dreaded the scourge of the priests," as Farel was termed, put themselves in motion, and met together, not knowing how to act. The first thing done was to cite Farel and his companions before the senate, when they were charged with exciting a disturbance, and they were commanded to leave the town without delay. To this Farel replied, that he was neither a seditious person, nor a deceiver: but was resolved to advocate the word of God, and the truth of his doctrine, at the hazard of his life. He then laid before the senate his credentials, in which the states in alliance with Berne were requested to give him a friendly reception, and listen to his doctrine. Upon this, the syndics assumed a milder tone, and only requested Farel and his friends to return to their lodgings, which they accordingly did. But scarcely had they arrived there, when some of the principal people of the town, accompanied by a posse of clergy, came and invited them to the house of the vicargeneral, where others of the clergy were assembled, all of whom, under the pretext of conversing with him on religious subjects, concealed the most deadly animosity. The senate suspecting their bad intentions, sent two of their syndics with the preachers: they were also accompanied by the bishop's secretary, and their friend Robert Olivetan, who then resided in Geneva as a private teacher.

The insults which Farel and his friends received by the way were no favourable omen. Before they arrived at the place of meeting, one of the leading members warned his brethren against disputing with the persons assembled. The bishop's official first examined them, and treated them with great contempt on account of their unclerical appearance. When Farel spoke of a higher call than any human authority which impelled him to preach the word of God, it was required of him to prove by miracles, as Moses did before Pharaoh, that he was an ambassador from God. They were then conducted before the assembly, of which the assessors wore weapons concealed under their dress. "Tell us," said the canons, "thou vile devil Farel, art thou baptized? Whence art thou? Why dost thou travel to and fro, in all directions, to turn the world upside down? How camest thou hither? Who invited thee to this city? Who gave thee authority to preach? Art thou not the man who disseminated the Lutheran heresy in Ælon and Neufchatel, and now troublest the people? Why comest thou here to scatter the seed of heresy throughout the country?"

To these insulting interrogatories, Farel replied:-"I have been baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and I am not a devil. I go hither and thither to preach 'Jesus Christ, who died on the cross for our sins, and was raised again for our justification. Whosoever believeth on him shall receive everlasting life, but he that believeth not shall be condemned.' For this purpose I have been commissioned by God, my gracious Father, as an ambassador of Jesus Christ. am bound to preach him to all who are willing to hear; and I have laboured to the best of my ability to persuade every one that hears to receive him. I came here on my way home, in order to see whether any one would listen to my discourses, and am ready to hold a disputation with you, and to give an account of my faith and preaching. For this purpose, I understand, you have called me. As often, therefore, as you are pleased to hear me peaceably, I will, to my latest breath, maintain what I have preached, and daily preach, as the pure truth, and not heresy, as is laid to my charge. I go forth, not in the name of man, but in the name of God, who has ordained me to be his servant,

and not with the most distant intention of exciting disturbances in this city and its neighbourhood. Elijah said to King Ahab, 'It is thou that troublest Israel, and not I;' and I can say, in like manner, it is not I that cause such commotions, but you and your adherents, who would throw the city and the whole world into confusion by human traditions and ordinances, and by your licentious conduct."

They gnashed upon him with their teeth while he was speaking, and under pretence of deliberating more freely, desired him and his companions to withdraw. But scarcely were they out of the room, when one of the vicar-general's servants levelled a gun at Farel, when the piece burst in his hands, and his intended victim remained unhurt. Farel turned round to the assassin, and coolly said, "Thy shots do not terrify me." After this, sentence was pronounced upon them, that they were to quit the city in three hours, under pain of death, and to consider this as a special favour, out of regard to the senate of Berne. Farel, on hearing this sentence, exclaimed, "You condemn us un-One of the leading men stood up, and, in a furious tone, repeated the words of the Jewish high priest, "He has blasphemed God, what need have we of any further witnesses; he is worthy of death." A general cry was now raised, "Away with him to the Rhone." Some of the clergy pronounced him an emissary of the prince of devils, trode on him with their feet. and struck him in the face with their fists. Others exclaimed, "It is better that this Lutheran heretic should die, than that the people should be seduced by him." When Farel interrupted the uproar by saying, "Speak the words of God rather than those of Caiaphas," they cried out with increased fury, "Kill the Lutheran dog!-strike at him." The principal clergy now fell upon him, and probably would have murdered him, had not one of the syndics, shocked at their bad faith, reproached them most severely, and threatened to restrain them by means of the civil power. Farel, however, was not yet out of danger, for, as he was retiring, some one drew a dagger, and would have stabbed him, if the syndic had not seized his arm.

On the following morning, their friends having been informed

of a plot to arrest them and send them to Savoy, they quitted Geneva, accompanied by many persons who saw them across the lake a day's journey, and they arrived safely at Orbe.

[1533.] Geneva was now in a state of great agitation. The doctrine of the reformers had begun to take root, and gain friends, and in a little time the whole city was divided into religious and political parties. The enemies of the reformation charged its doctrines with being new, unheard of, and destructive of that ancient edifice which so many learned men, religious orders, and universities, had erected. "Since these doctrines." said they, " have been published, without any proof that the publishers are sent of God, war, pestilence, famine, discord, hatred, and animosity, have prevailed, whilst previously, peace and prosperity, and all that could be desired, were enjoyed. The preachers, and not we, are the false prophets, who have brought such misfortunes upon us." The priests made the superstitious people believe that Farel and his companion, Viret, fed devils at their table, under the form of black cats; that devils hung at every hair of Farel's beard; that he had no whites to his eyes, and other things equally monstrous. They attempted to support their cause by means of preaching, and for that purpose sent for Guy Fuerbity, a Dominican, and doctor of the Sarbonne. He was appointed to preach in Advent. in the cathedral, to which he was conducted in great pomp, and with an armed escort. He chose for his subject the soldiers dividing our Lord's garments among them, which he dexterously applied to ancient and modern heretics, who divided the church, Arians, Sabellians, the Waldenses, Lutherans, and Germans. The audience was large, but chiefly of females. He attacked with great vehemence the violators of fast days, the readers of the holy scriptures, the despisers of the pope and their protectors-called them "mad dogs, heretics, Jews, Turks, &c."exalted himself and his brother priests above the Virgin Mary, because, as he pretended, they could draw down Christ from heaven, and transmute a wafer into a God!

Farel was made acquainted with these things by two of his friends, who were present at the harangue, and he instantly returned to Geneva, where he arrived on the Saturday before

Christmas-day, followed by a courier from Berne, with letters to the syndic and senate. The canons met in a suspicious manner, and the bishop's fiscal sent about to every house, exciting the people to arm themselves in defence of the ancient faith. The bishop's palace was the place of rendezvous. Many of the townspeople assembled, besides the clergy, who were formed into a separate company. The wine flowed freely, and every one promised to be at his post. On Monday afternoon, an armed body of men marched out, and took possession of the Molard. Many persons were struck with astonishment at the sight of a host of clergymen in military array against one man, who made his appeal, not to arms, but to the word of God.

Through the inteference of the Bernese envoys, Farel obtained permission to give a discourse occasionally in Geneva, which gave him an opportunity of defending himself and the cause in which he was embarked; but he felt the want of suitable fellowlabourers. He found few that were duly qualified or sufficiently courageous. Unexpectedly, however, he at length met with one to his heart's content. This was none other than JOHN CALVIN, then a young man, and Farel's junior by nearly twenty years. He arrived in Geneva, intending only to pass the night there, and to proceed from thence to Basle and Strasburg, for the purpose of devoting himself to study with his friends there. Farel, perceiving his great talents, and aware that such a man would be invaluable in Geneva, solicited him to remain and assist him in preaching. After many fruitless entreaties, he solemnly conjured him, saying, "You have no other ground for refusing my request than your love of study, but I tell you, in the name of the Most High, that if you do not join me in the work of the ministry, God will punish you for preferring your own pleasure to the Lord's service." Overpowered by this appeal, and feeling as if seized by the divine hand, Calvin could no longer refuse, and consequently fixed his residence at Geneva, as a teacher of theology and preacher of the gospel.

It was a wonderful relief to Farel's mind, and a great advantage to the cause of truth, to have Calvin for an associate—one to whom no suspicion could reasonably attach, and who was ready on all occasions to stand forward and undertake their

defence. In a little time, the sources of contention, both with their adversaries of the catholic church and also among themselves, multiplied. Farel was deeply affected with these disputes, insomuch that Calvin dreaded the effect upon his health, and sent for Viret to tranquillize him. "Our adversaries," said he, "have now a fair handle against us, since we also have our popes, bishops, abbots, and priors." Meanwhile, Farel's reputation increased, both in his own neighbourhood and in foreign parts. Even Englishmen travelled as far as Geneva for the purpose of becoming acquainted with him and Calvin.

Reviewing the labours of Farel and his associates, at this period, it is greatly to be lamented that they were so ill-informed on the subject of religious liberty. Of this fact we have many affecting proofs, besides their conduct in the case of Servetus, which shall hereafter be noticed; and I may here be allowed to introduce an incident that occurred at this time in Geneva.

When Calvin, Farel, and Viret had established the reformation at Geneva, the magistrates assembled all the priests in the country towns under their jurisdiction, and required them by such a day to renounce popery and to embrace the reformed religion. A venerable, sensible old man, answered for the whole body, in the following proper manner:-" Most honourable lords! we are extremely surprised at your commanding us all, on a sudden, to renounce, without mature deliberation and without conviction, our ancient religion, received by our ancestors and by us as a just, a holy, and a safe, system of divinity. You have, indeed, renounced it yourselves, but not in an instant, as you require us to quit it, for you allowed preachers a long time to propose their doctrines to you before you embraced them. are your most obedient subjects; however, we are also Christians, redeemed by the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ as well as you, and we are as eager to obtain salvation as you are. We humbly supplicate vou, therefore, for the honour of Jesus Christ, our common Lord and Saviour, to suffer us to examine, and to inform ourselves, as you have done. Send us preachers to instruct us, and to shew us wherein we err, and then, if they can convince us, we will readily follow your example, and submit wholly to your will." The first syndic proposed this modest request to the

council. Bonnivard, late prior of S. Victor, endeavoured to persuade them to grant it, urging, that consciences should be informed, not forced, and that they who embraced the reformation without conviction in one conjuncture of affairs, would probably in another return back to popery. Farel, who was less moderate, thought it would be losing a fair opportunity of spreading religion to allow their petition, and he brought the magistrates over to his opinion. The request was refused, the reformation established, and preachers were sent afterwards to instruct these people. They were obliged, however, to go then attended by guards, or the rustics would have knocked them on the head; so violently does common sense revolt against force in matters of reason, conviction, and conscience.*

This affords us a fine illustration of what now goes by the name of the "compulsive system"—a system entirely at variance with the genius of Christianity, but very congenial to the spirit of all national establishments of a kingdom which is not of this world. "People in power," says an acute writer, "have often required their inferiors to yield a blind submission of conscience to their religious dictates, under the pretence of extending the empire of God. But if God reigns over the understanding, it is by evidence, or the forcible conviction of truth; and his moral dominion over the heart cannot possibly be established without the voluntary exercise of rational powers. In all cases of submission, where conviction and conscience are absent, violent imposition on the one side, and base hypocrisy on the other, conspire to make a knave and a fool, or a tyrant and slave." But I proceed.

From this time until the period of their respective deaths, which happened within a year and a half of each other, the names and the labours of Farel and Calvin are completely identified; but the narrative of their proceedings in carrying forward and establishing the reformation at Geneva during the subsequent thirty years, is far too copious for minute detail in a course of lectures. Scarcely any event affected Farel so deeply as the loss of Calvin, whose earthly tabernacle, weakened by intense labour

[•] Spon. Histoire de Geneve, liv. iii. l. 1536.

and repeated sickness, at length gave way. When his end approached, he thus wrote to Farel:-" Farewell, my best and dearest brother! Since it is the will of God that you should survive me, keep in remembrance our friendship, which, as far as it has been useful to the church of God, will bear fruit for us in heaven. I do not wish that you should come hither on my I am still suffering from difficult respiration, and expect every moment to be my last. My consolation is that of living and dying to Christ, who bestows unspeakable blessings on his people both in life and death. To you and my brethren, I once more say-farewell!" Farel, on receiving this intimation. immediately set out to take leave of his friend, and returned the following day, having had a very affectionate interview with him. "O that I might have died for him!" he exclaimed, when he heard of his death; "what an admirable course has he happily terminated! God grant that we may finish our course in like manner, according to the grace which he bestowed upon us!" He thanked God fervently, that, contrary to his expectations, Calvin had been brought to Geneva, where he had done and suffered so much. The case of the church at Geneva, after this irreparable loss, lay heavy on his heart.

In Lorraine, the reformation continued to make great progress, and spread particularly among the higher classes. In consequence of the misrepresentations of the clergy, they sent a deputation to several protestant courts and states in Germany, requesting them to intercede in their behalf with the duke of Longueville. A deputation of this kind came to Berne, with letters from the reform ministers in Metz. On this and other accounts. Farel felt a desire to visit once more, a people for whom he had formerly suffered so much, and made such efforts to protect from persecution. The ministers consented to his taking the journey, and to protect him at his advanced age from danger, the senate commissioned one of their number to accompany him. He was received at Metz by the senior ministers, and the whole church, with extraordinary respect and joy. the very day of his arrival, he delivered a powerful discourse, which inspired the friends of the reformation with fresh energy. But the exertion was too much for his debilitated frame, and on

lis return from the service his strength was gone, and he was obliged to take to his bed. He was visited by people of all ranks. He exhorted every one, according to his station, to support the laws and institutions of the country, both civil and ecclesiastical, and to promote to the utmost the public weal. With a dignity becoming a faithful minister of the gospel, he encouraged his brethren to approve themselves worthy of their vocations by their assiduity, faithfulness, and sincerity. He comforted and edified all that came to him by his paternal advice. Every one was astonished at his patience and resignation. His friends, amazed at his fortitude, said one to another, "See, this man is the very same as he has always been! We never knew him dejected, even when danger made our spirits fail. When we were ready to give up everything, he remained stedfast, firmly confiding in his Lord, and cheering us by his Christian heroism!"

He made the same profession of faith in God and the Saviour which he had expressed in his will, and after languishing some weeks, gently fell asleep on the 13th of September, 1565, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

The preceding narrative will have clearly defined the general outline of Farel's character; but a few additional traits may render it more complete. The unshaken firmness he displayed in the greatest danger arose from his confidence in God, which he daily nourished by constant prayer. "Never," said he, "will a messenger of God and a faithful preacher of the gospel give way to his adversaries, since God, according to his promise, imparts to his servants a power of utterance, and wisdom, which none can resist." There was no divine promise to which he referred so often as this. Prayer was the element in which he breathed. his letters and writings, he often breaks out into thanksgivings, prayers, and intercessions; or calls upon God to arrest the opposers of his kingdom. Such was the inwrought earnestness of his supplications, that he often raised the hearts of all who heard them to heaven. Equally conscientious and courageous, he was anxious to act in all things according to the will of God. When he withdrew with Calvin from Geneva for a time, and lamented the destitute state of the church, being doubtful whether, notwithstanding their banishment, they ought to have left it, he was

encouraged by Calvin's expression, "We do not desert the church—the church has deserted us."

He was faithful to his friends, and served them with all that he had. When he heard of their being in danger or distress, it cost him much anxious thought whether he should remain at home or hasten to their aid. His deep affection for Calvin was on many occasions strikingly manifested, and he was very sensible how much he was honoured in possessing his friendship. cannot tell you," said he, "what I owe you. May Christ, who is my treasurer, and himself my supreme treasure, reward you for He not only entreated Calvin, but frequently urged him, to write one Commentary after another, from a conviction that he possessed the gifts requisite for exposition in a very extraordinary manner, and that, with a divine blessing, his works of this kind would be extensively useful. "Being an inconsiderable man myself," he would say, "I am wont to require very much from those that possess the greatest excellence, and often press them hard to labour beyond their strength."

Although Calvin and others frequently consulted him, and his judgment was much esteemed, yet he thought meanly of himself, and mistrusted his own powers. In matters of importance he seldom acted alone. Though honoured by others as a veteran soldier of Jesus Christ, he was never heard recounting his own merits, or the hardships which he endured. He was often dissatisfied with himself, since he frequently prescribed to himself tasks above his strength, and acted more under the influence of sudden excitement than of patient resolution.

His character was strongly marked by frankness and candour; so that Œcolampadius, in writing to Luther, justly remarked, that Farel could be known the first hour any one was in his company. But with these virtues he also had the failings so frequently connected with them. He was not sufficiently circumspect and prudent as to what he said, and before whom he spoke. He yielded himself up too much to first impressions, and often used stronger language against those who differed from him than the occasion would justify.

The ardour of his character was shewn in his strenuous opposition to popery, and to everything connected with it. He mani-

fested, if possible, still greater zeal against the libertines, whose doctrines were subversive of all morality and religion. He also poured forth his indignation against those worthless preachers, generally monks, who surpassed in depravity the worst of their flock, neglected their churches, went about as comedians, and forsook their studies for the tavern.

He was aware of the natural warmth of his temper, and took pains to keep it under control. His letters bore the impress of his ardent spirit, even in their form. It often gave him trouble to begin a letter, but when he had once entered on a subject, he scarcely knew how to leave off. The case was much the same with his sermons. Both friends and foes acknowledged him to be in the pulpit a Boanerges, a son of thunder. Animated, ardent, scriptural, and practical, making powerful appeals to the heart, or probing it by varied and searching interrogatories, mingled with prayer to the Searcher of hearts, he carried away his auditory as with a torrent. Men of all ranks and classes, from the senator to the peasant, confessed the power of his eloquence. Strangers of rank came from a great distance to hear him preach. On one occasion, expressing his abhorrence of those who forbad the use of the holy scriptures, he exclaimed, "My God, what an abomination! Canst thou, O sun, shed thy beams on such a country! Canst thou, O earth, bear such a people upon thee, and yield thy fruits to those who thus despise their Creator! And thou, O God, art thou so compassionate, so slow to wrath and vengeance, against those who commit such great wickedness, and sin against thee? Hast thou not appointed thy Son, King over all? Shall thy holy revelation, which thou hast imparted through him for our instruction, be forbidden as a useless, and even dangerous, document to those who read it? Arise, O Lord! Shew that it is thy will that thy Son should be honoured and the sacred statutes of his kingdom should be known and observed by all. Let the trumpet of thy holy gospel sound throughout the world! Grant strength to all true evangelists, and destroy all the propagators of error, that the whole earth may serve thee, and call on thy name with the profoundest adoration."

But the most able and eminent of all the reformers was John

Chauvin, or Calvin, the head of that sect who have from him obtained the name of Calvinists. He was born at Novon, in Picardy, July 10th, 1509, five and twenty years later than Martin Luther. His father, who is said to have held no very high rank, was at least ambitious and able to have his son well educated and trained for the church. He received the rudiments of his education at Paris, under Maturinus Corderius, and studied philosophy in the college of Montaign, under a Spanish professor. His father, who discovered many marks of his early piety, particularly in his reprehensions of the vices of his companions, designed him for the church, and got him presented, May 21st, 1521, to the chapel of Notre Dame, in the cathedral church of Noyon. Six years after, he became pastor of Marteville; whence, in 1529, he was translated to Pont l'Evesque. All these benefices he enjoyed without ever having been in ecclesiastical orders: neither residence nor the personal discharge of duty, it seems, was requisite. He could scarcely be said, therefore, to leave the church, when he went to Orleans and Bourges, to study the civil law and the Greek language. But while he applied to this branch of science, he also engaged in the private study of the scriptures, the importance of which had made an early impression on his mind. While at Paris, he had received a tincture of the principles of the reformers from Robert Olivetan, one of the Waldenses of Piedmont, and he was now confirmed in them by Melchior Wolmar, a German professor of the Greek language at Bourges. From this period, theology became his principal study; and on the death of his father he went to Paris, where he more successfully carried on his studies, and where his talents and writings soon made him generally known to the reformers as the ablest champion of their party. He was a man of rather a delicate and feeble body, about the middle stature, of a darkish pale complexion, and a clear and lively eye. His dress was neat and decent, his manner was unassuming and modest. His abstinence from food and sleep was so great, it is thought, as to have injured his health and shortened his life. His memory was so retentive, that he rarely forgot any person or any thing he had once known; his understanding was vigorous and clear; and his judgment acute and sound. He expressed his ideas always happily, and with equal

facility and accuracy, in speaking and writing: yet he wrote more eloquently than he spoke; for he was cold and careless in his manner of speaking. In ordinary intercourse, he was mild and gentle; but in matters of controversy, and in cases occasioning a difference of opinion, his judgment was severe, his manner haughty and fierce, his language harsh, and often rude and offensive. Yet he restrained himself, and neither had naturally, nor indulged himself in, the impetuosity and violence to which Luther was so prone. His morals were altogether unblamable and respectable.

Soon after his arrival in Paris, when he was only in the twenty-fourth year of his age, he published a Commentary on Seneca's Treatise de Clementia, which procured him considerable fame, both for the elegance of the style in which it was written, and the ingenious and masterly observations which it contained. Nicholas Cope, at that time rector of the University of Paris, admiring his genius and style, employed him to assist in composing for him a speech which he was to deliver at the celebration of All Saints. Into that speech Calvin introduced some of the opinions of the reformers so explicitly as to give high offence to the senate of the University. The rector was summoned to answer for the errors contained in his speech, and was on his way formally to appear at the bar of that court, when, admonished by his friends of the danger to which he must expose himself, he turned back and fled to Basle. lodging was instantly searched; he himself was not found, but his papers and letters were seized; and not only he, but his friends to whom they referred, and from whom he received them, were in imminent hazard of their lives. Calvin also fled, but, being patronized and protected by the queen of Navarre, he returned to the south of France, and afterwards to Paris. had scarcely settled there, when, in consequence of the intemperate zeal of the reformers, or, perhaps, of the duplicity and machinations of their enemies, he was again exposed to danger. Pasquinades against the mass having been posted, not only on the public places of the city, but on the very doors of the king's palace and bedchamber, the monarch's indignation was inflamed against the whole sect. Orders were issued to punish them with

a cruel severity. Ruffel and Corald were thrown into prison, and Calvin again retired to Switzerland. But before he left France, he published at Orleans his ingenious and learned treatise on the separate state of the soul, in which he successfully argued, that it does not sleep, as some affirm, from death till the resurrection, but that it continues to live in a state of activity and enjoyment.

At Basle, he employed his time in composing and publishing his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," which he dedicated to Francis I.—a work well adapted to spread his fame, though he himself was desirous of living in obscurity. The Dedication to the King of France is a masterly performance, and constitutes one of the three that have been held up as models of this species of composition, that of the celebrated Thuanus, or De Thou, prefixed to his History of his own Times, and Casaubon's Preface to Polybius, being the other two. But this treatise, when first published in 1535, was only a sketch of the work in its pre-The complete editions, both in Latin and in French, with the author's last corrections and additions, did not appear In this work, the author's design was not only to state distinctly the doctrines which he and the other reformers in France believed and taught, but to distinguish them particularly from the Munster enthusiasts and other sectarians, who were equally regardless of the scriptures, and rebellious against the civil government. This work, since universally known, and celebrated, in respect both of the subject and style, by all protestants, was well calculated to have made a deep and lasting impression on the French king: "for," as Beza tells us in his Life of Calvin, " Francis had a sound judgment, favoured learning and learned men, and was himself not ill disposed towards us." But he was persuaded by the Chancellor du Prat, and other courtiers, not to read it, being aware of the effects which it was likely to produce.

After the publication of the "Institutes," Calvin went to Italy, to pay a visit to the Duchess of Ferrara, a lady of eminent piety, by whom he was very kindly received. From Italy he came back to France, and having settled his private affairs, he purposed to go to Strasburg or Basle, in company with his sole

surviving brother, Anthony Calvin; but as the roads were not safe, on account of the war then pending, except through the territories of the duke of Savoy, he chose that road. "This was a particular direction of Providence," says Bayle; "it was his destiny that he should settle at Geneva, and when he was wholly intent on going further, he found himself detained by an order from Heaven, if I may so speak." William Farel, who had been some time sowing the seeds of reformation at Geneva, had in vain used many entreaties to prevail on Calvin to be his fellow-labourer in that part of the Lord's vineyard; but finding Calvin disinclined to settle there, he at last solemnly declared to him, in the name of God, that if he would not stay, the curse of God would attend him wherever he went, as seeking his own, and not the things that are Jesus Christ's. Calvin, on this, was constrained to comply, and settled there in August, 1536.

From these "Institutes," it appears that Calvin agreed with the Roman catholics only on the subjects of the Holy Trinity, of Providence, of a future state, original sin, general depravity, the incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ. He agreed with Luther in affirming the doctrine of original sin and universal human depravity, as both derived from the fall of Adam; in admitting that man was originally created with a free will, but lost it in Adam's apostasy, since which he is held in bondage by depraved affections; and in teaching that sinners are justified by faith in the atonement and righteousness of Christ alone; that the grace of God, or divine influence, is necessary both to commence and carry on the regeneration of the soul. He agreed with Zuinglius in condemning both the transubstantiation of the catholic church and the consubstantiation of Luther, and in asserting the simplicity of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the original institution of it in scripture; that there is no change in the elements by consecration, that they are mere figures, or signs, for assisting the mind in the exercise of a spiritual devotion. The sacrifice of the mass, therefore, with all its folly and impiety, these two great divines totally condemned. In almost everything else they concurred with Luther; in abjuring the supremacy and infallibility of the pope, the invocation of saints, purgatory, indulgences, monastic vows,

and clerical celibacy; and in declaring the holy scriptures to be the only foundation of faith and rule of life. On these doctrines, nearly, Bucer and his coadjutors founded the church of Switzerland; on these was laid the church of Geneva, from which were derived the creeds of the national churches of England and Scotland; and to these the latter Waldenses and other reformers in France generally accommodated their faith.

Though this work, which will remain for ever a monument of Calvin's learning, sound judgment, and elegant Latinity, was neglected by the king, it was circulated over the kingdom and over the neighbouring states, silently convincing, converting, and establishing many to whom he could have had no personal access. He had retired himself from the threatenings of persecution in France to Geneva. There, being appointed, not only a minister of the word, but a professor of theology, he and his colleagues, Farel and Corald, proposed and introduced a total change, not merely on the administration of the sacraments, but on the government and discipline of the church; and resolved not to admit those to communion who would not approve of the constitutions which they framed on these subjects. But the revolution attempted was found to be too sudden and violent. Unfortunately, Calvin and his associates, as well as Luther and his friends, retained their predilection for a national establishment of church government, overlooking the fact that the primitive churches organized under the ministry of the apostles were single congregations of professed believers, called out of the world by the preaching of the gospel, and united together in the closest ties of affection for the truth, and to one another for the truth's sake, and each church coming together into one place to eat the Lord's supper, with their appointed office-bearers of elders and deacons. No wonder that the attempt to bring a whole district, city, or parish, under the rule and government of the word of God, should prove impracticable. The very attempt raised a host of opposition. Both Farel and Calvin were expelled from Geneva, and happy to escape with their lives.

Their expulsion, however, was followed by the most melancholy results. Every social tie was broken among the Genevese; order and harmony were exchanged for discord, tumult, faction, and deeds of violence. Mass was performed without scruple, the reading of the scriptures was restricted, and to females totally prohibited. The preachers were regardless of their sacred functions, and even assisted in removing from their stations the best qualified teachers of youth. No wonder that they were at last looked upon as intruders and hirelings, who had unlawfully occupied the places of the true shepherds. At length, their safety was endangered, and some of them left the city.

What Calvin had predicted—that the bitter enemies of the reformation, while imagining themselves about to enter a port of safety, were, in reality, hastening to destruction, was unhapily fulfilled. The syndics who pronounced sentence of banishment on himself and Farel met with a dreadful end. One of them was executed as a murderer; two others, accused of treason, died in prison. Claude Richardet, who had sarcastically told Calvin that the gates of the city were quite wide enough for him to go out at, found them shut against himself, and broke his neck in trying to escape through a window. But these awful events, and the disturbed condition of public affairs, were the means of gradually leading the people of Geneva to a better state of mind, and excited in them an earnest desire for the return of their persecuted teachers, who, with Christian magnanimity, had never ceased to shew a lively interest in the welfare of Geneva. Calvin was frequently asked whether he was willing to return; but his reply uniformly was, that as he had been expelled with Farel, it would seem an act of grace rather than of justice if he were recalled without him. And when at length he received a call. his first question was, why Farel was not united with him in the invitation, since his assistance was as necessary in the restoration of the church as in its first establishment? Farel himself was particularly solicitous that Calvin should return to Geneva, though he did not accompany him, and urged Calvin, by all the entreaties in his power, to accept the invitation. "Without doubt," said he, "this call comes from God. The Genevese confess their faults before God: they acknowledge their neglect of his word, and the ill-treatment of his ministers, and the sufferings which have befallen them in consequence; and they are

looking for deliverance by the republication of scriptural truth. God recals you: he permitted your expulsion that you might afterwards fill your office with greater power and authority."

Calvin at length yielded to the entreaties of his friend, and arrived at Geneva, where all the state and municipal body, on his return, yielded themselves implicitly to his authority. His power was now comparatively absolute. Everything was cast in the mould which he devised or approved. Elders, or rather, deacons, were chosen; parochial and superior ecclesiastical courts were established; the presbyterian form of church government was there instituted, nearly in the manner in which it was afterwards established in Scotland under the auspices of John Knox. But, unhappily, in all this ingenious frame-work Calvin lost sight of the New Testament, and followed a scheme of his own devising; for where in the sacred canon do we read of "church-courts, parochial and superior or inferior, or synod, or general assemblies?

Meantime Calvin was not unmindful of the persecuted and oppressed church in France. He wrote, beseeching them to flee the idolatry of the Roman-catholic church, and to beware of the craft and pestilential errors of the papal priesthood. He published short tracts and catechisms, which were widely circulated and read with avidity. Various turbulent sectarians, who had obtained some influence in that country, by his means were silenced and dispersed. The refugee Christians, on the other hand, who fled from the severe persecution in Languedoc, were welcomed and solaced by him at Geneva. There he continued to reside, and to serve as one of the pastors of that city; and there he composed, and from time to time published, his invaluable commentaries on the scriptures. They naturally contain much of the controversies of the times; but, making allowance for this, they always give a clear and precise view of the subject, abounding rather in useful doctrine and practical observations than dry critical discussions. He laboured both in preaching and writing to almost the very last hour of his life, and died on the twenty-seventh of May, 1564, in the fifty-fifth vear of his age.

It is common for the adversaries of Calvin not only to load his memory with reproach, as a man of a severe and bigotted tem-

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per, but of a persecuting and cruel spirit. No allowance is made for human infirmity, for the circumstances of the times, and for that inconsistency and mistaken zeal into which men of every age are liable to fall. When he complained of the persecution of the catholics, he justified himself by thinking that they were wrong, and that he only was right; and for the same reason, when he persecuted others, he believed that he did God service in subduing his enemies. In a more enlightened age we may condemn the spirit and conduct of Calvin, and especially towards Servetus; but we ought to examine whether, in so doing, we are not deficient in that very candour and liberality, in respect of which he is so generally accounted blameable.

Of all the errors of the times, none appear to have so justly shocked the minds of the reformers as the denial of the divinity of Christ. Michael Servetus, educated as a physician, early imbibed from the refugee Socinians of Poland the belief that Jesus Christ was a mere man. Having wandered over France and Switzerland, teaching the doctrine of Socinus, he had repeatedly encountered Calvin, knew that he was obnoxious to that divine, and had formerly declined an appointment which he had made, according to the custom of those times, publicly to dispute with him. He might have observed the almost universal bias of the public mind against Socinianism in those countries at that time; yet he persisted, such was his zeal, for many years, in printing small tracts, and dispersing them wherever he went. The civil magistrates, and especially in such a city as Geneva, sympathized on such a subject in strict accord with their religious pastors. They thought it incumbent on them not merely to silence, but to punish, all who attempted to unhinge the faith and unsettle the fundamental principles of the established religion; and being informed-Sleidan does not say by whom, Beza says, by Calvin-that Servetus was disseminating his errors in Geneva, the senate commanded him to be apprehended, and ordered Calvin, who had formerly written against his doctrines, and the other ministers of the church, to enter into a conference with him. There was a long and sharp dispute between them, in the course of which, Servetus, without any modesty, often gave Calvin the lie. The senate being very desirous to proceed with great deliberation in a thing of this weight, consulted the doctors

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of Berne, Zurich, Basle, and Schaffhausen, who all said that these doctrines were very blasphemous, and injurious to the majesty of God. But Servetus not only stood to his opinion, he defended it with rude language and reproaches, and was thereupon sentenced to death.*

According to this account no blame seems imputable to Calvin but for having informed the magistrates that such a man was in the city disseminating his opinions. He may have added, though even that is not alleged, that they were dangerous, and ought to be prevented. In all the other steps of the persecution, it is not Calvin who is his adversary more than the other ministers who opposed themselves to him, and that by order of the magistrates. By their order, also, Servetus was condemned and burnt. It is true that Calvin approved of this, and held illiberal and persecuting principles; for he published a tract on this occasion, in vindication of himself, and of the inhuman, unphilosophical, and unscriptural doctrine of the times, "that the sword may be lawfully employed against heretics." But it was the doctrine of the age; it is not peculiar to Calvin, though it must be granted that his temper was not the most amiable; and happy is he, in any age, who in this respect judging another condemneth not himself. Calvin positively declares, that though he wished the sentence of Servetus to be capital, that he was desirous to have the severity of the execution of it mitigated. "Spero capitale saltem fore judicium, pænæ vero atrocitatem remitti cupio."+

The inflexible rigour with which Calvin asserted, on all occasions, the rights of his consistory, procured him many enemies: but nothing daunted him; and one would hardly believe, if there were not unquestionable proofs of it, that amidst all the commotions at home, he could take so much care as he did of the churches abroad, in France, Germany, England, and Poland, and write so many books and letters. He did more by his pen than by his presence; nevertheless, on some occasions he acted in person, particularly at Franckfort, in 1556, whither he went to put an end to the disputes which divided the French church in that city. He was always employed, having almost

Sleidan's History of the Reformation, book 25, p. 593. Beza, Jo. Calvini Vita, p. 13.



constantly his pen in his hand, even when sickness confined him to his bed; and he continued the discharge of all those duties which his zeal for the general good of the churches imposed on him, till the day of his death, May 27th, 1564.

Calvin was a man whom God had endowed with very eminent talents—a clear understanding, a solid judgment, and a happy memory: he was a judicious, elegant, and indefatigable writer, and possessed of very extensive learning and a great zeal for truth. Joseph Scaliger, who was not lavish of his praise, could not for hear. admiring Calvin; none of the commentators, he said, had hit so. well the sense of the prophets. We learn from Guy Patin, that many of the Roman catholics would do justice to Calvin's merit, if they dared to speak their minds. And Bishop Horsley, an eminent prelate of the church of England, in a charge delivered to his clergy, in 1806, after frankly acknowledging that the writings of Calvin had a place in his library, and that he was under high obligations to them, thus addressed his audience:-"If ever you should be provoked to take a part in theological disputes, of all things I entreat you to avoid (what is now become very common) acrimonious abuse of Calvinism and of Calvin; at least, take especial care before you aim your shafts at Calvinism, that you know what Calvinism is. I must say, I have found great want of this discrimination in some late controversial writings on the side of the church, as they were meant to be. Better were it for the church, if such apologists would withhold their services."

There are some noble traits in the character of this reformer which have sorely gravelled his adversaries, among which are those of his abstemiousness and contempt of riches. That a man who had acquired so great a reputation and such an authority, should yet have had but a salary of 100 crowns, and refused to accept more; and after living fifty-five years with the utmost frugality, should leave but 300 crowns to his heirs, including the value of his library, which sold very dear, is something so heroical, that one must have lost all feeling not to admire it. When Calvin took his leave of the people of Strasburg, to return to Geneva, they wanted to continue to him the privileges of a freeman of their town, and the revenues of a prebend which had been assigned to him; the former he accepted, but absolutely refused the other. He carried one of his brothers with him to

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Geneva, but he never laboured to raise him to an honourable post, as many others possessed of his credit would have done. He took care, indeed, of the honour of his brother's family by getting him loosened from an adulteress, and obtaining leave for him to marry again; but even his enemies relate, that he made him learn the trade of a bookbinder, which he followed all his life.

Calvin, when he was about thirty, by the advice of his patron, Martin Bucer, married, at Strasburg, Idoletta de Bure, widow of a baptist. She had some children by her first husband, and bore Calvin a son, who died soon after his birth. The mother died in 1549. Calvin appears, by his letters, to have been extremely afflicted for the loss of her, and never married again.

Cotemporary with Calvin, and associated with him in the cause of reform, was Theodore Beza, a divine of great eminence, and one of the pillars of the church of Geneva. He was born at Vezelai, in Burgundy, June 24th, 1519. He was brought up by his uncle, Nicholas de Beza, counsellor of the parliament of Paris, till December, 1528, when he was sent to Orleans, and placed under the care of Melchior Wolmar. He lived seven years with Wolmar, under whom he made an extraordinary progress in polite learning, and from him imbibed the principles of the protestant religion. His uncle intended him for the bar. The law, however, not suiting his disposition, he bestowed most of his time in reading the Greek and Latin authors, and in composing verses.

He took his licentiate's degree in 1589, and went to Paris. He had made a promise to a young woman to marry her publicly as soon as certain obstacles should be removed, and in the meantime not to engage himself in the ecclesiastical state. A sudden and dangerous illness prevented him some time from putting his design in execution; but, as soon as he recovered, he fled to Geneva, where he arrived October 24th, 1548, and from thence went to Tubingen to see Melchior Wolmar.

Beza had been accustomed to go to Geneva in the vacations to see Calvin, who exhorted him to dedicate his talents to the service of the church, and advised him to finish what Marot had begun. Beza followed this advice, and translated the hundred Psalms that remained into French verse; and they were printed,

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with the king's privilege, in 1561. One of the most remarkable writings which he published during his stay at Lausanne, was the treatise "De Hæreticis a magistratu puniendis." He published it by way of answer to the book which Castalio, under the feigned name of Martinus Bellius, had composed on this important subject, a little after the punishment of Servetus.

He published also, at this place, a short exposition of Christianity ex doctrina de æterna Dei prædestinatione; an answer to Joachim Westphalus, concerning the Lord's supper; two dialogues on the same subject against Tillemannus Hespusius; and an answer to Castalio concerning the doctrine of predestination.

The year after he accepted of the Greek professorship at Lausanne, which he held for nine or ten years, and then returned to Geneva, where he became a protestant minister. He did not confine himself whilst he held his professorship to the Greek lectures, but also read in French on the New Testament, and published several books whilst he resided at Lausanne. Having settled at Geneva in 1559, he adhered to Calvin in the strictest manner, and became in a little time his colleague in the church and in the University. He was sent to Nerac, to the king of Navarre, to confer with him upon affairs of importance. This prince had expressed his desire, both by letters and deputies, that Theodore Beza might assist at the conference of Poissa; and the senate of Geneva complied with his request; nor could they have made choice of a person more capable of doing honour to the cause; for Beza was an excellent speaker, knew the world, and had a great share of wit. The whole audience hearkened attentively to his harangue, till he touched upon the real presence, on which subject he dropped an expression which occasioned some murmuring. Throughout the whole conference he behaved himself as a very able man. He often preached before the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé. After the massacre of Vassi, he was deputed to the king to complain of the violence; the civil war followed soon after, during which the prince of Condé kept him with him.

Beza was present at the battle of Dreux, and did not return to Geneva till after the peace of 1563. He revisited France in 1568. He published several books after his return to Geneva. He went

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again to France in 1571, to assist at the national synod of Rochelle, of which he was chosen moderator. The year after he was present at that of Nismes, where he opposed the faction of John Morel. He was at the conferences of Montbeliard, in 1586, where he disputed with John Andreas, a divine of Tubingen.

He lost his wife, with whom he lived forty years, in 1588, but soon supplied her place by another, whom he is said to have called, in allusion to the fair cherisher of David's old age, his Shunamite. His increasing infirmities caused him to withdraw gradually from the services of public instruction; but the fire of his genius was inextinguishable almost to the last, and he wrote Latin verses a few years before his death. This event happened in October, 1605, when he had passed his eighty-sixth year.

Beza certainly was a man of great natural abilities and literary acquirements; and his consequence may be estimated from the many calumnies raised by the bigoted catholics against him, both living and dead. Not contented with exaggerating his youthful failings, they have supposed him a hypocrite and man of bad morals during the course of his life; though there is every proof of his religious zeal, and though rigour rather than laxity was the prevailing character of the Genevan school. It is more true, that he was an angry and virulent disputant, prone to dogmatise, and deficient in candour and charity. As a Latin poet, his juvenile pieces were too popular, but perhaps were rendered so rather by their subjects than by their intrinsic merit, since critics have found in them numerous deviations from classical purity. They were first printed in 1548. He wrote, likewise, many grave and serious pieces, which, with some of the lighter, in a castigated form, were printed by the Stephenses, at Paris, in 1597, 4to, with the title of "Theod. Bezze Poemata varia." His French verses are of an inferior kind. His theological works are numerous. Besides those already mentioned, he published a Latin Version of the New Testament, with critical and theological remarks, which has been much read in all protestant countries, and is still in considerable esteem. A MS. of the New Testament, once in Beza's possession, is now one of the most valuable pieces of antiquity in the library of the University of Cambridge.

LECTURE LXVII.

Introduction of the reformation into France—State of religion at that time—Translation of the scriptures, by order of Charles VIII.— The reformation promoted by the ministry and writings of Calvin—Favoured by the Queen of Navarre—Beza's preaching and writings—Commencement of the persecution of the protestants—Pacific conduct of Michael de l'Hospital—The Duke of Guise attempts to establish the inquisition in France—Admiral Coligny presents a petition to the king in behalf of the protestants—Interference of the court of Rome—Charles IX. ruised to the throne—Conference at Poissy—Prudent coursel of L'Hospital—Toleration granted to the Huguenots—Their rapid increase—Determination and consequent measures of the court to destroy them—Massacre of St. Bartholomew's day. A.D. 1572. Review, and reflections.

I INTEND, in the present lecture, to take a review of the ecdesiastical state of France at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the period of the commencement of the Lutherm reformation; the introduction of the holy scriptures into that extensive country, the labours of the reformers in disseminating the principles of divine truth, and the conflict which raged during the whole of the century, or at least until the dreadful catastrophe of St. Bartholomew's day, August 24th, 1572. The whole narrative is full of instruction, as characteristic of the sanguinary spirit of popery; but it is too important to be omitted

in a course of lectures on ecclesiastical history, and posterity may deduce a useful lesson from it.

FRANCIS I. ascended the throne of France in the year 1515, just two years before Luther began the work of reformation. The state of religion at that time was truly deplorable. Ecclesiastical government, instead of that evangelical simplicity and fraternal freedom which Jesus Christ and his apostles had taught, was become a spiritual domination under the form of a temporal empire. An innumerable multitude of dignities, titles, rights, honours, privileges, and pre-eminences, belonged to it, and were all dependent on a sovereign priest, who, being an absolute monarch, required every thought to be in subjection to HIM. The chief ministers of religion were actually become temporal princes, and the high priest, being absolute sovereign of the ecclesiastical state, had his court and his council, his ambassadors to negotiate, and his armies to murder his flock. The clergy had acquired immense wealth, and as their chief study was either to collect and to augment their revenues or to prevent the alienation of their estates, they had constituted numberless spiritual corporations, with powers, rights, statutes, privileges, and officers. The functions of the ministry were generally neglected, and, of consequence, gross ignorance prevailed. All maks of men were extremely depraved in their morals, and the pope's penitentiary had published the price of every crime as it was rated in the tax-book of the Roman chancery. Marriages, which reason and scripture allowed, the pope prohibited, and for money dispensed with those which both forbade. Church benefices were sold to children and to laymen, who then let them to under-tenants, none of whom performed the duty for which the prefits were paid; and all having obtained them by simony, spent their lives in fleecing the flock to repay themselves. The power of the pontiff was so great, that he assumed, and what was more astonishing, he was suffered to exercise, a supremacy over many kingdoms. When monarchs gratified his will, he put on a triple crown, ascended a throne, suffered them to call him holiness, and to kiss his feet. When they disobliged him, he suspended all religious worship in their dominions; published false and abusive libels, called bulls, which operated as laws, to

injure their persons; discharged their subjects from obedience; and gave their crowns to any who would usurp them. He claimed an infallibility of knowledge, and an omnipotence of strength, and he forbade the world to examine his claim. He was addressed by titles of blasphemy; and though he owned no jurisdiction over himself, yet he affected to extend his authority over heaven and hell, as well as over a middle place called purgatory, of all which places, he said, he kept the keys! This irregular church-polity was attended with quarrels, intrigues, schisms, and wars.

Religion itself was made to consist of the performance of numerous ceremonies of pagan, Jewish, and monkish extraction, all of which might be performed without either faith in God or love to mankind. The church ritual was an address, not to the reason, but to the senses, of men; music stole the ear and soothed the passions; statues, paintings, vestments, and various ornaments, beguiled the eye; while the pause which was produced by that sudden attack which a multitude of objects made on the senses on entering a spacious decorated edifice, was enthasinstically taken for devotion. Blind obedience was first allowed by courtesy, and then established by law. Public wesship was performed in an unknown tongue, and the sacrament was adored as the body and blood of Christ. The credit of the ceramonial produced in the people a notion, that the performance of it was the practice of piety, and religion degenerated into gross superstition. Vice, uncontrolled by reason or scripture, retained a pagan vigour, and committed the most horrid crimes; and superstition atoned for them, by building and endowing religious houses, and by bestowing donations on the church. Human merit was introduced, saints were invoked, and the perfections of God were distributed by canonization among the creatures of the pope. The pillars that supported this edifice were immense riches, arising by imposts from the sins of mankind; idle distinctions between supreme and subordinate adoration; senseless axioms, called the divinity of the schools; preachments of buffoonery or blasphemy, or both; cruel casuistry, consisting of a body of dangerous and scandalous morality, false miracles, and midnight visions; spurious books and paltry relics; oaths, dungeons, inquisitions, and crusades. The whole was denominated THE HOLY, CATHOLIC, and APOSTOLIC CHURCH, and laid to the charge of the Lord Jesus Christ!

Loud complaints had been made of these excesses, for the last hundred and fifty years, to those whose business it was to reform; and, bad as they were, they had owned the necessity of reformation, and had repeatedly promised it should be done. Several councils had been called for the purposes of reforming; but nothing had been done, nor could anything be expected from assemblies of mercenary men, who were too deeply interested in darkness to vote for day. They were inflexible against every remonstrance, and, as a Jesuit has since expressed it, they would not extinguish one taper, though it were to convert all the Huguenots in France. The restorers of literature reiterated and reasoned on these complaints; but they reasoned to the wind. The church champions were hard driven; they tried every art to support their cause; but as they could neither get rid of the attack by a polite duplicity, nor intimidate their sensible opponents by snathemas; as they would not determine the matter by scripture, and as they could not defend themselves by any other method; as they were too obstinate to reform themselves, and too proud to be reformed by their inferiors; the plaintiffs at length laid aside thoughts of applying to them, and having found out the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free, went about reforming themselves. The reformers were neither popes, cardinals, nor bishops; but they were disinterested men, who aimed to promote the glory of God and the good of mankind.

Were we to enter into a minute examination of the reformation in France, we would own a particular interposition of Providence; and a happy conjunction of jarring interests rendered the sixteenth century a fit era for reformation. Events that produced, protected, and persecuted the reformation, proceeded from a variety of causes. The capacities and the tempers, the virtues and the vices, the views and interests, of the princes of those times, the abilities and dispositions of the officers of each crown, the powers of government and the persons who wrought them, the tempers and geniuses of the people,—all these, and many more, were springs of action, which, in their turns, directed the great

events that were exhibited to public view. But my circumsorised limits do not permit inquiries of this kind.

The reformation, which began in Germany, had extended itself to Geneva, as we have already seen, and from thence made its way into France. The French had a translation of the Bible. which had been made in 1224, by Guiars des Moulins: it had been revised, corrected, and printed, at Paris, 1487, by order of Charles VIII., and the study of it now began to prevail. The reigning king, who was a patron of learning, encouraged his valet de chambre, Clement Marot, to versify some of David's Psalms, and took great pleasure in singing them, and either protected or persecuted the reformation as his interest seemed to him to require. Although, in 1535, he went in procession to burn the first martyrs of the reformed church, yet in the same year he sent for Melancthon to come into France to reconcile religious differences. Although he persecuted his own protestant subjects with infinite inhumanity, yet, when he was afraid that the ruin of the German protestants would strengthen the hands of the emperor, Charles V., he made an alliance with the protestant princes of Germany, and allowed the duke of Orleans, his second son, to offer them the free exercise of their religion in the dukedom of Luxemburg. He suffered his sister, the queen of Navarre, to protect the reformation in her country of Bears, and even saved Geneva when Charles, duke of Savoy, would have taken it. It was no uncommon thing, in that age, for princes to trifle with religion. His majesty's first concern was, to be a king; his second, to act like a rational creature.

The reformation greatly increased in this reign. The pious queen of Navarre made her court a covert from every storm, supplied France with preachers, and the exiles at Geneva with money. Calvin, who in 1534 had fled from his rectory in France, and had settled at Geneva in 1541, was a chief instrument; he drew up a catechism for the instruction of the common people, and got that and other of his writings conveyed into France. Some of the bishops were well affected towards the reformation; but acted cautiously in the matter, for fear of the consequences. The reformation was called Calvinism. The people were named Sacramentarians, Lutherans, Calvinists, and nick-named

Huguenots, either from Hugon, a hobgoblin, because, to avoid persecution, they held their assemblies in the night; or from the gate Hugon, in Tours, where they used to meet; or from a Swiss word, which signifies a league.

Henry II., who succeeded his father, Francis, 1547, was a weak and wicked prince. The increase of his authority was the law and the prophets to him. He violently persecuted his protestant subjects, because he was taught to believe that heresy was a faction repugnant to authority; nevertheless, he made an alliance with the German protestants, and was pleased with the title of Frotestor of the Germanic liberties,-that is, protector of protestantism, which he did, in order to check the power of the emperor, Charles V. He was sometimes governed by his queen, Catharine de Medicis, niece of Pope Clement VII., who, it is said, never did right except she did it by mistake; often by the constable, De Montmorenci, whom, contrary to the express command of his father, in his dving illness, he had placed at the head of administration; but chiefly by his mistress, Diana of Poitiers, who had also been mistress to his father, and who bore an implacable hatred towards the protestants; and always by some of his favourites, whom he suffered to amass immense fortunes by accusing men of heresy. After all, the reformation was very much advanced in this reign. The gentry promoted the acting of plays, in which the comedians exposed the lives and doctrines of the popish clergy, and the poignant wit and humour of the comedians afforded infinite diversion to the people, and conciliated them to the new preachers.

Beza, who had fled to Geneva, 1548, came backward and forward into France, and was a chief promoter of the work of reform. His Latin Testament, which he first published in this reign, 1556, was much read, greatly admired, and contributed to the strength of the cause. The New Testament was the Goliah's sword of the reformers: there was none like it. Francis II. succeeded his father, Henry, in 1559. He was then only in the sixteenth year of his age, extremely weak both in body and mind, and therefore incapable of governing the kingdom by himself. In this reign began those civil wars which raged in France for almost forty years. They have been, by some, imputed to a false zeal for reli-

gion; but that charge is a calumny, for the crown of France was the prize for which the generals fought. It was that which inspired them with the hopes and fears productive of devotions or persecutions, as either of them opened access to the throne. The interests of religion, indeed, fell in with these views, and so the parties became blended together in war.

The persecution of the protestants was very severe about the middle of the sixteenth century. Counsellor Du Bourg, a gentleman of eminent quality and great merit, was burnt for heresy, and the court was inclined, not only to rid France of protestantism, but Scotland also, and sent La Brosse with three thousand men to assist the queen of Scotland in that impious design. This, however, was frustrated by the intervention of Queen Elizabeth of England. The persecution becoming every day more intolerable, and the king being quite inaccessible to the remonstrances of his people, the protestants held several consultations and took the opinions of their ministers, as well as those of their noble partisans, on the question,-whether it were lawful to take up arms in their own defence, and to make way for a free access to the king to present their petitions? It was unanimously resolved, that it was lawful; and it was agreed, that a certain number of men should be chosen, who should go on a fixed day, under the direction of Lewis, prince of Condé, present their petition to the king, and seize the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorrain, his brother, in order to have them tried before the states. This affair was discovered to the duke by a false brother, the design was defeated, and twelve hundred persons were beheaded! Guise pretended to have suppressed a rebellion that was designed to end in the dethroning of the king, and by this manouvre he procured the general lieutenantcy of the kingdom, and the title of conservator of his country. He pleased the puerile king by placing a few gandy horse-guards round his palace, and he infatuated the poor child to think himself and his kingdom rich and happy, while his protestant subjects lay bleeding through all his realm.

The unspeakable value of an able statesman in such an important crisis as this, might here be exemplified in the conduct of Michael de l'Hospital, who at this time, 1560, was promoted to the chancellorship; but my limits will not allow an enlargement. He was the most consummate politician that France ever employed. He had the wisdom of governing without the folly of discovering it, and all his actions were guided by that cool moderation which always accompanies a superior knowledge of mankind. He was a concealed protestant of the most liberal sentiments, an entire friend to religious liberty, and it was his wise management that saved France from ruin. It was his fixed opinion, that free toleration was sound policy. We must not wonder that rigid papists deemed him an atheist, while zealous, but mistaken protestants, pictured him carrying a torch behind him to guide others, but not himself. The more a man resembles his Maker, the more will his conduct be censured by ignorance, partiality, and pride!

The duke of Guise, in order to please and strengthen his party; endeavoured to establish an inquisition in France. The chancellor, being willing to parry a thrust which he could not entirely avoid, was forced to agree to a severer edict than he could have wished, to defeat the design, May 1560.

By this edict, the cognizance of the crime of heresy was taken from the secular judges, and given to the bishops alone. The Culvinists complained of this, because it put them into the hands of their enemies; and although their lordships condemned and burnt so many heretics that their courts were justly called chambers ardentes, yet the zealous catholics thought them less eligible than an inquisition after the manner of Spain.

Soon after the making of this edict, many families having been ruined by it, Admiral Coligny presented a petition to the king, in the names of all the protestants in France, humbly praying that they might be allowed the free exercise of their religion. The king referred the matter to the parliament, who were to consult about it with the lords of his council. A warm debate ensued, and the catholics carried it against the protestants by three voices. It was resolved that people should be obliged either to conform to the old established church or to quit the kingdom, with permission to sell their estates. The protestants argued, that in a point of such importance, it would be unreasonable, on account of three voices, to inflame all France with animosity and war, that the method of banishment was impossible

to be executed, and that the obliging of those who continued in France to submit to the Romish religion against their consciences, was an absurd attempt, and equal to an impossibility. The chancellor and the protestant lords used every effort to procure a toleration, while the catholic party urged the necessity of uniformity in religion. At length, two of the bishops owned the necessity of a reform, pleaded strenuously for moderate measures, and proposed the deciding of these controversies in an assembly of the states, assisted by a national council, to be summoned at the latter end of the year. To this proposal the assembly agreed.

The court of Rome having laid it down as an indubitable maxim in church policy that an inquisition was the only support of the hierarchy, and dreading the consequence of allowing a nation to reform itself, was alarmed at this intelligence, and instantly sent a nuncio to France. His instructions were, to prevent, if possible, the calling of a national council, and to promise the reassembling of the general council of Trent. The protestants had been too often dupes to such artifices as these, and being fully convinced of the futility of general councils, they refused to submit to the councils of Trent now for several good reasons. The pope, they said, who assembled the council, was to be judge in his own cause; the council would be chiefly composed of Italian bishops, who were vassals of the pope as a secular prince, and sworn to him as a bishop and head of the church; the legates would pack a majority, and bribe the poor bishops to vote; each article would be first settled at Rome, and then proposed by the legates to the council. The emperor, by advice of the late council of Constance, had given a safe-conduct to John Huss, and to Jerome of Prague; nevertheless, when they appeared in the council, and proposed their doubts, the council condemned them to be burnt. The protestants had reason on their side when they rejected this method of reforming, for the art of procuring a majority of votes is the soul of this system of church government. This art consists in the ingenuity of finding out, and in the dexterity of addressing, each man's weak side, his pride or his ignorance, his envy, his gravity, or his avarice,and the possessing of this is the perfection of a legate of Rome.

During these disputes, the king died without issue, on the 6th of

December, 1560; and his brother, Charles IX., who was in the eleventh year of his age, succeeded him on the 13th of December. The states met at the time proposed. The chancellor opened the session by an unanswerable speech on the ill policy of persecution; he represented the miseries of the protestants, and proposed an abatement of their sufferings, till their complaints could be heard in a national council. The prince of Condé and the king of Navarre were the heads of the protestant party; the Guises were the heads of their opponents; and the queen-mother. Catharine de Medicis, who had obtained the regency till the king's majority, and who began to dread the power of the Guises, leaned to the protestants, which was a grand event in their favour. After repeated meetings, and various warm debates, it was agreed, as one side would not submit to a general council, nor the other to a national assembly, that a conference should be held at Poissy between both parties; and an edict was made that no persons should molest the protestants. that the imprisoned should be released, and the exiles called home.

The conference at Poissy was held 1561, in the presence of the king, the princes of the blood, the nobility, cardinals, prelates, and grandees, of both parties. On the popish side, six cardinals, four bishops, and several dignified clergymen; and on the protestant, about twelve of the most famous reformed ministers managed the dispute. Beza was present, and spoke well, for he knew the world; and having a ready wit and a deal of learning he displayed all his powers in favour of the reformation. The papists reasoned where they could, and where they could not, they railed. The conference ended, where most public disputes have ended—that is, where they began; for great mean never enter these lists without a previous determination not to submit to the disgrace of a public defeat.

At the close of the last reign the ruin of protestantism in France seemed inevitable; but now the reformation turned like a tide, overspreading every place, and seemed to roll away all opposition, and in all probability, had it not been for one sad event, it would now have subverted popery in that kingdom. The king of Navarre, who was now lieutenant-general of France.

had hitherto been a zealous protestant; he had taken incredible pains to support the reformation, and had assured the Danish ambassador that, in a year's time, he would cause the true gospel to be preached throughout France. The Guises caballed with the pope and the king of Spain, and they offered to invest the king of Navarre with the kingdom of Sardinia, and to restore to him that part of the kingdom of Navarre which lay in Spain, on condition of his renouncing protestantism. The lure was tempting, and the king deserted and even persecuted the protestants. But Providence is never at a loss for means to effect its designs. The queen of Navarre, daughter of the last queen, who had hitherto preferred a dance before a sermon, was shocked at the king's conduct, and instantly became a zealous protestant She met with some unkind treatment, but nothing could shake her resolution. "Had I (said she) both kingdoms in my hand, I would throw them into the sea rather than defile my conscience by going to mass." This courageous profession saved her a deal of trouble and disputation.

The protestants began now to appear more publicly than before. The queen of Navarre caused Beza to solemnize a marriage in a noble family after the Genevan manner. This, which was consummated near the court, emboldened the ministers, and they preached at the Countess de Senignan's, guarded by the marshal's provosts. The nobility thought that the common people had as good a right to hear the gospel as themselves, and they caused the reform clergy to preach without the walks of Paris. Their auditors were thirty or forty thousand people, divided into three companies,—the women in the middle surrounded by men on foot, and the latter by men on horseback; and during the sermon the governor of Paris placed soldiers to guard the avenues, and to prevent disturbances. The morality of this worship cannot be disputed; for if God be worshipped in spirit and in truth, the place is indifferent. The expediency of it may be doubted; but in a persecution of forty years the French protestants had learnt that their political masters did not consider how rational, but how formidable, they were.

The Guises and their associates, being quite dispirited, retired to their estates; and the queen-regent, by the chancellor's advice,

granted an edict to enable the protestants to preach in all parts of the kingdom, except in Paris and in other walled cities. The parliaments of France had then the power of refusing to register royal edicts, and the chancellor had occasion for all his address to prevail over the scruples and ill-humour of the parliament to procure the registering of this. He begged leave to say, that the question before them was one of those which had its difficulties on whatever side it was viewed; that, in the present case, one of two things must be chosen,—either to put all the adherents of the new religion to the sword, or to banish them entirely, allowing them to dispose of their effects; that the first point could not be executed, since that party was too strong, both in leaders and partisans; and though it could be done, yet as it was staining the king's youth with the blood of so many of his subjects, perhaps when he came of age he would demand it at the hands of his governors: with regard to the second point, it was as little feasible, and, could it be effected, it would be raising as many desperate enemies as exiles; that to enforce conformity against conscience, as matters now stood, was to lead the people to The edict at last was passed, January 1562; but the house registered it with this clause,—in consideration of the present juncture of the times, but not approving of the new religion in any manner, and till the king shall otherwise appoint. So hard did toleration sit on the minds of papists!

A minority was a period favourable to the views of the Guises, and this edict was a happy occasion of a pretence for commencing bostilities. The duke, instigated by his mother, went to Vassi, a town adjacent to one of his lordships, and some of his retinue picking a quarrel with some protestants who were hearing a sermon in a barn, he interested himself in it, wounded two hundred, and left sixty dead on the spot. This was the first protestant blood that was shed in France in civil war.

The news of this affair flew like lightning, and while the duke was marching to Paris, with a thousand horse, the city and provinces rose in arms. The chancellor was extremely afflicted to see both sides preparing for war, and endeavoured to dissuade them from it. The constable, Montmorenci, told him, it did not belong to men of the long robe to give their judgment with rela-

tion to war. To which the chancellor answered, that though he did not bear arms, he knew when they ought to be used. From this time they excluded him from the councils of war.

The queen-regent, alarmed at the duke's approach to Paris, threw herself into the hands of the protestants, and ordered Condé to take up arms. War began, and barbarities and cruelties were practised on both sides. The duke of Guise was assassinated, the king of Navarre was killed at a siege, fifty thousand protestants were slain, and after a year had been spent in these confusions, a peace was concluded, 1563, by which all that the protestants obtained was an edict that excluded the exercise of their religion from cities, and restrained it to their own families.

Peace did not continue long; for the protestants, having received intelligence that the pope, the house of Austria, and the house of Guise, had conspired their ruin, and fearing that the king and the court were inclined to crush them, as their rights were every day infringed by new edicts, took up arms again in their own defence; 1567. The city of Rochelle declared for them, and it served them for an asylum for sixty years. They were assisted by queen Elizabeth of England, and by the German princes; and they obtained, at the conclusion of this second war (1568), the revocation of all penal edicts, the exercise of their religion in their families, and the grant of six cities for their security.

The pope, the king of Spain, and the Guises, finding that they could not prevail while the wise chancellor, L'Hospital, retained his influence, formed a cabal against him, and got him removed. He resigned very readily, and retired to a country seat, where he spent the remainder of his days. A strange confusion followed in the direction of affairs; one edict allowed liberty, another forbade it; and it was plain to the protestants that their situation was very delicate and dangerous. The articles of the last peace had never been performed, and the papists everywhere insulted their liberties, so that in three months' time two thousand Huguenots were murdered, and the murderers went unpunished.

War broke out again, 1568. Queen Elizabeth assisted the protestants with money; the court Palatine helped them with

men, the queen of Navarre parted with her rings and jewels to support them, and the prince of Condé being slain, she declared her son, Prince Henry, the head and protector of the protestant cause, and caused medals to be struck with these words-A sufe peace, a complete victory, a glorious death. Her majesty did everything in her power for the advancement of the cause of religious liberty, and she used to say, that liberty of conscience ought to be preferred before honours, dignities, and life itself. She caused the New Testament, the catechism, and the liturgy of Geneva, to be translated and printed at Rochelle. She abolished popery, and established protestantism in her own dominions, In her leisure hours she expressed her zeal by working tapestries with her own hands, in which she represented the monuments of that liberty which she procured by shaking off the yoke of the pope. One suit consisted of twelve pieces. On each. piece was represented some scripture history of deliverance. Israel coming out of Egypt, Joseph's release from prison, or something of the like kind. On the top of each piece were these words-Where the spirit is, there is liberty, and in the cor-, ners of each were broken chains, fetters, and gibbets. One piece. represented a congregation at mass, and a fox, in a frier's habit, officiating as a priest, grinning horribly, and saying, The Lord be with you. The pieces were fashionable patterns, and dexterously directed the needles of the ladies to help forward the reformation.

After many negotiations, a peace was concluded, 1570, and the free exercise of religion was allowed in all but walled cities. Two cities in every province were assigned to the protestants; they were to be admitted into all universities, schools, hospitals, public offices, royal, seignioral, and corporate, and to render the peace durable, a marriage was proposed between Henry of Navarre and the sister of King Charles of France. These articles were accepted, the match was agreed to, every man's sword was put in its sheath, and the queen of Navarre, her son King Henry, the princes of the blood, and the principal protestants, went to Paris to celebrate the marriage. A few days after the marriage, the admiral (Coligny), who was one of the principal protestant leaders, was assassinated. This alarmed the king of Navarre, and

the prince of Condé, but the king and his mother promising to punish the assassin, they were quiet. The next Sunday being St. Bartholomew's day, when the bells rang for morning prayers, the duke of Guise, brother to the last of that name, appeared with a vast number of soldiers and citizens, and began to murder the Huguenots: the wretched Charles, the king, appeared at the windows of his palace, and endeavoured to shoot those who fled, crying to their pursuers-Kill them; kill them. The massacre continued seven days; seven hundred houses were pillaged; five thousand people perished in Paris; neither age nor sex, nor even women with child, were spared; one butcher boasted to the king that he had hewn down a hundred and fifty in one night. The rage ran from Paris to the provinces, where twenty-five thousand more were cruelly slain; the queen of Navarre was poisoned; and during the massacre, the king of France offered the king of Navarre, and the young prince of Condé, son of the late prince, if they would not renounce Hugonotism, either death, mass, or the bastile; for he said, he would not have one left to reproach him. This bloody affair does not lie between Charles IX., his mother Catharine de Medicis, and the duke of Guise, for the church of Rome and the court of Spain, by exhibiting public rejoicings on the occasion, have adopted the whole for their own, or at least, have claimed a large share.*

The massacre of Paris, on St. Bartholomew's eve, August 24th, a. p. 1572, says the late Sir James Mackintosh, is the most memorable state-crime of a century characterized by public atrocities. The murders of Sinigaglia sink into minor delinquency when compared with it. Cæsar Borgia, under the mask of negotiation, entrapped and strangled four persons, his avowed enemies, and familiar as himself with perfidy and cruelty. Charles IX., inspired by his mother's counsels and his own heart, surprised and slaughtered, without distinction of sex or age, many thousands of his subjects, whilst they obeyed him as their sovereign, confided in him as their protector, and offended only in rejecting his dogmas as a theologian. The politic tyrant may equal or surpass the religious bigot in utter recklessness of good faith and

Robinson's Memorials of the Reformation in France.

piety; but the bigot, armed with supreme power, is immeasurably the more grievous scourge of the human race. Some writers would extenuate this transcendent crime by maintaining that it was the result of circumstances and an emergency, not of long premeditation, and by charging the horrors of indiscriminate slaughter upon the ungovernable impulses of a savage populace, not upon the policy of extermination adopted by a human court. Contradictory judgments and historic doubts on points so material, revived and multiplied at the present day, together with the direct bearing of the massacre on the positions and counsels of Elizabeth, demand a more than passing notice of it in this place.

The extirpation of protestantism in France and the low countries, if not actually concerted, was at least brooded over, by Catharine of Medicis and the duke of Alva, in 1565, at Bayonne. From that period to the pacification of 1570, whilst Alva was frankly fulfilling his mission by fire and sword in Flanders, no step appeared to be taken by Catharine, in the spirit of her particular counsels, in France. Hence a presumption has been advanced against the alleged object of the interview of Bayonne, and the existence of premeditation so early as 1565. Sulpice, the French ambassador at Madrid, whilst negotiating the interview, covertly, yet intelligibly, states the political object. It should not be presumed that Catharine was idle because no overt act appeared; and Davila expressly asserts that her frequent attempts during this interval to inveigle the Huguenots were frustrated by the difficulty of the enterprise, and the failure or treachery of the agents employed.

The first scene of the drama which closed with so fearful a catastrophe, appears to have been the pacification of 1570. Charles IX. was then only in his 21st year. Catharine, who well knew how deeply she was herself distrusted by the Huguenots, put forward the young king as the chief performer. His youth and temperament combined made him a proper instrument to deceive and to destroy. Open and impetuous in seeming, he was treacherous and ferocious in reality; and his mother had cultivated these auspicious dispositions by placing about his person court adepts in vice and crime, who familiarized his mind with falsehood, and his sense with the spectacle of blood. The

coarsest ribaldries graced his ordinary conversation; to serve his purpose he made light of imprecations and his oath: he amused his leisure, or displayed his prowess, by killing brute animals, from rabbits, which he knocked on the head with a club, to pigs and asses, which the royal executioner decollated with his sword at a blow. He had a mistress; but neither the beauty of Marie Fouchet nor the profligate gallantries of his mother's court could seduce or soften a heart so atrocious. In fine, the crocodile, the tiger, and Charles IX., seemed formed for their respective destinations in the inscrutable order of nature and the moral world.

If the court gave peace in order to compass its ends by secret practice after force had failed, the Huguenots accepted it in order to establish themselves more firmly and securely at Rochelle, which, with some other strong places, they retained as a guarantee. Coligny, having dismissed his German auxiliaries and laid down his arms, retired into Rochelle with the protestant princes and the other chiefs. The Huguenots were suspicious, vigilant, and sagacious, and the grand difficulty remained of luring them from their strong hold into the toils of the court. After some time passed in preliminary masked movements, Charles commenced his grand and decisive manœuvre early in 1571. The queen of Navarre was at Rochelle. Marshal Biron arrived there, to propose, in the name of Charles, the marriage of his celebrated sister Margaret with Henry of Bourbon, prince of Navarre. The character of the negotiator inspired a confidence, and he was unconscious of deceit. His proposal inflamed the ambition, touched the affections, and disturbed the ideas, of the Huguenot chiefs and the queen of Navarre, but without yet quieting their suspicions or diverting them from their purpose. Jeanne d'Albert, the widow of a weak prince, had the rigid fanaticism of a Huguenot, an experienced masculine capacity for public affairs, and a parent's views of ambition for her son. Recoiling with sectarian antipathy from the idea of his marrying a lady who invoked saints and went to mass, she yet saw the brilliant advantages which the marriage held out to him, and asked time for consultation with the theologians of her communion. A separate temptation was thrown out to the admiral in the pretended resolution of Charles to take part with the Flemings against Philip II. This was a measure upon which he set his heart both as a Frenchman and as a religionist. Charles desired his (Coligny's) presence at court, not only to assist in the affair of the marriage, but to advise on the means of aiding the prince of Orange.

The queen of Navarre could not yet conquer her aversion; and Coligny was not yet deserted by his prudence. Minor discussions and fresh solicitations, the result of casual incidents, or of a profound under-current of design and intrigue, occupied the remainder of the year, and brought the Huguenots gradually nearer to the court and to their doom. Whilst, if it may be so expressed, the angel of destruction hovered over their heads, they abandoned themselves, in the security of peace, to the pleasures of society and the endearment of the domestic hearth. Rochelle exchanged the stern aspect of a state of war for bridal ensigns and nuptial festivities. The marriage of the prince of Condé was arranged, but not immediately solemnized. The admiral gave his daughter in marriage to Teligny, a young man brought up under his eye, in whom the want of fortune was compensated by virtue, talents, and a character the most engaging. His own marriage might figure in a romance. The Countess d'Entremont, heiress of one of the first houses of Savoy, captivated by his reputation, declared that she would be the Marcia of the modern Cato, set out from Savoy, in defiance of an edict of the duke, by which her estates became forfeit, arrived at Rochelle, was received by Coligny as she merited, and became his wife. Persecution had made the Huguenots a distinct people-in war, enemies; in peace, aliensin the bosom of their country. They still looked at Rochelle as their seat of government. A deputation from Rouen announced that a sanguinary outrage had been committed by the catholics upon the protestants of that city. The council of Rochelle sent deputies—among whom were the admiral's son-in-law and the celebrated Lanoue-to Charles, for redress. Count Louis of Nassau, brother of the prince of Orange, joined this deputation in disguise, for the purpose of conferring secretly with Charles, at his request, on the subject of the war in Flanders. received the deputies at Fontenai-la-Brie, in what they called "the most gracious manner,"—a prostitute court phrase, not yet become obsolete—promised ample justice, and proceeded with his mother and a few chosen confidants to confer privately with Count Louis at the castle of Lumigny. The court urged the policy, and suggested the means, of aiding the Flemings. Charles listened, approved, and promised, but expressed his desire to consult personally with the admiral, upon whom he proposed conferring the chief command. The deputies, charmed with their reception and success, returned to Rochelle.

A slight but curious incident at the castle of Lumigny should have warned them of the character, if not of the designs, of Charles. He gave orders, in their presence, "to turn out the rabbits from their burrow, that he might have the pleasure of killing them," and he executed this burlesque and barbarous rehearsal of the massacre of St. Bartholomew before their eyes.

Teligny was charged by Charles with a letter to the admiral, earnestly desiring his presence and advice at court. These solicitations were repeated through Marshal Montmorenci by letter, and Marshal De Crosse in person. The admiral confided in the consanguinity and friendship of the one, and in the character of the other. His prudence gave way, and he proceeded to Blois, where Charles and Catharine then held their court. Coligny knelt, and protested, with an exaggerated and unworthy selfabasement, at the feet of a sovereign against whom he had three times rebelled. Charles raised the rebel, whom he must have hated, caressed him with every demonstration of respect and tenderness, and repeatedly calling him "father," used one of those expressions of double intent, by which, as perhaps in the massacre of the rabbits, his ferocity compounded with his dissimulation:--" We have you, and you shall not escape from us." Coligny, now loaded with court honours, flattered with the confidence of the king, an unconscious victim, decorated and bound for sacrifice, was made an instrument, by Charles, to bring to court the Huguenot chiefs and the queen of Navarre. That strong-minded woman, after three months' resistance to the persussions of Coligny and the solicitations of Charles and Catharine, arrived at Blois in February, 1572, with a train of friends, and an ominous presentiment of treachery or disaster. " Have I not played my part well?" said Charles, on a particular occasion, to

his mother. "Yes," said his mother, "but to commence is nothing, unless you go through." "Madam," said he, with an oath, "leave it to me; I will net them for you, every one."

From this moment, the Huguenots seem to have rushed headlong to their fate. But the designs of the court encountered obstacles from another quarter. The plot was confined to Catharine, Charles, and the court cabal, called the secret council. was thought prudent to leave the courts of Spain and Rome in the dark, whatever momentary embarrassment might arise. The Huguenots had everywhere their emissaries or friends, and the conspirators knew all would be cleared up satisfactorily by the result. So eager and active was Coligny in pressing the measure of aiding the prince of Orange, that Charles could not, without discovering himself, prevent the expedition of the Count de Nassau. The capture of Mons by the count startled Philip and the duke of Alva. General disavowals and imperfect explanations from Charles and Catharine could not satisfy them. Alva suspected treachery on the part of his confederate at Bayonne. "If," said he to the French envoy, "the queen sends me flowers of Florence, I will send her in return thistles of Spain." The son of the duke of Alva laid siege to Mons. Coligny urged Charles to relieve the besieged, and offered the service of 3000 gentlemen of his party. Charles took a list of the principal names, desired that those who were absent should repair to Paris, and mentioned the offer to Marshal Tavannes. "Sire," said the courtier and massacrer, in reply, "the subject who offered you what was already your own should lose his head." Genlis, a Huguenot officer of distinction, proceeded to the relief of Mons with 3000 or 4000 volunteers, who were cut in pieces or made prisoners by Alva, in consequence of secret notice of the expedition given to him from the French court. When the news of this disaster reached Paris, Charles made a masterly display of feigned sorrow. The pope, on the other hand, refused a dispensation for the marriage of Margaret and Henry, between whom there was a double impediment of kindred and religion. Charles, in explanation, admitted that his reception of the admiral might appear strange to many who had not a complete insight into his intentions, expressed his hope that the pope did

not suspect any diminution of his true piety and ardent zeal for the catholic religion; protested that all his wishes tended to repair the ravages which " our sins had brought upon the church of God;" and wished his heart could be read with the natural eye, to shew that it was as clear and pure as could be wished. With respect to the marriage, he said it was counselled by those who always had the first place in his confidence (no doubt meaning the queen-mother), as the best expedient to give peace to his kingdom, and bring over the prince of Navarre "to our holy mother church." Pius V., who had much to do with kings, and put little trust in them, not satisfied with these assurances, ordered the legate, Alessandrino, to proceed from Portugal to France, avert the war with Spain, prevent the heretical marriage, and propose the king of Portugal for the husband of Margaret. Charles received the legate with the most flattering distinctions, presented him a diamond ring, which he took from his own finger, repeated the assurance of his pure intentions, said, in a tone mysteriously significant, that "he wished he could speak out, but his holiness would one day be the first to praise his zeal and piety;" and, according to an authority which it seems impossible to reject, even declared that he adopted this only mode left him of avenging himself upon the Huguenots. The legate declined the present; the pope still peremptorily refused his dispensation; the marriage treaty proceeded in avowed defiance of his holiness; and the Huguenots were confirmed in their fatal security.

Was Charles, as some assert, really subdued by the ascendency of Coligny, or did the arch-dissembler revel in hypocrisy and his triumph? He privately told the admiral that he would henceforth be his own master, and desired that their plans against the king of Spain should be concealed from his mother. Coligny suggested the difficulty of escaping her penetration, and the advantages to be derived from her wisdom. "Father, you mistake," said Charles; "she is the greatest marplot on earth." He pronounced his council unworthy of his confidence, passing them individually in review, with a contemptuous running commentary. Even the pope was mentioned by him in a tone of disrespectful familiarity. "My aunt," said

he to the queen of Navarre, "I honour you more than the pope; and I love my sister more than I fear him. I am no Huguenot. but I am no fool neither; and if Mr. Pope does not mend his manners, I will myself give away Margery in full conventicle." He manifested all this time, in his savage amusements and rude court pranks, the most buoyant spirits and most careless humour. The clear-sighted Walsingham, then ambassador in France, speaks of him, in one letter, as "wholly given up to pleasure," and expresses, in another, his hopes of "the king's revolt from papistry." Catharine, at the same time, had scenes of violent jealousy and pathetic reconciliation, real or pretended, with She at moments entered into the views of Coligny against Spain, the better to deceive him, or from her real unsteadiness, and accounted for her new disposition by having recently discovered that Philip II. had poisoned her dear daughter Elizabeth.

The treaty of the marriage was signed at Blois on the 11th of April. But a new question arose. Charles proposed it should be solemnized in the capital. The queen of Navarre and her friends objected to Paris, where the catholics were all-powerful, the Huguenots hated, and the populace devoted to the Guises. Charles insisted and prevailed; and the queen of Navarre, on the 15th of May, set out for Paris, where she died in a few days, of fatigue, vexation, and regret.

The admiral, meantime, visited his family at the castle of Chatillon. Counsels and remonstrances against trusting himself in Paris reached him from various quarters. He rejected all advice, and even angrily rebuked his friends. "Rather," said he, "than renew the horrors of civil war, I would be dragged a corpse through the streets of Paris," and the alternative which he thus supposed was one of the least shocking indignities which awaited him. Similar warnings were conveyed in vain to Henry, called, since the death of his mother, the king of Navarre.

The opportune succession of Gregory XIII. to the inflexible Pius, promised facilities for obtaining a dispensation. Charles instructed his ambassador, Ferralz, to express to the new pontiff the assurance of his good intentions in the marriage; his confidence that between Henry's docility and deference to him, and "his

being, on his part, not asleep to the means of giving peace to his kingdom," he should make him a catholic; and, in fine, his resolution, if the dispensation were refused, to have the marriage solemnized without it. Gregory sent a conditional dispensation, the terms of which could not be complied with, and the Cardinal de Bourbon refused to perform the ceremony. Charles became impatient of delay; spoke of the cardinal's superstitious scruples with contempt; commanded Mandelot, governor of Lyons, to stop, as of his own authority, every courier to and from Italy for the next four days after the receipt of his orders, and overcame the objections of the cardinal by means of a forged letter, announcing, in the name of the French ambassador at Rome, that a regular dispensation was on its way, and the marriage meantime might be solemnized.

The ceremony took place on the 18th of August, in a temporary building adjoining the cathedral of Notre Dame—for the rigid Huguenots would not enter the church. A strangely mingled turmoil of nuptial revelry and murderous deliberation immediately followed. The same personages figured one moment at a banquet, a masque, or a tournament, and were sitting the next hour in secret conclave upon the shedding of blood. The medley of bigotry and gaiety, gallantry and barbarity, sensuality and carnage, which characterized the French court at this period, present, says a philosophic historian, the most fantastic picture ever exhibited of the contradictions of the human species.

Two days after the marriage, Coligny complained to Charles of some outrage offered to the Huguenots in a provincial town. "Father," said Charles, impatiently, "give me but four days to divert myself, and, on the word of a king, you and those of your religion shall no longer complain;" and this atrocious equivocation passed for good faith upon Coligny. The duke of Guise was attended by a numerous armed and devoted train of friends and dependants. Charles proposed to Coligny, that, to overawe the Guises, the regiment of guards should be brought into the capital. The admiral gratefully assented to a measure, of which his own safety appeared the object.

On the 22nd of August, as Coligny walked slowly from the Louvre towards his house, looking over a paper which had

been put into his hand, Maurevel, a noted assassin, called "the king's slayer," lying in wait for him in a house belonging to a dependant of the duke of Guise, discharged an arquebuse loaded with two bullets, one of which wounded Coligny in the right hand, the other in the left arm. The wounded admiral having pointed with undisturbed tranquillity to the place whence the arquebuse was fired, sent to inform the king, and walked to his bouse leaning on two attendants. Charles was playing at tennis with the duke of Guise when the messenger reached him. He dashed his racket against the ground with an oath, "shall I never have peace?" while Guise walked quietly out of the tennis court. Meanwhile, the assassin, mounted on a fleet horse from the royal stable, escaped through the port of St. Antoine. wounds were so dangerous as to threaten death. He expressed a wish to see the king, for the purpose of giving him a faithful subject's dying counsel. Charles came with his mother and a train of courtiers, heard the advice of Coligny, comforted him with such expressions of sympathy, as "Father, the wound is yours, but the pain mine;" and commanded, within thirty hours, the execution of a massacre which should begin with the trusting and already dying man, to whom he had thus expressed condolence, and promised justice, at his bed side.

The populace manifested symptoms of violence. Coligny, upon being informed, sent to Charles for half a dozen royal archers to protect his house from insult—of danger he had no thought. Charles and the duke of Anjou, who was present when the message was communicated, forced upon Cornaton, the messenger, a guard of fifty men, commanded by Cosseins, a devoted partisan of the Guises, and enemy of Coligny. All catholics were ordered to evacuate, and the protestants to occupy, the quarter in which he resided, under the same pretence of regard for his safety. The Vidame de Chartres alone suspected treachery; proposed to remove Coligny out of Paris by force or stratagem; was overruled; exclaimed, "Perish who will by the rascally rabble of Paris, I reserve myself for better fortune;" took up or resumed his quarters in the suburb beyond the Seine, and escaped the massacre.

The great body of the Huguenots shut their eyes and ears, and

submitted like men under a spell. Meanwhile the secret conclave round Charles and Catharine was choosing between counsels distinguished from each other only by gradations of the horrible. One is stated to have been, that the Montmorencies should be massacred with the admiral and his friends; another, proposed secretly to the queen, was, that the Guises, after having exterminated those two factions, should, in their turn, be exterminated by the court. The sublimate perfidy of the latter counsel was thought hazardous or impracticable; the Montmorencies were saved by the fortunate or prudent absence of the marshal, who would survive to avenge them; and the duke of Guise, who never supposed that his own fate was in the balance, was charged with the execution.

Guise had long been the favoured lover of Margaret of Valois, and regarded Coligny as his father's assassin. Having made his dispositions, he awaited the signal with the impatient vengeance of one who had been robbed by the Huguenots of a father and a mistress. But as the fearful moment drew near, resolution, or his nerves, began to fail Charles. His frame trembled, and cold drops stood upon his brow. The relentless Catharine, supported by Anjou, Nevers, Birague, Retz, and Tavannes, worked upon his pride, his vengeance, and his fears; and he told them, with an oath, not to leave a Huguenot to reproach him. Catharine ordered the tocsin to sound on the instant—it was two in the morning. A vague tumultuous preparatory stir attracted the notice of some protestant gentlemen residing in the palace, or in the quarter of the Louvre. They went out to inquire the cause and were speared to death. Guise, Aumale, and the bastard of Angouleme went to the house of the admiral. The treacherous Cosseins demanded and obtained admission in the king's name; and a young German, named Bêmes, having slain Coligny, threw his head from the window into the court below, to satisfy Guise that the deed was done.

The general slaughter immediately followed. "Courage," said Guise to, his blood-hounds, "our game is in the toils; it is the king's order." The devoted Huguenots were massacred in their beds, or shot on the roofs of houses as they endeavoured to escape. The memoirs of the time, and succeeding histories, have

described the savage vells of the murderers, the agonized cries of the victims, the crashing of forced doors, the dull echo of human bodies flung from windows, or fallen from house-tops on the payement below, as a horrid concert, the like of which was never heard. The morning sun of the 24th of August, discovered the streets of Paris, and the court and apartments of the Louvre, choked with dead bodies, or streaming with blood. Guise, Aumale, and the bastard of Angoulême, directed and shared the work of death in one quarter; Anjou, Montpensier, Nevers, and Tavannes, in another. Charles discharged his long arquebuse from the Louvre upon the fugitives beyond the Seine; "but in vain," says Brantôme, "it did not carry so far." Massacre and pillage went on with intermittent fury for eight days and nights; catholics were involved in the slaughter. Private interests and personal animosities borrowed the poniard and the mask of religious fury, and, flebile ludibrium! the logic of the schools shed blood.

The lives of the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé were spared, but at the expense of their consciences. After witnessing the massacre of their attendants, they appeared before Charles, who, with fury in his voice and looks, bade them choose between death and the mass. Henry submitted with trembling humility, Condé in a manlier tone; and both were handed over for religious instruction to the Cardinal Bourbon. The mutilated trunk of Coligny, after being subjected to indignities the most revolting, was exposed on a gibbet at Montfaucon to a slow fire; while the head was despatched by the duke of Guise to his uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, at Rome.

Charles IX., startled by the aspect, or shrinking from the odium, of the carnage around him, towards evening, on the first day, proclaimed that the massacre originated in the mutual hatred of two irreconcilable factions, was the work of the Guises, and that he was prepared to make common cause with his brother, the king of Navarre, and his cousin, the prince of Condé, in quelling the tumult and avenging the death of "his cousin, the admiral." But either the queen-mother and secret council thought it impolitic to declare that the court was unable to control a faction, or the Guises, repudiating the exclusive odium, insisted upon

Charles' avowing his counsels and his orders; and he, on the following Tuesday, after hearing mass, claimed for himself, in full parliament, the merit of having given peace to his kingdom, and defeating a conspiracy against his own, and his mother's, and his brother's precious lives, by cutting off an incorrigible faction and inveterate traitor. Christopher de Thou, first president, a man, says his illustrious son, of mild character, and wholly averse to blood, accommodating himself to the time, praised the king's prudence, and expatiated on the maxim of Louis XI., qui nescit dissimula renescit requare. The king's most gracious speech was recorded in the archives; the mock conspiracy was made the subject of a mock inquiry; and the business closed with a melancholy spectacle of human infirmity, in a procession of thanksgiving by the high court of parliament, with Charles at its head. It was ordered that the ceremony should be annually repeated, and medals were struck in aternam rei memoriam. But though fanaticism may flatter itself with being eternal, and though, in truth, it seems to have grown up as a new passion in human nature, with the succession of revealed truth to the mythology of the pagans, reason soon obtained the ascendancy, the procession was not repeated, "excidat ille dies" became its epitaph, and the medals remained in the cabinets of the curious, to remind men of what they may be made by wicked rulers and their own passions.

Similar massacres followed at Meaux, Troyes, Orleans, Toulouse, Bourdeaux, Lyons, and other towns throughout France.* Some local governors generously declined compliance with the orders of the court.—Sir James Mackintosh's England. vol. iii. p. 211—227.

Whatever the number of victims, which is variously stated from ten thousand to one hundred thousand, there still remained above two millions of Huguenots for civil war and vengeance. Charles,

^{*} The governor of Bayonne, though a catholic, had the spirit to send the following answer to the king:—" Sir, I have imparted to the inhabitants of this city, and to the soldiers in garrison, your Majesty's commands. I find them all good citizens and brave soldiers, but not one of them will be an executioner. Therefore, both they and I most humbly beseech your Majesty to make use of our lives and arms in anything else possible, however dangerous it may be," &c. The number of the Huguenots massacred on this occasion is variously stated from 30,000 to 100,000. Rankia's France, vol. vi. p. 150, and Laval. vol. iii. b. 5.



therefore, issued what he called an edict of pacification, and charged his ambassadors with excuses to foreign courts. At Madrid, indeed, excuse was not necessary, as the massacre was celebrated there with court festivals; and at Rome, the pope and the cardinals returned thanks to heaven, in the church of St. Louis, for this signal instance of divine grace to Christendom and the infant pontificate of Gregory XIII.

Charles IX. survived this massacre only two years, when he died of a strange disease, which was pronounced a visitation of God upon his love of bloodshed. His body wasted, and his life waned, from a general effusion of his blood at every pore; he died, drenched in his bed with his own gore, in the agonies of disease and the tortures of remorse. His death took place on the 30th May, 1574, and his obsequies were celebrated with great magnificence on the 8th August, at St. Paul's, in London!*

[•] Camden's Ann. Carte's Gen. Hist. Eng.—Sully Œcon, Roy.—Dr. Lardner's Cabinet Cyclop. England, vol. iii. Ann. 1572.

LECTURE LXVIII.

Progress of the reformed religion in France continued—Retrospect of the state of the pontificate from the period of the council of Constance—State of the catholic church—Ecclesiastical power—Papal authority—Immunities of the clergy—Their supposed sanctity—Revenues—Civil power—Taxes levied on them—Abuses—Profanations—Sale of bishoprics—Dissolution of manners—Relics—State of the Huguenots—Their ecclesiastical polity—Their numbers—Diffusion of the reformed doctrines—Intolerance of the catholics, and cruelty of the age—Savage treatment of the Huguenots—Oblivion of the laws—Massacres—Chancellor l'Hoppital—His wise counsel and pacific conduct. A.D. 1574—1600.

THE strongest proof of that profound ignorance and servitude in which the human mind was sunk during the middle ages, is the blind and undiminished veneration of all Europe for the holy see, in defiance of the crimes with which it was disgraced and dishonoured. The certainty of impunity, and a perfect knowledge of the state of darkness and barbarism, which precluded any rational attempt at emancipation, seem to have induced the sovereign pontiffs to throw off every restraint imposed on their vices and passions. The college of cardinals betrayed no less disregard to every consideration of their own character, and to the sanctity of the supreme dignity of the Christian church, in the choice of persons to fill the chair of St. Peter.

The long list of enormities solemnly charged against John XXIII., in the council of Constance, fill us, on perusing them,

with no less wonder, than abhorrence and indignation. Fifty principal articles, containing almost all the flagitious excesses which we read with incredulity in the pages of Suetonius, even when related of Nero and of Caligula, were proved before the fathers assembled to restore order in the Christian church. Yet, as if these charges were not sufficient, twenty other heads of accusation were suppressed, for the honour of the apostolic see. Our admiration ceases, however, in some measure, when we consider that the pope, previous to his election, had exercised the profession of a corsair, that he was known to be stained with almost every species of moral turpitude, and that he purchased by notorious simony his elevation to the papal throne.

The council, after having deposed, and delivered over to the disposal of the Emperor Sigismond, so unworthy a pontiff, proceeded to fill the vacant chair; and the delegates deputed for the purpose unanimously chose the Cardinal Colonna, who assumed the title of Martin V. He was, it must be owned, exempt from the imputations and glaring impieties attributed to his predecessor, but he proved equally an enemy to all reform, and equally destitute of those virtues which awakened reason expects in the person appointed to govern so many nations, as the supreme head of the Christian faith. Under his successors, during the course of the fifteenth century, we trace the interested policy, the same unjust usurpation, and the same scandalous venality, which preceded the council of Constance. Another assembly of ecclesiastics convoked at Basle, was even less successful in its attempts to diminish the abuse of the papal power than the first council had been found. Eugene IV., more cautious than John XXIII., and instructed by his predecessor's misfortunes, invented means to evade the authority of the council, and ultimately contrived to disperse that formidable body. Pius II., better known by the name of Enceas Sylvius Piccolomini, is the only pontiff who, from his love of learning and his virtues, lays any claim to esteem. Sixtus IV. sullied the ecclesiastical profession, and excited the detestation of Italy, by his profligacy of manners, injustice, and crimes. But great as these excesses may appear, they were eclipsed and obliterated by the memorable pontificate of Roderic Borgia, who assumed the title of Alexander VI.

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The concurring testimony of numerous irreproachable and cotemporary writers can scarcely induce us to credit the recital of his enormities, continued during a reign of twelve years. son, the celebrated and flagitious Cæsar Borgia, who even surpassed in atrocity the model which he copied, has left a name proverbial for infamy and turpitude. Yet, while Rome and the surrounding territory groaned beneath the tyranny of two monsters, who cemented their usurpation with the blood of the principal nobility, such was the depressed and lethargic condition of mankind throughout Europe, that few efforts to reform the Christian church, or to withdraw from the supremacy of the papal see, were exerted. Alexander was so fully convinced of the impunity with which he might insult even the greatest princes, that he treated with menaces the ambassadors of Frederick the catholic, and of Emanuel, king of Spain and Portugal, when they ventured, in the names of their respective sovereigns, to remonstrate with him on his vices. Such was the veneration which his office inspired, that it seemed to swallow up, or to suspend, all the faculties of reason. We find Charles VIII., king of France, after he had entered Rome as a conqueror, and had driven the pope to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, hastening to prostrate himself at the pontiff's feet, to implore his benediction, and to renew his own submission.

During the jubilee of the year 1500, when, in consequence of the indulgences granted to pilgrims, an immense concourse of strangers, from every part of Europe, crowded to Rome, the excesses and debaucheries, openly committed, as well by ecclesiastics as by the laity, exceeded belief—immoralities, which were encouraged by the example and permission of the pope. It was with the money extorted from all the catholic states, under pretence of fitting out a crusade against the Turks, that he completed the subjection of the Roman barons, and aggrandized the temporal power of the holy see, which, at the time of his accession, possessed only an inconsiderable part of that territory, annexed to it since the beginning of the sixteenth century.*

The pontificate of Julius II. was not, it must be confessed,

^{*} Bruy's Hist. des Papes, vol. iv.—Platina, Vies des Papes.



stained with such notorious impieties; but it was scarcely better calculated to impress the Christian world with respect for the person, or the office, of the sovereign pontiff. His election was not only obtained by means of the most flagrant corruption; but his whole reign evinced a mind exclusively devoted to ambition, conquest, and revenge. Inattentive to every duty incumbent on the pastor of his flock; faithless to his promises and treaties, tyrannical towards his subjects; he was only intent on carrying his arms beyond the Appennines, and on expelling the French from Italy. By a perfidious violation of his agreement with Cassar Borgia, he despoiled that prince of his territorial acquisitions, attained at the expense of so much blood, and united Borgia's usurpations to the dominions of the church. Louis XII., king of France, though one of the most virtuous and irreproachable sovereigns who has reigned in modern ages, his resentments knew no limits; and his eagerness to accelerate the expulsion of the French from the Milanese induced him to lay aside all the decencies annexed to his sacerdotal function. Armed like a soldier, Julius, at seventy years of age, appeared in the trenches, directed the operations of war, and on the surrender of Mirandola, was carried into the city, through the breach, in military triumph. Mahomet II., or Selim I., could not have entered Constantinople or Cairo with more ostentatious -splendor.

These proceedings, so strongly calculated to excite scandal and to awaken reflection, produced little or no effect upon an age nursed in superstition and habituated to a servile obedience towards the see of Rome. Louis XII., king of France, actuated more by just indignation and by motives of policy than by any enlightened sentiments of enlarged reflection, attempted to convoke a council, and to depose so turbulent, as well as unjust, a pontiff, but his feeble effort terminated in the most abject submissions to the successor of Julius. We may form some estimate of the state of the human mind, and of the modes of thinking, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, by the conduct of the cardinal of Medicis, afterwards Pope Leo X., who was taken prisoner by the French at the victory of Ravenna, while acting as the papal legate. That dexterous prelate, by dispensing to the

soldiers absolution from the censures, in which they were equally involved with their sovereign, on account of their hostility to the holy see, effected so prompt and so considerable a desertion among the conquerors, as exceedingly to diminish their army. Numbers went over to the enemy whom they had recently vanquished; and, in order to obtain more complete pardon for their preceding guilt, carried off with them their arms and horses. It was vain as well as impossible to oppose a power fortified and sustained by such prejudices.

To this martial reign succeeded the memorable pontificate of Leo X., celebrated by poets, historians, and men of genius. Rome, accustomed to the crimes of Alexander and the tyranny of Julius, beheld with joy a prince, whose refinement, munificence, and protection of the arts, rendered his court the centre of elegance and pleasure. Leo, more decent in his vices, and more master of his passions, substituted artifice and intrigue in the place of arms. While he abandoned himself to the excesses of sensuality, or was occupied by the protection of talents and letters, he committed to his generals the conduct of the armies which he sent against France. It is even evident that he did not totally disregard the progress of immorality and libertinism; since, in the beginning of his reign, he published a very severe decree against those philosophers who ventured to teach and to assert that the soul was mortal, and the world eternal. Many of the decrees of the council of Lateran, which were promulgated by the pope in the same year, for the reformation of manners and regulation of ecclesiastics, merit the highest approbation. But the pecuniary oppressions and vexations of the holy see were become intolerable, and Europe, long plunged in the grossest ignorance or superstition, began to betray signs of approaching reason. These symptoms did not first manifest themselves in the German empire, though the reformation, so denominated, began in that country. The French, who in every age have led the way to innovation, preceded Luther in their remonstrances and invectives against the exactions of the court of Rome. It required all the exertions and vigilance of Francis I. to maintain the "Concordate," which he himself had made with Leo, during their interview at Bologna, and to procure its reception throughout the kingdom. The parliament of Paris, the university of that capital, and many of the clergy, publicly declaimed against the concessions made by their sovereign to the pope. If Francis had chosen to yield to this general sentiment instead of opposing it, and to emancipate himself from so severe a yoke, it is unquestionable that his subjects were equally prepared and willing to have entirely withdrawn themselves from the papal supremacy. The great secession from the court and see of Rome which took place a few years later, in England, under Henry VIII., might thus have been anticipated in France. But among all the popes of this vicious period, Paul III. stands preeminent in turpitude. His character and government were equally odious. As head of the church, his conduct justly excited the severest animadversion; and he was deficient in every quality calculated to adorn, or to render venerable, the chair of St. Peter. What opinion can we form of a pope, who not only made the study of magic and astrology his favourite research, but who ventured, in violation of all piety and the rules of decency, to compare the Deity to Saturn, and the Saviour of the world to Jupiter? Dissimulation, perfidy, rapacity, ambition, and hypocrisy, composed the leading features of his mind; and he was never more to be dreaded than when he assumed the mask of piety and religion. In order to gratify his resentment, or to attain his political objects, he did not scruple to use any engines, however detestable; and his whole pontificate was employed in exertions, at the expense of the most sacred duties of his station, to elevate a son, whose birth and whose enormities were equally a disgrace to his father.* He retained the chair of St. Peter from the year 1534 to 1549, when he was succeeded by Julius III.

The same experiment, however, which in more opulent or bigoted kingdoms had produced only a fermentation that evaporated in menaces, gave rise, in Germany, a country comparatively poor, to a complete subversion of the authority exercised for so many centuries by the church of Rome. Luther, conducted insensibly from one step to another as the light broke in upon his mind, finished by a total rejection of all intercourse with, or

^{*} Bruys, vol. iv. Fra. Paolo, Traité de Benefices.

deference towards, the pretended vicars of Christ. Leo betrayed but little theological rancour or disposition to severity in his treatment of that bold innovator. When informed of the circumstances which had excited his animosity, he ingenuously confessed that "Luther was a man of excellent capacity, and that the quarrel was merely the effect of monastic jealousy and rivality." He long delayed the publication of the bull, or rescript, by which he condemned Luther's propositions; and appeared desirous rather to mollify than to incense or drive to extremities so dangerous an adversary. But the evil, which lay deep, admitted of no cure, and the light of divine truth, when once directed to the examination of the pretensions arrogated by the see of Rome, soon levelled the fabric which ignorance and bigotry had cemented.*

The catholic church, in whatever point of view we consider it, whether with regard to its spiritual authorities, its immunities, or its revenues, formed an object of the first magnitude and consideration during the sixteenth century. Notwithstanding the vast defalcation from the possessions of the see of Rome, occasioned by the revolt of Luther, the papel power continued still to be extremely ample and formidable in all the countries which persisted to acknowledge its supremacy. hierarchy might be said in some measure to constitute a monarchy within the state itself, governed by its own laws, amenable to its own jurisdiction, contributing supplies from its proper and distinct resources, and professing obedience to a distant, as well as a superior sovereign. Although, from the resistance made by the parliaments to the decrees of the council of Trent, which declared the independence of the clergy on the civil magistrate, and the inability of the crown to tax the ecclesiastical property, they had never been published nor recognised in France; yet the validity of those regulations was not the less vigorously asserted by the Romish pontiffs. The age itself was by no means liberated from, or superior to, the influence of a superstitious veneration for the sacerdotal office and character; nor had the thunder of the Vatican ceased to unnerve the arm of princes,

[·] Sir N. W. Wranall's History of France, vol. i. ch. 8.—Bruys, vol. iv.



and to suspend or arrest their boldest determinations. It is difficult, or impossible, to mark the precise limits of a power which, in an especial degree, was founded on opinion, and maintained by religious terror; but we may pronounce, that, however on its decline, it continued still to operate and to affect the deliberations of the wisest and most vigorous cabinets. When Sixtus V., in the insolence of the apostolic authority, published an excommunication against Henry III. in 1589; that prince, however dissolute he might be, yet felt so deeply wounded by it, that he could neither be induced to eat or drink for more than forty hours. Universal sadness, mingled with dejection, appeared in the army, even while advancing rapidly and prosperously towards Paris. Their operations were slackened; and all the efforts of the archbishop of Bourges proved ineffectual to diminish the king's uneasiness. He complained to those about him that the emperor, Charles V., who had impiously sacked Rome and detained in prison the sacred person of the pope himself, had not been so severely treated by Clement VII. "But, sire," replied the king of Navarre, "that monarch was victorious; if we conquer, the censures will be revoked; if we are worsted by the enemy, we shall all die excommunicated." Even in the article of death itself, Boulogne, Henry's chaplain, would not give him absolution till he had solemnly professed his resolution to obey the papal mandate, by releasing the cardinal of Bourbon and the archbishop of Lyons, though their liberation from prison should cost him his life and crown. Scarcely greater deference could have been manifested for the pontifical character and orders by Frederic Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, or by John, king of England, during the darkest period of the middle ages.

The immunities and privileges of the clergy were not only in themselves ample, but a degree of sanctity surrounded and protected them from invasion. Superstition, more powerful than any written law, withheld the sword of justice, and arrested the dagger of the assassin. Prelates and cardinals were regarded as being separated from the mass of mankind, and as hardly amenable to any secular tribunal. When Henry embraced the determination of sacrificing the duke of Guise, instruments of his vengeance were readily found; but it was much more difficult to procure

men who would imbrue their hands in the blood of a member of the sacred college. Recourse was therefore had to inferior ministers for the purpose. Four common soldiers, each of whom received fifty crowns, despatched the cardinal with their halberds, on the refusal of the band of forty-five, composed of gentlemen, to perpetrate a deed esteemed so impious. It was not for the murder of the duke, but for that of the cardinal, that the indignation of the holy see was manifested; and while Sixtus treated the death of the former as an act of state, excused, if not justified by the circumstance which produced it, he affected to consider the assassination of one cardinal and the detention of another as a crime equally enormous and irremissible.

Nor were the great ecclesiastics protected only in their lives and freedom by the privileges of the order to which they belonged; they pretended to be exempt from appearing, or from answering, before any court, except that of Rome, even in cases of treason. The archbishop of Lyons, when arrested as an accomplice of the Guises, in December, 1588, refused to answer interrogatories, and pleaded his superiority to any temporal or spiritual jurisdiction in France. Henry assembled the privy council; and they determined, on the strength of many weighty precedents, that as the crime laid to his charge exceeded the powers annexed to the ecclesiastical judges, he might be brought before the civil magistrate. The archbishop persisted nevertheless in his silence, and declined acknowledging the right either of the parliament, the peers, or the sovereign, to bring him to trial.

We may judge of the dangerous and unlimited nature of the clerical pretensions in that age by the famous decree of the Sorbonne. A college, composed of only sixty doctors in theology, being consulted by the heads of "the league," in January, 1589, had the audacity to declare the oath of allegiance void, and to authorize the assumption of arms against the legitimate prince. So bold and unanimous a decision had no inconsiderable effect in exciting and confirming the rebellion which took place throughout the kingdom.

Powers and pretensions so vast, as well as so undefined, were sustained by adequate revenues. It is difficult, if not impossible, to form any accurate estimate of the value of the lands possessed

by the church throughout France; but we know that they included a large proportion of all the property of the country. together with extensive feudal authority over their vassals. protestant writer of the time of Henry III. asserts, that the temporalities of the clergy, regular and secular, produced twenty millions of livres, or near nine hundred thousand pounds, annual income. He adds, that France contained six hundred and fifty abbies of the order of St. Bernard and St. Benedict; besides above two thousand five hundred priories. In some instances, the episcopal jurisdiction seemed to have arrogated, and nearly extinguished, the functions most inseparable from royalty. The bishop of Mendey in the remote and mountainous province of the Gevaudan, enjoyed by ancient prescription or agreement, the right of parity with the sovereign. Justice was administered in their joint names, and the bishop struck money as an independent prince. Something analogous to this pretension of the bishops of Mende may be found among ourselves, in the constitution of the county palatine of Durham, where the bishop exercises functions approaching to those of a feudal baron, lord paramount within his own diocese. It is nevertheless unquestionable, that the French kings claimed and exercised the right of levying taxes from the clergy of their dominions; and it is equally certain, that the latter body virtually acknowledged, by their submission, the validity of the royal prerogative. Four tenths, or "decimes," constituted their ordinary annual donation to the state, under the three last kings of the house of Valois. The precise sum to which they amounted it is difficult to specify; but we may conclude that they did not fall short of nine hundred thousand livres a year, or about forty thousand pounds; because we find that between 1560 and 1575, including a period of fifteen years, the government had drawn from the order of ecclesiastics an aggregate contribution of full fifteen millions of livres.

Enormous abuses of various kinds had crept into the Gallican church during the course of the sixteenth century; and they naturally augmented under so profligate and licentious a reign as that of the last of the princes of Valois. In 1579, no less than twenty-eight bishopricks had become vacant, the temporalities of which sees were possessed by laymen, and where the religious

service was altogether neglected. In some provinces, scarcely a bishop could be found who resided in his diocese, and the abbeys stood in a similar predicament. A commission, armed with very ample powers of inquiry and authorized to punish or to redress misconduct in ecclesiastics of every rank, was sent from the crown throughout all France, in that year; but it may be much doubted whether the attempt was productive either of reform or of benefit. The practice of naming or collating gentlemen, soldiers, and even children, to church preferments, was not only common, but received a sanction from the see of Rome in many instances. We find Gregory XIII., though otherwise a pontiff of decent conduct and even severe manners, yet permitting these indecorous or scandalous nominations.

Peter de Bourdeilles, better known as Brantôme, so celebrated for his memoirs, which sufficiently prove him to have been a dissolute courtier, destitute of morals, was provided by Henry II. with the abbey from which he derived his title, situate in the province of Perigord. "The king gave it me," says he, "when I was very young, in recompence of my brother's head, which was carried off by a cannon ball at the siege of Hesdin. I have always governed it so well, that in three changes of abbots, successively named by the kings of France, and confirmed by the popes, no fault has been found. It is only worth three thousand livres annual revenue, of which I am obliged to give considerably more than half to the abbot, who is likewise compelled to pay very large taxes, and to make considerable repairs. One of my abbots, a most worthy man, was poisoned; but the king, understanding that I was alive, refused to dispose of the abbey." These ecclesiastical preferments were considered by the sovereign as a mode of providing for the gentlemen and officers who grew old in the military service, or who languished in attendance on the court. They were frequently conferred on men of letters and artists.

Profanations far greater were committed, if we may credit the best contemporary writers. Ladies became possessed of dignities or benefices in the church. The council of state was not ashamed, in 1579, to adjudge a bishoprick to a woman of distinction; and they were regarded as constituting a portion of inheritance in many families. Children received them, while still in infancy. In the first year of his reign, Henry III., on his arrival in France from Poland, conferred the two episcopal sees of Amiens and Grenoble, become vacant by the death of the cardinal of Crequy, on Du Gua, one of his favourites, who had the profligacy to dispose of them again by sale; for the former bishoprick, he procured nearly thirty thousand pounds; and for the latter, above seventeen hundred. The decency and dignity of religion were hardly less wounded by the pluralities common among the great ecclesiastics. We cannot without astonishment read of the number of preferments held by one person, who was often a foreigner, or resident in other countries.

The vices naturally connected with wealth characterized the superior clergy, who completed, by the bad example which they exhibited, the general dissolution of manners. Louis, cardinal of Guise, who died in 1578, was notorious for debaucheries, epicurism, and gluttony. From his inordinate love of wine, he was commonly called, in derision, "Le cardinal des bouteilles." Of his nephew, the second cardinal of Guise, put to death at Blois, Sixtus V. himself said, that he had nothing of a cardinal except the hat." Not satisfied with disgracing his profession by every species of profligacy and immorality, he did not hesitate to put himself at the head of four hundred lancemen, and to engage in enterprises equally sanguinary and treasonable in their nature. The duke of Epernon reproached the archbishop of Lyons, in the presence of the king himself, with living in an open state of incestuous commerce with his own sister, and making a shameful traffic of everything sacred in his diocese. So avowed or unquestionable were the facts, that the prelate did not even pretend to deny them, although he resented their disclosure. Du Perron, who rose by his talents and graces to the highest dignities of the Romish church, made no scruple of prostituting his genius to immortalize the profligate and adulterous amours of Margaret of Valois, queen of Navarre. In 1574, he composed some elegant verses, at that princess's request, in the nature of a monody upon the death of her lover, La Mole, executed by order of Charles IX. Nine years afterwards, in November, 1583, the same ecclesiastic, assisting at the table of the king, where a crowd of courtiers

were present, maintained by many solid arguments the existence of a Deity, and demonstrated the folly of atheism. Pleased with his discourse, Henry commended it with the warmest marks of approbation. "Sire," said Du Perron, "I have to day proved that there is a God; to-morrow, if it shall please your majesty to grant me audience, I will evince, by reasons equally good, that there is no Deity." Dissolute and relaxed as was Henry III. in certain parts of his conduct, he expressed the utmost horror at such a proposition, and commanded Du Perron instantly to quit his presence.

In no instance does the credulity and folly of the vulgar seem to have been more abused than in the article of relics. We find the same gross deceptions which had been practised and exposed among the English at the time of the reformation under Henry VIII., still subsisting in France, more than twenty years later, at the commencement of the civil wars. It would be endless to cite examples of this fact. At the capture of the city of Tours by the prince of Condé, in 1562, the shrine of St. Martin, one of the richest and most celebrated in the kingdom, which might vie with that of St. Thomas à Becket, at Canterbury, was plundered by his soldiers. Among other sacred ornaments was found a gem, regarded as a portrait of the Virgin Mary, and held in high veneration. Beza, on inspection, ascertained it to be an antique agate of Venus weeping over the body of Adonis. A silver arm of a saint, found in the same place, on being opened, was discovered to contain a knave of spades and a love song. At Bourges, capital of the province of Berri, the Huguenots broke to pieces a relic, within which appeared a small wheel, turning on a piece of wood, and round it was a billet, containing these lines:-

" Quand cette Roue tourners, Cette que j'ayme, m'aymera."

Notwithstanding the persecutions which they had suffered, the wars sustained by them, and the massacres repeatedly perpetrated by order of the court, or by the enmity of the catholics, the Huguenots still continued to form a numerous and formidable body. In the northern and eastern provinces, they were indeed compa-

ratively few, but throughout Dauphiné, and along the shore of the Mediterranean from Nismes and Montpellier to the foot of the Pyrenees, they constituted a large proportion of the inhabitants. Their principal force was nevertheless concentred between the river Loire and the Garonne, comprising a rich maritime and commercial tract of country, in which, open to the Atlantic, was situated Rochelle, the capital. The genius of their government, both civil and ecclesiastical, partook more of a democratic than of any other form, tempered, notwithstanding, by a mixture of aristocracy, and greatly under the influence of their clergy, as well as of their municipal magistrates. Previous to the commencement of the first civil wars, in 1562, the cities of the protestant communion, in imitation of Geneva, a calvinistic republic, had formed the plan of excluding the nobility from any participation in the political power and authority. But when, in consequence of the superior forces of the crown and the catholics. they found themselves ready to be crushed, it became indispensable to call to their assistance the princes of Bourbon. After the battle of Jarnac, in 1569, Coligni obtained over the whole Huguenot party an empire the most unlimited, which he exercised till his death, three years later. His great services, his rank, age, and sincere attachment to the cause, when joined with the perilous situation of their affairs, overcame all competi-The massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which Coligni and so great a number of the protestant nobility perished, emancipated the party from this servitude, and after successfully combating the crown, they determined not to subject themselves voluntarily to any species of government except a republic.

In their ecclesiastical polity and tenets of faith, the reformed church of France embraced the tenets of Calvin. Lutheranism had made little progress among them, and the genius of Calvinism, repugnant to all gradations in spiritual preferment, tended to maintain the principles of civil equality. Provincial synods, and general assemblies composed of delegates from the various orders, were frequently convened to regulate their internal concerns, or to determine on the most important transactions of peace and war. In these meetings the king of Navarre always presided, either in person or by his representative. As early as

the year 1555, under Henry the Second's reign, the protestants began to establish places of religious worship, and to form societies for maintaining the purity of their faith. The first of both kinds was made in Paris itself; an example which spread with amazing rapidity, in defiance of edicts and prohibitions. It would appear, that at no period whatever of the reigns of Charles IX. and Henry III. was the exercise of their religion, in private houses and families, altogether suspended in the metropolis, though the penalty was capital for the offence.

The total number of the Huguenots throughout France must form matter of conjecture rather than of calculation. never probably exceeded two millions, even at their highest point, or about a ninth part of the aggregate population. were to fix on the period when they attained the meridian of their power and political strength, we should incline to date it between the colloquy of Poissy, in 1561, and the massacre of Paris, eleven years afterwards. During that interval, marked by all the calamities of civil war and religious discord, persecution sustained and inflamed their enthusiasm. The name and aid of successive princes of the blood, the fortitude of Jane d'Albret, queen of Navarre, the resources of Coligny, and the assistance of foreign powers,-these circumstances enabled them to dispute for preeminence with the ancient superstition, and almost to subvert the throne itself. If the enterprize of Meaux had not been frustrated by the promptitude and intrepidity of the Switzers, who protected the flight of Charles IX. from that city to Paris, it is hard to say what barrier could have been affixed to the demands or inroads of the protestants. How generally diffused were the tenets of the reformers, and how universally they were embraced or imbibed, even in the court, we may see from the memoirs of Margaret of Valois. The duke of Anjou himself, afterwards Henry III., who signalized his early youth by the victories which he obtained over them, had nevertheless previously caught the contagion. "All the court," says Margaret, " was infected with heresy; and peculiarly my brother of Anjou, since king of France, whose childhood had not escaped the impression of Hugonotism. He incessantly teased me to change my religion; throwing my prayer-book into the fire, and giving me in their

stead psalms and Huguenot prayers, which he compelled me to use. To these acts of violence, he added menaces that my mother would order me to be whipped."

We may judge from the force and simplicity of the queen of Navarre's description, how widely the reformed doctrines had spread, and how favourably they were received among the highest orders of society. The protestants continued to be formidable under Henry III., though their numbers were lessened; but after the accession of the king of Navarre to the throne of France, they began rapidly to diminish. The desertion of that monarch from their party, and his reconciliation to the church of Rome, together with the toleration granted them by him, tended insensibly to draw off all those individuals who were not animated with fervent zeal for the maintenance of the reformed religion.

In an age like the present, distinguished rather by indifference than by zeal in matters of religion, we can with difficulty expand our minds to conceive the degree of enmity and intolerance which characterized the period under our consideration. Only it is due to the protestants to say, that they mostly acted in selfdefence, and were rarely the aggressors. It rose to such a height, that when exacerbated by civil war, it overbore and extinguished every sentiment of private affection, or of general humanity. Repressed in some measure by the vigorous administration of Francis I. and of Henry II., it burst all limits under the three succeeding princes, and converted the kingdom into a vast burying ground. Montluc does not scruple to acquaint us, that after having agreed to admit the garrison of a besieged town in Gascony to capitulate on articles, he privately sent an emissary to enjoin his troops to break into the place while the terms were adjusting, and to put every inhabitant to the sword. The order was executed in its utmost rigour. "I can assert with truth," says he, "that there is not a commander of the king's forces in all France who has despatched more Huguenots by the knife, or by the halter, than myself." When wounded at the storm of Rabasteins, a little place in the province of Bigorre, conceiving himself near his end, his only concern appears to have been not to allow a single person to escape the general carnage; and he issued peremptory directions for the purpose. Even the women

were not spared; and the catholic soldiery precipitated fifty or sixty of the inhabitants from a tower, as matter of amusement. One of the most atrocious conspiracies ever conceived by bigotry. and undertaken by ambition, under the cloak of religion, was that of Philip II., king of Spain, in concert with the Guises, against Jane d'Albret, queen of Navarre. It was planned in 1565, and only failed in its execution by the imprudence of one of the inferior agents. The intention was no other than to seize on a sovereign princess, of irreproachable manners, allied to the royal blood of France, in the midst of her court, and in a time of profound peace, in order to deliver her over to the inquisition. The pretext for an enterprize so flagitious was the queen's attachment to heresy,—that is, to protestantism—a crime of sufficient magnitude, it was thought, to justify any attempt, however perfidious or cruel, in the opinion of zealous catholics. Every detail of this abominable and extraordinary transaction is to be found in Villerov.*

Even minds naturally susceptible of the most beneficent sentiments towards mankind, became obdurate towards their own countrymen when of a different persuasion in religion. Louis, duke of Montpensier, a prince otherwise of a mild and generous character, who commanded the royal armies in Poitou, under Charles IX. and Henry III., was accustomed to put to death, by a summary process, every prisoner accused of adherence to the protestant doctrines, or to deliver them over to the brutal violence of his soldiers. When men were brought before him, "Friend," said he "you are a Huguenot; I recommend you to Monsieur Babelot." This instrument of his cruelty was no other than a monk of the Franciscan order, who acted the part of judge and of executioner. They were no sooner interrogated than condemned and massacred. The women were commonly reserved for the savage embraces of his guidon, or standard-bearer. from exciting horror or indignation, these barbarities served only for a subject of conversation and of indecent raillery among the ladies of the court and at the tables of the great.

John de Champagne, a nobleman of the same period, when

Villeroy, Memoires, vol. ii. p. 39-58; Montlue, vol. iv.

residing at his castle of Pescheseul, on the river Sartre, used to throw all the protestants who fell into his possession into the He accompanied it with an insulting piece of buffoonery, as performing an act of festivity rather than a deliberate murder; nor did the laws take any cognizance of such atrocious crimes. The Chevalier d'Aumale, one of the princes of Lorrain, distinguished for the ferocity and brutality of his manners, violated even the sanctity of places of public worship; and though himself a zealous professor of the Romish faith, committed every species of wanton debauch, or deliberate cruelty, in the catholic churches. Nuns and women of condition were dragged by the hair, in presence of their husbands, fathers, and nearest relatives. But it is in the writings of Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, that we find the most accurate information upon a point which so forcibly delineates the temper and spirit of the age. He is entitled to the greater credit, because, being himself a zealous Huguenot, he is nevertheless far from concealing the outrages committed by his own associates, though he attempts to justify or to palliate them on the principle of retribution. St. Pont, a catholic, commanding at Maçon, in Burgundy, in 1562, usually ordered a certain number of protestants to be thrown from the bridge into the river Soane, by way of pastime, after the banquets with which he regaled the ladies of the place. We cannot peruse without disgust, as well as horror, the enormities committed at Tours and at Orange by the royal troops. Even Coligni himself, however naturally beneficent and mild, was propelled by the sanguinary spirit of the times to permit or to authorize acts of wanton severity. Retaliation or vengeance seemed to palliate these executions, which became unhappily necessary, in order to impose some restraint on minds inflamed by religious animosity to a pitch of mutual frenzy.

From the determination of outdoing his enemies in cruelty, and of thus compelling them to carry on war with more humanity, Des Adrets caused the hand and foot of three hundred catholic gentlemen to be cut off, and sent them in that condition on carts to the royal camp. The expedient, terrible as it was, did not fail to produce the intended effect. Such was the ferocity and spirit of persecution, that it pervaded every rank and order of YOL, III.

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society. The princess, wife of Louis, prince of Condé, and her eldest son, were in the most imminent danger of being stoned to death by the peasants of a little village in the neighbourhood of Orleans, for the sole crime of heresy. Obedience to the laws and the sovereign were superseded by the mutual detestation and antipathy of the two religions. When Rapin, a Huguenot gentleman, arrived at Thoulouse, in 1568, charged with despatches from the king, and from the prince of Condé, announcing the conclusion of a treaty between the crown and the protestants, the magistrates and people instantly caused him to be executed without form of justice. In the short interval which elapsed between that treaty and the renewal of war, a period not exceeding six months, more than ten thousand Huguenots were massacred in various parts of France. The bishop of Nevers, deputed by the prince of Condé, in 1562, on a mission to the emperor, Ferdinand I., did not hesitate to assert in his harangue, pronounced before the diet assembled at Frankfort, that in the space of only four months preceding the assumption of arms, thirty thousand persons professing the reformed religion were put to death throughout the kingdom.

Even the most profound submission to the laws and magistrates could not secure protection, nor preserve from violence. 1572, eight hundred protestants, who, in obedience to the injunction of the governor of Lyons, had voluntarily allowed themselves to be disarmed and confined on receiving his assurance of safety, were massacred within an hour afterwards by the catholics. At Rouen, a still more enormous violation of faith was committed. More than eight hundred Huguenots who had quitted the city, having returned to their houses upon promise of security given in the king's name, were indiscriminately sacrificed to the implacable animosity of their enemies. These facts were so notorious and so incontestable, that the deputies of Henry, prince of Condé, who was sent, in 1575, to negotiate a peace with Henry III., soon after his accession, did not hesitate to state them in the most forcible language. Neither the king nor Catharine of Medicis attempted to controvert or deny the assertions. They only tried to diminish their enormity by accusing the Huguenots of similar acts of perfidy or vengeance.

In the review of this sanguinary and ferocious period, we are perpetually reminded of the scenes of devastation and slaughter which have been again performed on the same theatre, by a savage populace, since the revolution of 1789.

Under the last princes of Valois, it became criminal only to lean towards toleration. The great chancellor, L'Hospital, known to lament the sanguinary maxims of Charles IX., and to deplore the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was instantly marked out for destruction. The guards of Catharine of Medicis could scarcely protect him from being torn in pieces by an enraged and furious multitude who thirsted for his life, though passed in the exemplary discharge of every public duty and every domestic virtue. Some years earlier, during the progress made by the court through the southern provinces of France, it had become necessary to give him a guard, in order to secure him from outrage on account of his avowed disinclination to violent measures in matters of religion.

When we consider how generally diffused was this intolerant spirit, we may perhaps incline to attribute to its influence, more than to any other cause, the calamities which mark the period. Neither the machinations of Catharine of Medicis, the ferocity of Charles IX., nor the ambition and revenge of the Guises, could have produced the massacre of Paris, if all the materials had not been previously disposed for the purpose. It is more to the age, than to any individuals, however elevated or profligate. that we ought to look for the explication of that memorable and unparalleled event. To shed the blood of heretics was then Marshal Tavannes, who fairly avows in esteemed meritorious. his memoirs that he advised the massacre, and who justifies it on principles of necessity and policy, died in the following year, at an advanced period of life. He met the approaches of dissolution with composure, exhibited marks of unfeigned piety, ordered his sons to restore to the crown, without touching the revenues, an abbey which he possessed, and made confession of all his sins without reserve. But he did not include in the list his advice to put to the sword two thousand protestants, who had repaired to Paris on the faith of the royal protection, because he neither felt remorse nor condemnation for the act. Such was

the spirit and mode of thinking in that century, and the perversion of the human mind on religious concerns. A degree of enthusiasm, which suspended and extinguished all the ordinary motives to human action, while it swallowed up even ambition, natural affection, and self-interest, pervaded the minds of men on religious matters. A thousand proofs of it occur in the writings of the period under our review. The duke of Nevers says, in his Memoirs, that he considered a war against heretics and Huguenots as a crusade to which every man was bound to subscribe his private fortune. He gave the best proof of his sincerity by lending immense sums to Henry III., in order to pay his forces, at various times, when employed to reduce or exterminate the protestants. All his writings, and the tenour of his whole life, evince that the duke of Nevers was a man of scrupulous honour, unshaken loyalty in an age of universal faction, and of real piety. He was carried away by the persecuting spirit of the times in which he lived.

The cardinal of Bourbon, a prelate mild and humane in his own nature, but superstitious and intolerant, declared in a council, held at Blois, in February 1577, where Henry III. was present, that not even a temporary toleration ought on any pretence to be granted to the Huguenots. "I have," said he, "more interest in the preservation of that body of men than any other individual, since my two nephews are engaged in their quarrel; but I would myself become their executioner if they are heretics." Montluc, notwithstanding the cruelties which he ordered or perpetrated against the protestants, was not destitute of principles of devotion towards the supreme Being, as is evident from all his writings. He regarded himself as no other than an executioner of the Divine vengeance, like Moses or Joshua, engaged in a holy vocation, when putting to the sword persons convicted of heresy. "I have never," says he, "been in any action that I have not invoked the aid of the Deity; and I have not passed a day in my whole life without having prayed to him, and demanded his forgiveness." The prayer which he subjoins as that petition which, from his earliest entrance on a military life, he had been accustomed to offer to God, is such as Marcus Aurelius, or Socrates, might have dictated and approved. The

conclusion is equally sublime and resigned: "I ask not for life; for I desire only that which pleases thee. Thy will be done; I submit all to thy divine goodness." It is in these contradictions and inconsistencies that we see fully depictured the character of the age, where superstition and intolerance were perpetually blended, and whose union was so productive of scenes of destruction.

It is, notwithstanding, matter of pleasing reflection to all who desire to contemplate human nature in an amiable or an elevated point of view, to know, that even in a time so sanguinary there were not wanting some enlarged and beneficent spirits occupied in tempering the rage of religious discord. Every page of the works of L'Hôspital, breathes conciliation and forgiveness to his fellow men. He was not satisfied with lamenting and condemning the violent measures of the cabinet of Charles IX., he opposed them with steady, though ineffectual, firmness. epistle to the Cardinal of Lorrain, written in 1562, and the letter addressed by him to Du Ferrier, the French ambassador at Venice, in 1568, are two of the most enlightened and masterly productions of any period. They inculcate universal charity and It would have been happy for mankind if maxims so benign had not been obliterated and rejected in the frenzy of persecution.

Castelneau, whose valuable memoirs terminate with the peace concluded between the crown and the protestants in 1570, finishes by thus apostrophising his son: "Thou mayst judge by what is here related, that the spiritual sword, which is the good example of the clergy, charity, exhortation, and other good works, are more necessary to extinguish heresies, and to bring back into the right path those who have wandered out of it, than that which sheds the blood of our neighbours, more particularly when the disease has attained to such a height, that in proportion as we attempt to cure it by violent remedies we only irritate the disorder." The speech of Paul de Foix, archbishop of Toulouse, pronounced in the cabinet and council of Henry III., on that prince's return from Poland, in 1574, strenuously advising measures of lenity and toleration towards the protestants, is full of the same expanded and comprehensive sentiments. They were enforced by De Thou, first president of the parliament of Paris, and by Harlay, his successor in that office. But Henry, equally for his own misfortune and the calamity of his subjects, was incapable of perceiving their beneficial tendency.

Even Marshal Damville, son to the great constable Montmorenci, and who himself subsequently attained to the high dignity, though, as we presume, an unlettered soldier, more inured to the hardships of a military life than competent to judge of scholastic and theological disputes, yet felt the necessity of toleration. Experience and reflection supplied in him the want either of natural expansion of mind, or native benevolence of disposition. When the deputies of the states of Languedoc waited on him at Montpelier, in 1577, to acquaint him of their determination of renewing the war against the protestants, he replied, that "the past calamities sufficiently demonstrated how much it belonged to God alone to dispense faith, which cannot be the work of any earthly power; that he could not enough express his astonishment at the resumption of projects so fatal; and that all mankind must be convinced of the necessity of permitting the exercise of the two religions, as the only means of preserving or of perpetuating internal peace."*

[•] De Thou, vol. vii.—x.; Memoires de Nevers, vol. i.; Brantôme, vol. i.—iv.; D'Aubig. Hist. Univer., vol. i.; Montluc, vol. iv.; Theod. Beza, Hist. Eccles.; Davila, Memoires, Pour Serv. a l'Hist. de Fra.; Laval's History of the Reformation in France.

LECTURE LXIX.

Retrospect—State of religion in France under the reign of Henry IV.—The king renounces protestantism and turns catholic—Receives absolution from the pope—The Huguenots complain that their liberties are abridged—The edict of Nantes granted them—Imprudent measures of the protestants—Turbulent and distracted state of the kingdom—Sanguinary counsels of cardinal Richelieu—The Calvinists persecuted—Revocation of the edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV.—Articles of the decree of revocation—Disastrous consequences. A. D. 1589—1685.

In the two preceding lectures, we took a review of the state of religion in France during the greater part of the sixteenth century, from the introduction of the principles of the reformation, and gave some account of the cruelties exercised towards the protestants by their implacable enemies of the catholic party, particularly under the reigns of Charles IX. and Henry III., the last of the kings of the house of Valois. This last wretched monarch, not content with exhibiting in his own conduct a model of the most depraved and dissolute manners, endeavoured, by precept and exhortation, to encourage vice and immorality. says a cotemporary writer, "did the court of our kings, in which formerly the French nobility learnt the exercise of virtue, overflow so much with every kind of disorder, luxury, and excess, as under the reign of Henry III., more especially in the years It may be affirmed, that everything was then permitted, except to be virtuous." It cannot, therefore, be any matter of surprise that, in a period so corrupt and dissolute, religion and its friends were overborne by the torrent of immorality. In so contagious an atmosphere, true piety was not likely to flourish. Infidelity, impiety, even atheism, became characteristics of the nation, and made a general progress among all ranks of society. But Henry III. was cut off by a sudden and unexpected death; and by the total extinction, in his person, of the male descendants of the house of Valois, which had reigned over the French during the space of two hundred and sixty-two years, the right of succession to the crown of France devolved on the king of Navarre, as first prince of the blood, who now, A.D. 1589, became Henry IV.

This monarch had been trained up in a predilection for the protestants. He had been educated among them, and this was an objection to his catholic subjects. He was constitutionally warm and generous, possessed an enlarged and sound understanding, a quick and just discernment of character, great promptitude and unwearied activity, a prudence and moderation which he cultivated in the school of adversity, both in the court and the camp. He was bold and intrepid, without rashness; his imagination and passions were restrained in critical circumstances by a steady judgment and a sense of duty. His military genius manifested itself, before the age of fifteen, at the battles of Gornac and Moncontour. As commander-in-chief of the Huguenots he had many opportunities of improving that genius, during a period of twenty years prior to the death of Henry III., when, at the age of thirty-six, he ascended the throne of France. He always maintained a dignity becoming his high rank, but at the same time he was courteous and affable, indulged in the ease and familiarity of private friendship, and reposed with confidence in the attachment and counsel of those who were deemed worthy of his particular esteem and regard. He had failings, especially in the conjugal relation, which it would be desirable, were it possible, to cast into oblivion. They not only injured his moral character, and disturbed his domestic peace, but frequently disordered and marred his public and political prosperity.

Henry's protestant subjects were a minority, and of inferior

weight in the affairs of state. To have received the crown from their hands might have been most agreeable to him, but it was impracticable; the very attempt would have alienated the catholics from him, who were, undoubtedly, by far the most numerous and powerful party in the kingdom. Among the Huguenots, was De Plessis Mornay, one of the most able and upright men, considered in either a civil or military character. Rosny, duke of Sully, was a decided protestant, an affectionate friend, and a faithful and active servant. These and others of the protestant party, whom Henry would have cordially preferred as his ministers, were long subjected to much apparent neglect, and were consulted and honoured in private only, and that to prevent the jealousy and other dangerous consequences which an open friendship and avowed confidence in them might have produced among the catholics.

But a short time had elapsed before the king found himself so encompassed with difficulties, that to propel the wheels of government he found himself called upon to renounce Calvinism and embrace the catholic faith. The situation was a very trying one; it seemed as if he must either relinquish his religious profession, or the crown of France. He felt strongly the shock of a proposal to abandon that religion in which he had been educated, and of which his conscience entirely approved, and at the same time to embrace a religion which his reason and habits rejected; but he was a protestant, and as such excommunicated by the pope. He requested a delay of six months from the catholic deputation which waited on him, and feeling himself surrounded with difficulties, he ultimately acceded to the propositions which were made to him-namely, that he should restore and maintain the catholic religion where it had been proscribed, and put the clergy again in possession of their benefices.

The articles which the pope required him to engage, and swear to observe, in order to his absolution on becoming a catholic, furnish us with a general outline of the spirit of catholicism and of popery at this time in France. "That he should be subject to the authority and mandates of the holy see and the catholic church. That he should abjure Calvinism and all other heresies, and solemnly profess the true faith; that he should restore the

exercise of the catholic religion in Bearn, and nominate bishops, with suitable livings therein, without delay; that he should endeavour to rescue the prince of Condé from the influence of heretics, and place him so as that he might be instructed and edified in the catholic religion; that the concordats shall be henceforth duly observed; that no heretical person shall be nominated to any catholic benefice; that the decrees of the council of Trent shall be published and observed; that ecclesiastics shall be relieved from all oppression, and defended against all iniquitous and violent usurpations; that the king shall so conduct himself, and especially in conferring offices and honours, as to shew that he uniformly esteems catholics and confides in them in preference to others; that he shall say the chapelet of Notre Dame every day, the litanies on Wednesday, the rosary of Notre Dame on Saturday, shall observe the fasts and other institutions of the church, hear mass every day, and high mass on festival days; that he shall make confession, and communicate in public four times, at least, every year." These articles Henry did generally observe; but some of them, as that relating to the decrees of the council of Trent, he reasonably evaded, because they required of him what belonged rather to the authority of the church and the will of the nation than to the king.

It is recorded, as a proof of the superior superstition and perhaps levity of the French to the Spaniards, that in the course of the year 1600, (the year of jubilee,) not less than three hundred thousand French men and women went to Rome to procure indulgences, while only about six hundred Spaniards went on the same pilgrimage during that period. It ought also to be ascribed to a spirit of greater activity, enterprise, and wealth, in the one nation than in the other.

A pamphlet published by the Huguenots in the year 1597—which excited the king's attention, drew him to visit them in the southern provinces, and at last probably produced the edict of Nantes in the following year—enumerates many of their grievances; that their liberty of conscience was greatly abridged by the enmity of the catholics, among whom they lived even since the death of Henry III., that the garrison of their cautionary towns was reduced, and the soldiers who remained were ill paid,

while those of the league felt no deficiency; that some of their cautionary towns had been demolished or taken from them; that the exercise of their religion, formerly allowed, had been prohibited in other places, and particularly in the cities of the league; that their former zeal and exertions for the king and government, both during the late and present reign, had been ill requited; that they had been punished for singing psalms in their public worship, and even in their families; that, when condemned to death, they were prohibited from enjoying the consolations which they might have received from the attendance of their own ministers and the exercise of religion; that they were compelled in many places to do homage to the cross and to relics of saints, to assist in ritual processions, to contribute to the building of catholic churches, and sometimes even to hear mass; that in some places their children, as soon they were born, were taken from them by violence, and baptized as catholics; that catholic tutors and curators were appointed to the orphans of parents who had died in the faith of the reformed church; that they were not more secure in the enjoyment of their civil than of their religious privileges; they were deprived of the advantages of education, which the edicts of different kings had granted them, in universities and colleges; that recent settlers of their religion, within the government of Lyonnois, were not only disturbed, but ordered to remove; that they were excluded from all public offices and honours; that they were in some cases rejected as witnesses; that they were abused and reviled openly in the very courts of justice; that when some of their number were maliciously murdered, they were denied the means of inquiry, of trial, and redress; and finally, that in some places they were not allowed decently to bury their dead.

"When Sire," they conclude, "shall we begin to experience the happy effects of your favour? It is eight years since the commencement of your reign; who would have thought that in eight years we should have reaped no advantage from your government? that we, your ancient friends and servants, should rather suffer more oppression under you than your predecessor? You have often and long witnessed our attachment to you, and our zeal for your service; relieve us, then, we pray you, from

these persecutions and cruelties, and grant us an edict for our protection and peace."

Moved by such representations and entreaties, the king directed Schomberg, De Thou, Jeannin, Calignon, &c., to draw up the edict of Nantes. Chamier, however, a reformed minister, is said to have chiefly framed it. It was approved, signed, and sealed at Nantes, on the 30th of April, 1598. Much opposition was given to it, and particularly by the parliament of Paris. Some of the objections Henry judged so important as to obviate them, and then personally insisted on the registration of the edict. "Having made the edict," said he, addressing the parliament, "I will have it observed; my will ought to be a sufficient reason. I am king; I speak to you as such, and will be obeyed." It was registered on the 25th February, 1599, and continued nominally, for it was never strictly observed to regulate the privileges of the reformed church, and the conduct of the government towards it, for nearly a hundred years, when it was revoked by Louis XIV. But it was often violated by the catholics, and the privileges granted by it were greatly abridged in the subsequent reign, and particularly during the administration of cardinal de Richelieu. It ordained an oblivion and amnesty of all that was past; the re-establishment of the catholic religion and worship in those places where it had been interrupted; and the restoration of its churches, houses, and revenues; the quiet and undisturbed residence of the Huguenots or reformed in all parts of the kingdom not specially prohibited. It allowed those who enjoyed full fief d'haubert, or high jurisdiction, to have the free exercise of their religion for themselves, their families, subjects, and others who might desire to join them.

They who have such high jurisdiction shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion only for their families and a few strangers who may occasionally visit them, provided their houses are not situated in cities, towns, or villages belonging to catholics; but the said religion shall be freely exercised wherever it was allowed by former edicts in the suburbs of cities, or if they are archiepiscopal or episcopal cities, then only in the adjacent burghs or villages. No exercise of the said religion shall be performed within the limits of the court, of the royal demesnes, nor within

five leagues of the city of Paris; yet they who are resident in these prohibited places shall not have their houses examined and disturbed, nor shall they be constrained to do anything against the dictates of their consciences. Said religion shall not be publicly observed in the armies, excepting in the quarters of those officers who profess it. The reformed shall have their houses and places of worship restored which belonged to them; they may build places of worship wherever public worship is allowed them; all preachers, readers, and other public speakers, are prohibited from uttering anything of a seditious nature; both catholics and the reformed are prohibited from taking forcibly the children of one another, in order to baptize or to proselyte them; the reformed are declared bound to observe the festivals of the catholic church, so far as not to open their shops, nor to work publicly during their celebration; they are prohibited from printing or selling books on the subject of their religion, excepting in the cities and places where its free exercise is allowed; there shall be no difference, on account of religion, in the mode of receiving scholars into universities, colleges, or schools, or of the sick and poor into hospitals; the reformed shall observe the catholic laws relative to degrees of consanguinity in contracting marriages; on assuming any place or office they shall not be required to use any ceremony, nor swear in any mode contrary to their religion; they shall pay the legal and customary . tithes, as due to the ecclesiastics of the catholic church; they shall be capable of holding any office or place, royal, political, municipal, or territorial, and be admitted into the king's council equally as catholics; they shall have suitable grounds appropriated to them, wherever they reside, for the burial of their dead, and those places which formerly belonged to them shall be restored; for the more impartial administration of justice, a chamber of the parliament of Paris shall be constituted, and a president and sixteen counsellors, to be called the chamber of the edict; one of these counsellors shall be of the said religion, besides other five, who shall be admitted counsellors of the chambers of inquest; a similar chamber, and similar arrangements, shall be formed in the other parliaments of the kingdom; the proportion, however, of the reformed to be considerably greater in the chambers of Bourdeaux,

Grenoble, or Dauphiné; various other privileges are granted them in these courts; all sentences passed heretofore against the reformed, on account of their religion or of things connected with it, shall be revoked; executions shall cease, the memory of them shall be expunged from the public records; persons and properties shall return to the same state as before such sentences were pronounced; children of the reformed, who had fled the kingdom, to be replaced in all the just property and privileges of their parents; prisoners made on account of the late troubles to be liberated; arrears of taxes, &c. to be remitted, and all hostile and treasonable acts to be forgotten; none to be prosecuted but for personal crimes, committed for selfish or private ends; all lords, knights, gentlemen, clergy, and others, of every rank, shall be immediately and effectually restored to their lands, titles, and other property and privileges, notwithstanding judgments pronounced against them on account of the troubles and disorders of the times; all preceding edicts, letters, and declarations contrary to this edict, to be null and of no effect; and all judges, magistrates, and principal inhabitants, to swear to the observance of this edict.

Fifty-six articles were published and registered at Nantes, 30th April, and 2nd May, 1598, in explanation of some of the articles of the edict, enlarging the privileges of the reformed in some places, and restricting them in others, which it is declared his majesty requires to be as strictly observed as the edict itself.

Such was the establishment of the reformed church in France in the conclusion of the sixteenth century. It did not give full satisfaction to either catholics or Huguenots, but it produced order and peace. It was not to be expected, however, between such parties, the one so zealous and intolerant, and the other so rigid in their tenets and jealous of their rights, that they would continue long tranquil. In a few years the reformed complained that the Jesuits preached in their cautionary towns; that the garrisons of these towns did not receive their pay; that the catholics persisted in taking their children from parents unwilling to educate them in the Roman religion; that they even dug up their dead and insulted them; that some Huguenots were deprived of the offices which they held, and others refused

justice in the public courts. On the other hand, the reformed countenanced the Bearnese, who attempted a union with them in opposition to the plans of government to restore the establishment of catholicism, after that country had been fifty years in a state of religious reformation. They convened the assembly of Rochelle without leave of the king, or asking it, 24th December, 1620, contrary to the 82nd article of the edict, and other special declarations. The assembly itself was under the influence of selfish and imprudent men, who were regardless of the true interests of the church, and of the consequences of provoking the king and his minister. They proceeded so far in their political enthusiasm, contrary to the sound advice of some of their best friends, as to form the project of an independent republic, and actually took some active steps in order to carry it into execution. They proposed to divide the whole reformed churches of France into nine circles or districts, with each a military general over it, all subordinate to the assembly, which was to be permanent at Rochelle. They appointed a common seal, "for Christ, and for the king," which seemed to imply that they did not intend altogether to reject his supremacy. But at the same time they gave orders for seizing the king's money and the ecclesiastical revenues, wherever they were able.

The court now considered it high time to proceed against them as rebels, and the king, Louis XIII., A.D. 1621, at the head of his army, marched into Poitou. The cautionary towns generally opened their gates, and the reformed felt their weakness before the active power of the government. The unsuccessful siege of Montauban, on the other hand, and the pressure of some political relations, disposed the government to moderation; and a negotiation was carried on for some time, which issued at last in a treaty of peace. By that treaty a general amnesty was published, and the edict of Nantes was renewed.

But the king had scarcely returned to Paris, when a new representation of violations of the edict and treaty was addressed to him. Soft answers were given, but little redress was offered. The reformed shewed their dissatisfaction, and the court its resentment.

Several decrees of the council were passed, excluding them

from offices and dignities, and abridging their liberties. A new war broke out, and a new treaty was concluded, 6th February, 1626. But the cardinal Richelieu was convinced that either they must be admitted to the full enjoyment of unlimited liberty, and of all the privileges of the state, uncontrolled by catholics, and even at the hazard of the permanent establishment of the catholic faith, or that they must be totally subdued, and he preferred the latter. He turned the whole power of France against them, reduced Hochelle, and their other cautionary towns and strong holds, and totally disarmed them. There he paused, leaving them still in possession of considerable privileges, both civil and religious, which they enjoyed until the revocation of the edict of Nantes, 23rd October, 1685.

As soon as Louis was at peace with foreign powers, he resumed his zeal against the Calvinists. He is said to have been urged to proceed against them, not only by the catholic clergy, but, which is not very probable, by Madame Maintenon, now in high favour, who had been educated a Calvinist, but became a catholic, and very zealous to effect a general conversion. The offences and injuries frequently received by them from catholics provoked them to retaliate, and furnished an occasion for the government to interpose and oppress them. In several of the southern provinces their churches were demolished, and public worship was disturbed or prevented. In their zeal to obey God rather than man they formed a general union, resolved to assert their religious liberty, and to protect the exercise of their religious institutions by force. To subdue this spirit, companies of dragoons were sent among them, and lodged in their houses until they should abjure their religion and become catholics. Some of them were killed in the act of resistance; some of them became catholies in order to be freed from hardships which they found intolerable. Their inconsistencies provoked the resentment and increased the zeal of their adversaries; and at last the king determined to revoke the edict of Nantes, and so to deprive them of their religious privileges. The season seemed favourable. There was none of the states of Europe that could protect them. England was weakened by its own discontents, which issued in the general revolution. The emperor was engaged in a war with

Turkey. Spain had already given sufficient proofs of her inability to contend with France. Other states were awed by her power, and, however willing to support the Huguenots, dared not to provoke so mighty and unrelenting a foe as Louis XIV. On the other hand, these people themselves still amounted to above 1,500,000. Many of them were wealthy merchants, skilful manufacturers, able sailors and soldiers. The violence exercised against them provoked them to rebellion or to emigration, either of which was a great disadvantage to the kingdom. In all the discussions which took place there was scarcely any reference to the importance of religious toleration and liberty. The question was merely whether such a sect should exist; and whether the power of the king was not now able to subdue it, and extirpate the heresy? The general conclusion of the catholics was, that it would illustrate his piety, and consummate his glory, to accomplish that which six of his royal predecessors had attempted in vain. He is said to have believed himself that God had raised him up and prospered him for this very thing, that he might extinguish entirely this unhallowed flame, which had often threatened to consume the church. He revoked accordingly the edict given at Nantes, 1st April, A.D. 1599; in consequence of which he ordered all the churches of the people pretending to be reformed to be demolished, and prohibited the people themselves from assembling anywhere for the exercise of their religion, on pain of imprisonment and confiscation of goods. Their ministers were required forthwith either to become catholics, or to depart out of the kingdom within fifteen days; such of them as would submit to conversion were offered exemption from taxes, and a pension of one-third more than the stipend which they had received from their late congregations, with the remainder of a half of that pension to their widows during their life or widowhood. Their schools were ordered to be shut, and the children of the reformed were commanded to be baptized by the parish catholic priests, under a penalty of 500 livres: they were further prohibited from going out of the kingdom; the men on pain of being sent to the gallies, and the women of imprisonment. At the same time it was declared that they should not be troubled on the subject of their religion, if they remained quiet, and engaged in none of its

exercises. At last, as the completion of their misery and the extinction of their hope, the edict of Nantes, granted by Henry IV., April 1598, as the charter of all their civil and religious privileges, was on the 22nd October, 1685, absolutely repealed. The decree of revocation contained eleven articles:

- 1. A repeal of the whole edict, and of every concession in favour of the pretended reformed; and a declaration that all their churches should be forthwith demolished.
- 2. A prohibition of any meeting for religious worship in any place, on any pretence.
- 3. An express interdiction of every kind of religious exercise in the houses or castles of those among them of high rank or noble birth, on pain of death and confiscation of property.
- 4. All their ministers were ordered to leave the kingdom in fifteen days, unless they embraced the catholic religion.
- 5. The ministers who would conform to the catholic system were promised a third more than the stipend which they received from the reformed, with a continuation of it to their widows after their death.
- 6. If they chose to become advocates or doctors of law, it was enacted that they should be admitted to these professions three years sooner than the time prescribed by law to others.
 - 7. All their schools were ordered to be absolutely shut up.
- 8. Their children were ordered to be baptized by the curstes of the parish in which the parents resided, on pain of 500 livres.
- 9. The king of his elemency permitted those who had deserted the kingdom, if they returned in four months, and conformed to the church, to recover all their former privileges and property.
- 10. Every one attempting to leave the kingdom was condemned to the gallies or death.
- 11. Former declarations against relapses were ordered to be put in execution; but all who were not decided, or not prepared to declare themselves, until it pleased God to enlighten them might remain where they resided, continue their trades or arts, and enjoy their property without being disturbed, provided they refrained from all exercise of their religion, and from every kind of meeting on that account.

The number of those supposed to have turned catholics about

a month after the revocation of the edict, was 350 gentlemen of rank, without including their families, many of whom refused to conform with them; fifty-four ministers, who accepted the bribe of additional stipend; and near 250 persons only of inferior rank.

The consequences of this revocation were deplorable. The people in many cities and districts rose in defence of their churches, their ministers, and religious privileges. Their insurrection provoked the government to enforce the new regulations, and to render them more oppressive. Many of them were cruelly tortured and put to death; many were imprisoned, or sent to the gallies; dragoons were quartered in the houses of those who persisted in the faith and profession of the Calvinistic doctrines, who insulted and pillaged them, in order to force them to change their religion. Great numbers stole away secretly and emigrated into foreign countries. In some districts, through the lenity and mild temper of the governors, as the duke of Noailles, in Languedoc, the measures of the court were executed with all the moderation possible, and the people were of course more quiet. But the catholics were either jealous of their prosperity, and studied to blast it by provoking them to resistance, representing them as the enemies of order and government, or they were zealous to convert them to their faith, and hoped to compel them to it by oppression. Their situation was truly deplorable, and yet it is wonderful that so many remained in circumstances so dreadful, as still in the next reign to excite the attention of the government, and even to this day to form a considerable proportion of the population of France. At the same time, there is no doubt that it greatly diminished the strength and resources of the kingdom. A million of people emigrated into other countries, and carried with them two hundred millions of money, besides their skill in arts and manufactures.

Many of them retired into Holland, where William, prince of Orange, declared himself their friend and protector. He granted them important privileges; settled pensions on their ministers, and procured 100,000 florins a year from the states for the maintenance of a military corps, formed of such of them as were officers and soldiers. He had begun to aspire after the throne of

England, and considered the formation of this corps as one of those means which he was providing to promote this design.

The decree was enforced with great rigour, informers were hired, and the very soldiers were rewarded for their cruelty. They were quartered on the nonconformists; they hunted those who deserted their houses like wild beasts, whom they caught and murdered; they plundered their property, burnt their houses, and treated their women with every species of indignity. The passions and excesses of men and nations happily spend themselves, and at last subside with the progress of time. The reformed were subdued and silenced; they seemed to require no more compulsion, and the military forces were gradually withdrawn. The flame was smothered, but the embers remained. When they had recovered their strength and broke out anew in the subsequent reign, new restraints were imposed. cruelties as before were employed to suppress the Calvinistic doctrines and worship, and all that was deemed heresy; and particularly in consequence of the edict of Louis XV., May 14th, 1724. But they were all ineffectual. The reformed Calvinistic and Lutheran churches not only endured these persecutions, and survived the revolution, but are now said to be probably more numerous and flourishing than they ever were since their commencement.

I shall close the present lecture with an extract from "A Short Account of the Complaints and Cruel Persecutions of the Protestants in France," drawn up by one who was a spectator of the horrid drama, the amiable John Claude, minister of Charenton, published in French, in the year 1686. Speaking of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Mr. Claude thus remarks upon it: "This was effectually brought about some months after, and executed in a manner so terrible and so outrageous, that as we said in the beginning, there are few in Europe, how distant soever from the noise of the public occurrences, who have not heard the report of it; but it is certain the circumstances are not known to all, and therefore we shall give an account of them in a few words, were it but to stop or silence the imprudence of such as are not ashamed to publish, that no violences have been committed in France, and

that all the conversions there have been made with the free and full consent of the parties.

"They forthwith took the method of quartering soldiers in all the provinces almost at one and the same time, which were chiefly dragoons, that are generally the basest troops of the kingdom, fellows that will stick at nothing. Terror and dread marched before them; and, as it was concerted, all France was in an instant filled with this news, that the king would no longer suffer any Huguenots in his kingdom; and that they must resolve to change their religion, nothing being able to prevent it.

"They began with the province of Bearn, where the dragoons did their first executions, which were followed soon after in the higher and lower Guienne, Xaintonge, Aunix, Poitou, the upper Languedoc, Vivarets, and Dauphiné; after which they came to the Lioneois, the Cevennes, the lower Languedoc, Provence, the Valleys, and the country of Gex; afterwards they fell upon the rest of the kingdom, Normandy, Burgundy, the Nivernois, and Berry; the countries also of Orleans, Touraine, Anjou, Brittany, Champagne, Picardy, and the Isle of France, even extending to Paris itself, which have all undergone the same fate. thing the intendants were ordered to do, was to summon the cities and commonalties. They assembled the inhabitants thereof who professed the reformed religion, and told them it was the king's pleasure they should, without delay, turn catholics, which if they would not do freely, they should be made to do it by force. The poor people, surprised with such a declaration, made answer, they were ready to sacrifice their estates and lives to the king, but their consciences being God's, they could not in that manner dispose of them.

"There needed no more to make them immediately bring the dragoons, which were not far off. The troop immediately seized on the avenues and gates of the cities; they placed guards in all the passages, and often entered with sword in hand, crying, 'Die, or be catholics.' They were quartered at discretion on the reformed, with a strict charge that none should depart out of their houses, nor conceal any of their goods or effects, on pain of great penalties, yea, even on the catholics, when such were known either to receive or assist them in any manner. They began with con-

suming all the provisions the house afforded, and robbing them of all their money, rings, and jewels; and, in fine, filching them of whatsoever was most valuable. After this, they distrained the household goods, inviting not only the catholics of the place, but also those of the neighbouring cities and towns, to come and buy the said goods, and whatever else would yield money. Afterwards they fell on their persons, and there was no wickedness or horror which they did not put in practice to force them to change their religion.

"Amidst a thousand hideous lamentations and horrid blasphemies, they hung men and women by the hair of their heads, or by the feet, to the roofs of the chambers; or to the racks in the chimneys, and there smoked them with whisps of wet hay, till they were no longer able to bear it; and when they took them down, if they would not sign, they hung them up immediately again. They plucked off the hair of their heads and beards with pincers, till they left none remaining.

"They threw them on great fires kindled on purpose, and pulled them not out till they were half roasted. They tied ropes under their arms, and plunged them, again and again, in wells, from whence they would not take them up, till they had promised to renounce their religion. They bound them as they do criminals, put to the rack, and in this posture, with a funnel they poured wine down their throats, till the fumes of it depriving them of their reason, they were made to say they were catholics. stript them naked, and after having offered them a thousand indignities, they stuck them with pins from top to bottom. lanced them with pen-knives, and sometimes with red-hot pincers took them by the nose, and so dragged them about the room till they promised to turn catholics, or till the cries of these poor wretches, that in this condition called on God for assistance, constrained them to let them go. They bastinadoed them most cruelly, and then dragged them thus bruised to the churches, where this forced appearance of theirs was accounted abjuration; they kept them from sleeping seven or eight days together, by relieving one another, that they might watch them night and day, and keep them still waking; they sometimes threw buckets of water in their faces; they tormented them a thousand ways, and

held over their heads kettles turned downwards, whereon they made a continual din, till the poor creatures had even lost their senses. If at any time they found any sick persons, either men or women, that kept their beds, with fevers or other diseases, they had the cruelty to bring a number of drums to beat an alarm about them for whole weeks. It has in some places happened that they have tied fathers and husbands to the bed-posts, while before their eyes they ravished their wives and daughters, without even being brought to condign punishment for it. They plucked off the nails from the hands and toes of some, which was not to be endured without intolerable torment; they blew both men and women up with bellows, even till they were ready to burst.

"If, after these horrible usages, there were yet any that refused to turn catholics, they imprisoned them; and for this purpose chose dungeons the most dark and noisome, in which they exercised on them all sorts of inhumanity. In the meantime, they demolished their houses, desolated their lands, cut down their woods, and seized their wives and children, to imprison them in monasteries. When the soldiers had devoured and consumed all that was in a house, the royal farmers furnished them with substance, and to reimburse themselves, sold, by authority of justice, the estates to such gentlemen, and put themselves in possession thereof. If some, to secure their consciences and escape the tyranny of these merciless men, endeavoured to save themselves by flight, they were pursued and hunted in the fields and woods, and shot at like wild beasts; in order to which, the provosts patrolled upon the highways, and the magistrates of towns had orders to stop all of them without exception, and bring them back to the places from whence they fled—they used them like prisoners of war.

"But we must not fancy that this storm fell only on the common sort; noblemen and gentlemen of the best quality were not exempted from it. They had soldiers quartered upon them in the same manner, and were treated with the very same fury as citizens and peasants were. They plundered their houses, wasted their goods, razed their castles, cut down their woods, forced away their children, and their very persons were exposed to the insolence and barbarity of the dragoons, no less than others. They spared neither sex, nor age, nor quality; and wherever

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they found any unwillingness to obey the command of changing their religion, they practised the same violent measures. There were still remaining some officers belonging to the parliaments who underwent the same fate, after having been first deprived of their offices, nay, even the military officers who were actually in service, were ordered to quit their post and quarters, and repair immediately to their houses, there to suffer the like storm; if to avoid it, they would not become catholics. Many gentlemen and other persons of quality, and many ladies of advanced age, and of ancient families, seeing all these outrages, hoped to find some retreat in Paris, or at court; never imagining the dragoons would come to seek them out so near the king's presence. But this hope was no less vain than all the rest, for immediately there was a decree of council, which commanded them to leave Paris and the court within a few days, and to return without delay to their own houses with a prohibition to all persons to entertain or lodge them in their houses. Some having attempted to petition the king, complaining of these cruel usages, and humbly beseeching his majesty to stop the course of them, could obtain no other answer than that of being sent to the Bastille, where they suffered the same persecutions."

On this horrid tragedy, the virtuous Claude has the following just remarks, with which I close the present lecture:—

"Can anybody but confess, that if the enemies of France had undertaken to discredit the conduct of its kings and render them odious to the world, they could not have taken a more successful course. For look at the circumstances of the case: Henry the Great gives this edict to the protestants with the greatest solemnity imaginable; he gives it to them as a recompence of their services; he promises solemnly to observe it, and, as if this was not enough, he binds it on the whole kingdom by an oath; he executes it to the utmost of his power, and they peaceably enjoy it to the end of his reign; yet all this is but a mere snare, for they are to be dragooned at a proper time; but being himself surprised by death he could not do it, but leaves it in charge to his son, Louis XIII.

"Louis XIII. ascends the throne, issues out his declaration immediately, that he acknowledges the edict of Nantes as perpetual and irrevocable, and such as needed not any confirmation;

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and that he would religiously observe every article of it, and therefore sends commissioners accordingly to see it actually put in execution. When he took up arms, he protested that he had no design to touch the subject of religion; and in truth he permitted the full liberty of it, even in those very towns he took by He gives, after this, his edict of Nismes as the edict of a triumphant prince, declaring, nevertheless, that his intention therein was, that the edict of Nantes should be inviolably kept, and accordingly he kept it himself to his dying day. But this is only intended, for sooth, to lull the protestants to sleep till a favourable occasion to destroy them should present itself.

"Louis XIV., at his coming to the crown, confirms the edict, and declares that he will maintain the reformed in all their privileges; he afterwards confirms, in another declaration, how highly he is satisfied with their services, and testifies his design of establishing them in the enjoyment of their rights; but this, it seems, is only a mere amusement, and an artifice to entrap them the better, so to colour over the project of ruining them at a convenient time! What a character now of the most Christian kings will this give to the enemies of France, and to all foreign nations? And what confidence can they imagine will be henceforth put in any of their promises and treaties? For if they deal thus with their own subjects, and caress them only to ruin them, what can strangers expect?"

In fine, after perusing this lecture, and the blood of the reader shall have ceased to boil in his veins, let me beseech him to turn to the book of the Apocalypse, and read the thirteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth chapters of that prophetical treatise, and it may serve him for a clue, should he need one, into the import of such a passage as this:-- "And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus," (ch. xvii. 6;) for though the ostensible agent in all these tyrannical proceedings and horrible cruelties was the king of France, Louis XIV., yet the whole was perpetrated at the instigation of the court of Rome; the pope was the keeper of the monarch's conscience, and the king only the puppet behind the scenes, who set the whole machinery in motion! See my Lectures on the Apocalypse.

LECTURE LXX.

HISTORY OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT—General demand of a reformation in the church—The pope jealous of a general council—The bishops of their rights—Difficulty of fixing on a place for assembling the council—Subjects proposed for discussion—Claims of the bishops to superiority—Disputations on doctrinal points—Quarrel between two of the speakers—The pope takes alarm and breaks up the council—It re-assembles at Bologna—The emperor remonstrates—Alarm of the clergy at his interference—Death of the pope—Council re-opened—Violent debates—Subjects discussed—Council terminates its sittings. A.D. 1542—1564.

THE corruption and superstition of the church of Rome, and the disorders of her clergy, both regular and secular, had long rendered a reformation extremely desirable. The chief difficulty was to determine by what means it might be most successfully accomplished. The councils of Pisa and Constance had terminated the papal schism, but had contributed nothing to the reformation of the popedom itself, of the church, or of the clergy: ambition, avarice, licentiousness, and vice, had rather increased, in consequence of the cessation of that emulation produced by the rival popes and their adherents. The rise and progress of Lutheranism had shed over Europe that degree of light which roused a general spirit of inquiry. Many, from attachment to ancient custom and established institutions, from aversion to change, and from the very spirit of opposition, might be more confirmed in their delusion and error; but generally men of all

ranks, whose minds were active and liberal, who felt any regard at all for religion, literature, or liberty, groaned under the oppression of the Roman hierarchy. Not only individuals, but the states of France, the diets of the empire, the French Huguenots, and the German protestants, the very catholics themselves, princes and clergy, convinced of the increasing degeneracy of ecclesiastical institutions, characters, and practices, frequently and loudly demanded their reformation. Even the most bigoted, in their attachment to the papal supremacy, hoped, by reforming some things, and more clearly defining and explaining others, that the protestants might be satisfied and reclaimed, and the union of the church over Christendom restored. Some flattered themselves that this might be effected by provincial and national councils; others, thinking that the operation of these, being dissimilar and partial, might rather augment the schisms in the church, deemed the convocation of a general council, in a central and a safe situation, as the most probable and effectual means of terminating all differences, and uniting all parties.

But the great obstacles to this, and to the reformation in general expected from it, were self-interest, and love of power, and the dread of innovation. The pope naturally opposed himself to anything like a rival power, such as that of a general council, which might ultimately be found superior to him. He could not avoid reflecting on the decrees of the council of Constance, which deposed John XXII. By similar decrees, though he might not be deposed, such limits might be set to his influence as to diminish half his authority over the world. Now as the first luminary of heaven, splendid and glorious in the sight of men, he trembled lest he should be shorn of his rays, eclipsed, or extinguished. Such dangers were, if possible, to be avoided.

The bishops were no less jealous of their rights and privileges. They had grown from time and practices immemorial; many of them had been acquired by gradual usurpation. They were held by usage and indulgence; their limits, in most cases undefined, admitted of frequent and oppressive extension. Any investigation of them, by the authority of a general council, was too formidable a proposal to be relished by the bishops and secular clergy. The regular clergy, the heads and members of monastic

institutions, beheld themselves generally in similar circumstances, and exposed to similar dangers.

Each of these parties was afraid of the other; the pope, lest the bishops and abbots should, by the authority of a council, reclaim and recover the rights of which he had spoiled them; and they, lest he, by the same authority, should not only obtain a confirmation of these rights, but acquire others to which he further pretended. Each, therefore, zealously employed their influence secretly and openly, as opportunities occurred, and as their temper disposed them, to discourage and oppose the calling of a general council. The pope particularly endeavoured to persuade the emperor at one time, and the king of France at another, when they, moved by their people, pressed him on the subject, that a general council, instead of pacifying and uniting, would distract the world, shake the authority of the constituted powers, and inflame and dissolve society; that the church and state formed one great body so incorporated, that they must certainly stand or fall together; and that their interests as princes were inseparably involved with his.

Francis I., king of France, being more indifferent on the subject, might have acquiesced; but the emperor Charles V., more determined himself, was rendered more zealous and urgent, by the dangers which he apprehended both from the Turks and the Lutherans; the former threatened to invade the empire, and already occupied the frontier of Hungary; the latter would neither march under his standard to oppose these infidels, the enemies of Christendom, nor was it safe to leave them behind him in their present irritable and unsettled state.

He proposed to pacify them by acceding to the common desire of a general council, which it was expected, too sanguinely, might heal all divisions, and by suitable reformation and accommodation unite all men in one common faith and practice. He prevailed, therefore, with Francis to join him in his intercessions with the pope to summon a council, as the only probable means of defending the church against the infidels. Paul III. could no longer resist their joint solicitations, and especially when enforced by a plea so formidable, and he agreed to grant their request. But still he hoped to evade the design of the council, by convening it

at a distance from the protestants, and near himself; by overawing its deliberations, and dictating its decrees. Pretending the jealousy entertained by the different kingdoms of one another, and the respect which they all had for the holy see, he insisted that the council must be held, not in France, Spain, or Germany, but in Italy; and proposed successively Bologna, Parma, Placentia, Ferrara, Mantua, and Vicenza. Objections, however, occurred to each of these, and it was finally agreed that it should be assembled at Trent, a city in Italy, but on the confines of Germany.

The bull for this purpose was accordingly published on the 22nd of May, 1542, summoning the clergy, and inviting the princes, nobles, &c., of all the states of Christendom to attend, in order to a solemn and amicable revision of doctrines, reformation of manners, and final settlement of all religious and political differences. The declaration of war immediately after, betwixt Charles and Francis, furnished Clement VII. with a new pretext for recalling the legates and a few prelates whom he had sent to open the council, and for delaying its commencement until it might be resorted to and held with more tranquillity and safety.

On the return of peace, by the treaty of Crespy, September 1544, the council was again indicted to meet at Trent on the 15th of March, 1545. Ten prelates only had come by the 10th of May; the emperor himself visited them on the 16th, but no commission was yet granted for opening the council. members were assembled by the end of that month, but of these the greater part threatened to return; some of them from poverty, which could not bear the expense to which they were exposed, and others from disgust, because they were doing nothing, and saw no prospect of commencing the business of the council. They were the more provoked when they heard of diets held, and treaties ratified, in France and Germany, including declarations of religious doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, on the very subjects for which they were assembled at Trent. The emperor and the king of France, they said, were not likely to respect the decrees of a council which they superseded by their own local conferences and regulations; what idea could they have of the utility and importance of a council to which they proposed that no discussion should be held, no decrees passed by it, on doctrines, lest offence should be given to the protestants?

This proposal, that no doctrinal question should be discussed, filled the pope with indignation. In his resentment, he made the more haste to open the council, and resolved, that doctrines alone should be submitted to its deliberation. Three legates, John Maria de Monte, Marcello Cervino, and our countryman, Reginald Pole, were commissioned and dispatched for this end, 15th December, 1545. They were required to maintain a constant communication with him, and to admit nothing as a matter of serious discussion in the council without his knowledge and permission. Several months were already spent in waiting for a fuller assembly. Twenty-four bishops only had arrived when the council was opened, which increased soon after to forty-eight. The Cardinal de Monte opened the council by the solemn reading of the papal bull, and by a speech, in which, among other things, he stated, that the design of the council was to extirpate heresy; to re-establish the discipline of the church; and to restore the peace of Europe. Two months were occupied in ceremonies, in discussions on the title which the council should assume. on the seal it should use, on the right of precedency among bishops, ambassadors, and princes, and generally on the mode of procedure, without coming to any precise decision on almost any of these points. As some arrangement, however, was necessary in practice, the following order was generally understood and observed: The fathers having met in the legate's lodgings, went in procession through a lane of about 450 soldiers, horse and foot, to the cathedral church. The cardinal legates, with their cross bearer before them, preceded the bishops, these following according to their rank: as soon as they had all entered the church, the soldiers fired a volley, and kept guard till the dismission of the council, when they returned in the same order. After mass was performed, and on particular days, a sermon was preached, the minutes and decrees of former sessions were revised, ambassadors were heard, letters and papal bulls were read, and other forms were gone through, till the day was generally far spent.

The promoter was the moderator or president, but the papal legate held the first rank in the council; next to him the cardinal

of Trent; then the legates' colleagues; the electoral archbishops and the other prelates, according to their rank or the seniority of their consecration.

A session of the council itself was held, perhaps once a month only, or oftener, if business required. The business was prepared for each session by two subordinate committees or congregations, the one of divines, and canonists having the rank of doctor, with John Gropper, a civilian, and John Delph, a divine, although not doctors, on account of their extraordinary learning and talents. Into this meeting all had access, but no one was permitted to speak in the congregation without a doctor's degree. The other was the congregation of bishops, who having received the report of the divines on the subject submitted to them, revised their opinions, which were recorded by the clerks, and out of them framed a doctrine, or prepared a canon or decree, to be reported to the council. In the session of council the divines were allowed frequently to speak and give their opinion, but prelates only had a right to vote. Such was the external form of the council, which appears to have been well arranged and cautiously ordered for grave deliberation and wise decision.

We are assured, however, that the canons and decrees which seemed thus so prudently and solemnly framed, were previously dictated at Rome, and duly forwarded to the legates, who maintained a good understanding with the majority of both divines and bishops. Hence the common saying in those times, that the Holy Ghost went regularly from Rome to Trent, during the sittings of the council, in a cloak bag.

The discussions must have been often extremely tedious. The speeches were frequently two hours long. It required at least a month to hear the opinions of all the divines; every subject, whether relating to doctrine or practice, was brought before the congregation of bishops. But sometimes their debates must have been sufficiently animated and amusing. Two examples may be mentioned, as they are described by Pallavicini himself, the avowed and zealous apologist of the council.

On the 30th of July, 1546, Pachecus, or Pacecus, a Spanish cardinal, eloquent, bold, and zealous in the interest of his master, the emperor, and consequently most generally in the opposition

party to the papal legates, suspecting that the latter secretly had it in view to break up or translate the council, without even indicting another session to sanction the business which was already discussed, insisted, before they were dismissed, on a certain day being fixed for the meeting of the next session, and which, being put to the vote, he carried, though by a small majority. The cardinal, del Monte (Montanus), the first papel legate, a man of ability, quick, and imperious, maintained that in a question, especially of form, the voice of the legate ought to preponderate over so small a majority of votes. The other said, in a tone of considerable emotion, that neither the number of the majority, nor the rank of the voters, could affect the right which he had acquired by the decision which he was entitled and determined to hold. As they were proceeding in a highly inflamed state, Mandruccius, the cardinal bishop of Trent, of a moderate temper, though vain of the local rank which he held. next to the first cardinal legate, as bishop of the city, interposed; "I am ashamed," said he, "and tremble, when I observe any of you, and especially my most respected fathers, moved with passion; wherefore I pray you to deliberate with more composure and meekness, as becometh Christians. I am not insensible to the human infirmities which cleave to myself, and am always extremely sorry when tempted by provocation to betray any violence of temper." Montanus, thinking this reproof addressed chiefly to him, proudly replied, that he perceived, in place of exercising the highest authority in the council, he was treated as a pupil by his master; adding, "I would have him who requires mildness of speech and temper from others, to exemplify it himself." The one endeavouring to vindicate himself from vanity and arrogance, on account of his local circumstances, the other haughtily claiming a supremacy as legate, and requiring that every one present would learn to know and keep his proper place, Pacecus rose with indignation, and in the name of the council demanded equality and liberty of speech. The assembly became altogether tumultuous, the inferior orders of the clergy attempted to drown the noise and extinguish the flame of their superiors with their exclamations, which also proving ineffectual, Petrus Tagliavia, archbishop of Palermo,

threw himself on his knees, and with outstretched hands, and tears, implored their attention, and the restoration of concord. So unusual a spectacle and mode of entreaty drew the universal attention, and surprised the combatants into forbearance and peace. Petrus was afterwards rewarded by Montanus with a cardinal's hat, for this humiliating, seasonable, and successful supplication. As there were three important ends, on account of which it had been declared the council was convened, so it became a subject of serious discussion with which of them they ought to begin,—the revision of doctrine, the reformation of discipline and government, or the restoration of peace. One party, chiefly friends of the pope, proposed doctrine as deserving their first attention, being the foundation of the whole edifice of the Christian church. The imperial party pressed the reformation of abuses as most urgent. The French party insisted on the necessity first of securing peace, in order both to safety of attendance and tranquillity of deliberation. A fourth party were of opinion that all the three subjects were so equally essential, that neither was entitled to preference in itself, and therefore ought to yield to circumstances of expediency; or being all inseparably connected, that they might deliberate on them jointly, and by that means also avoid giving offence by shewing a preference. This discussion was terminated by a recommendation of the cardinal, Mandruccius, that each of the members should begin with reforming himself. His speech was highly approved by all, but followed by none; many exclaiming that the reformation ought to be universal, and was so urgent that they had no time to begin with individuals. At last, they resolved to write to the emperor, the king of France, the king of the Romans, the king of Portugal, and the other catholic princes, exhorting them to maintain and promote the peace, to send ambassadors to the council as well as the bishops of their dominions, and to do their endeavour to render their journey to it easy and safe; and considering the importance of the two other points, the extirpation of heresy and reformation of manners, they decreed that they would not separate them, but proceed with them together. They first of all declared the apostle's creed to be the confession of their faith, and then, in the third session, the 22nd of February,

1546, almost a whole year from the time fixed for the commencement of the council, they began seriously with the revision of doctrine.

Some insisted that scripture rested on tradition, and tradition on the church; but they differed about what is the church, whether the standard writings of the fathers; of zealous catholics who had written against Luther; the ecclesiastical order, and especially collected in council; or the pope.

In the fifth session, July 17th, after long and various debates, it was decreed, that Adam, having apostatized and degenerated, became corrupt and mortal; that he conveyed his guilt and depravity to his posterity; that men are justified by the merit of Jesus Christ; that baptism, both of infants and adults, is essential to this justification; but though essential, it does not free from sin entirely in this life. It was understood, at first, that the state and character of the holy virgin is not to be included in this decree. After a long and learned discussion, opinions were found so diversified, that they could not be easily collected and arranged, therefore it was agreed generally to believe the common doctrine on the subject, that she was conceived immaculate.

The greater part of the time from July to January, 1547, was spent in uninteresting, but violent debates on faith, justification, free will, grace, and penitence. On one of these occasions, St. Felix, bishop of Cava, having, in a speech of some length, ascribed more influence to faith in man's justification than to others seemed reasonable, Zannetine, bishop of Cheronæs, in Greece, whispered to those near him, that he was determined to refute him at the first meeting, for that he was disgusted equally with the man's ignorance and confidence. The former hearing a part only of the words, but enough to know they referred to him, demanded what it was he had whispered? The latter repeated the very words; on which St. Felix flew on Zannetine, and seizing him by the beard, pulled a part of it along with him, and immediately fled. The Grecian only repeated with a louder voice his former words respecting the Italian's ignorance and confidence. But the legate and other members of the council being grievously offended at the outrage, took the subject into their serious consideration. The fugitive was the more in danger of having a

partial and severe sentence pronounced against him, because he was suspected of leaning towards Lutheranism. Montanus, the first legate, however, was more moderate than might have been expected. Cervinus, another of the legates, subtle, suspicious, prone to dissimulation, dark in his designs, and severe in his temper, was of opinion that the punishment ought to bear a just and full proportion to the publicity and heinousness of Pacecus manly and uprightly, but, as has been the offence. already observed, generally opposed to the papal legates, denied the publicity and the aggravating circumstances of the fact, and insisted that if it was necessary to subject him to a prosecution, that it must be conducted regularly and according to law. This was the opinion of the majority of the members; but a great number considering St. Felix as a heretic as well as a public offender, were for carrying him at once to Rome, to be judged by the pope. Cornelius Mussus, bishop of Betonte, one of the most able and eloquent members of the council, and consequently of great authority, delivered a most pathetic and impressive speech in favour of the culprit. pleaded that St. Felix had already confessed his crime, that his acknowledgment ought to diminish one half of the punishment; that he was descended of a noble family; noble himself in genius and principles; warm in his affections; inviolable in his integrity; his beneficence was universally celebrated; and his zeal in serving the public, since the commencement of the council, had been remarkable and uniform. "Will you then," said he, "ruin for ever one of the best of men for one single offence, of even which he can scarcely be held guilty, since he committed it in a fit of insanity, brought on him by a strong provocation?" St. Felix, however, was imprisoned, brought to trial, condemned, and anathematized. After several years, his adversaries relented, circumstances of policy changed, the sentence against him was cancelled, and he was restored to his former dignity and office.

This was a remarkable, rather than a singular feature on the face of the council. They were on every subject partial and contentious, and became heated and violent in proportion as questions or occurrences suggested suspicions of each other's designs, excited jealousies of rivalship, involved metaphysical and

obscure points of doctrine, or discovered any bias in favour of heresy. This partiality and contention arose, not merely from the diversity and pertinacity of individual opinions, but from the opposition, the emulation, the pride and envy of the several religious orders, particularly the Franciscans and Dominicans in the council, as well as from the vanity and ambition of the representatives of the several states and nations. On the subjects of justification and grace, at this time before the council, the Dominicans generally favoured the doctrine of Augustin, the Franciscans that of Pelagius. All were attached to the scholastic opinions, and could scarcely endure anything like a departure from the established maxims and phrases of the schoolmen. The Dominicans were generally the most proud and opinionative; and no one of them spoke with more ability and decision than Dominique Soto, a Dominican and Pelagian. He was a clear, fluent, and nervous speaker, and was always heard with attention. He stated with precision, in opposition to some preceding orators, the difference betwixt faith and confidence, or assurance; that by the one we are accepted and justified—that the other respects our own state, whether we be justified or not, and is often liable to become temerity and presumption, if not restrained by humility and modesty.

Ambroise Catharin, afterwards bishop of Minori, was one of the most moderate and judicious among the divines. His bias in doctrine was known to be towards the Augustins and Calvinists; but his good sense and eloquence, which was of a calm and tender nature, sustained and recommended him. He stated with great success, in opposition to both Dominicans and Franciscans, who admitted some degree of human merit into justification, that the best works of man are sinful, that all his virtues are the fruits of divine grace; that he hath nothing whereof to boast, and can be justified only by faith, or by believing the gospel of Christ. This he illustrated by many analogies, and by many references to St. Augustin, Ambrose, and the other fathers.

Making allowance for the trifling subjects which occasionally occupied the congregations, the scholastic and absurd manner in which they were generally treated, the vehemence of particular tempers, and the spirit of party which always reigns in

numerous assemblies, the council appears to have been proceeding with considerable success and perseverance during several months; and latterly gave hopes that sound judgment might at last prevail, and issue in the profitable and decided reformation of the most aggravated and intolerable disorders of the church and clergy.

But the pope began to be alarmed when he found that all the influence, the arts, and talents of his legates, were insufficient to prevent the council from entering on the discussion of points of reformation. His supremacy, or his subordination to a general council, he dreaded might be one of the first articles which they might propose to reform. He could not altogether approve even the decrees respecting residence, and thought it high time to interfere in such a manner as might either secure his prevalence, or suspend their deliberations. He took advantage, therefore, of the sickness of some of the servants of the members of the council, and of the death of one of the bishops, arising most probably from ordinary causes, or from the great degree of dissipation in which all ranks indulged, to excite apprehensions of the plague, and to break up the council.

It was adjourned to Bologna, March 11th, 1547. The imperial or German clergy, however, remained, by the emperor's order, at Trent, with a few more, making in all eighteen. they did not even attempt to proceed with any business; they were afraid lest it might be accounted schismatical, or prove the occasion of a schism. On the whole, nothing could more clearly prove what had been always asserted by the protestants, that the council, so far from being free, was almost entirely dependent on the pope and governed by his influence. After many and strong remonstrances by the emperor against this translation of the council, and suspension of its business, he boldly assumed the right and power which belonged to him, of legislating for his own government. In the diet of Augsburg, he published those articles of faith and ecclesiastical discipline called the Interim, because they were modestly proposed to be observed only in the meantime in Germany, until a general council should supersede them by decrees of superior wisdom and authority. It was so frittered and accommodated, however, to the two great parties in Germany, that, as always happens in similar cases, it pleased neither of them. The doctrines savoured so strongly of catholicism, and especially in the articles of the sacraments, as to be extremely offensive to the protestants; yet they were so much brought down towards the standard of the protestants as to fill the catholics with resentment and indignation. They were even alarmed at the presumption of the emperor in intermeddling with either the doctrine or reformation of the church. They were afraid, lest, like Henry VIII. in England, he might be recognised as the head of the church in Germany and Spain. The danger of schism appearing very great, it seemed necessary some way to re-unite the bishops remaining still at Trent with those at Bologna. Neither would yield to the other, nor the pope to the emperor. Another danger arose from the declining health of the former; if Paul III., the reigning pope, should die during the sitting of a general council, it was understood, as in the council of Constance, that the election of his successor belonged to it. In the present divided state of the council, each party, that of Trent and that of Bologna, might claim the authority of the general council, and the right of electing a pope, and two popes might be chosen. The council was therefore declared to be discontinued. and Paul died November 10th, 1549.

The cardinal Del Monte, formerly legate, was now chosen pope, and was after some time prevailed with to restore the council. It met again at Trent, 1st May, 1551. No business besides forms was transacted till the following September, when the congregation of divines entered on the consideration of the eucharist. They unanimously condemned those who denied the real presence of the body, blood, and divinity of Jesus Christ in the bread and wine. They were somewhat divided in their opinion respecting the article, whether Jesus Christ be eaten sacramentally, and whether they ought to discuss at all the doctrine of transubstantiation. On the whole, they resolved to hold the doctrine of the church on this subject untouched. They declared themselves unanimously in favour of the adoration of the eucharist. They all were of opinion that the consecrated bread ought to be preserved, but they generally disapproved of solitary communion; they affirmed, that the body of Jesus Christ remains in

those parts of the eucharist which are unconsumed after communion. They deliberated long on the necessity of communicating in both kinds, and finally resolved, that to affirm it as necessary is heretical. They founded this resolution chiefly on the interview of Jesus with the two disciples at Emmaus, when he blessed the bread only; on the fourth petition of the Lord's prayer, where mention is made of bread only; on the 11th and 20th chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, in which the apostles speak of the bread, without mentioning wine; on the writings of some of the fathers; and on the decision of the council of Constance. The divines of Germany thought there might be deficiency of communion by bread only; but the Italian divines were of opinion, that as the bread implied the wine, so, by concomitancy, the whole virtue or grace intended to be conveyed by both accompanied one of the species. They affirmed faith alone not to be a sufficient qualification for receiving the eucharist; that it ought to be preceded by confession, and received by every Christian at Easter.

Amidst these transactions, the protestant members from Germany having serious thoughts of attending the council, applied for a safe-conduct; and expressed a desire, by their ambassadors, that the council would, on their arrival, review their decrees, that they might be revised and sanctioned in their presence. legates instructed from Rome were prepared to pay them the most courteous attention, and seemed to accommodate to their every request, yet hoped to evade them. But all of a sudden the council was alarmed by the rapid progress of the arms of Maurice, elector of Saxony, the patron and head of the protestants. Having taken Augsburg from the emperor on the 3rd April, he pushed his army through the Tirol, and was within two hours of surprising and seizing the emperor Charles at Inspruck. Trent was three days march from it; yet so panic-struck were the members of the council, that they fled in all directions. The legate, cardinal Puteo, was sick; the nuncios, who, as less expensive, had been some time ago appointed to supersede the other two legates, and a few bishops, remained with him, till they were authorized to suspend the council to a more favourable season.

About ten years intervened betwixt this suspension and the

re-opening of the council, 18th January, 1562. France and Spain had joined the emperor in demanding it, as the only probable remedy for healing and terminating the religious and civil disorders of Europe. The pope was also afraid lest the convention of national councils should not only supersede the general council, but contribute to sever even the catholic states from their obedience to the see of Rome. The council, therefore, by a papal bull, read with all the ordinary solemnities, was resumed on the 18th January, 1562. It was the 1st of February, however, before they entered on their proper business. Having agreed to consider the propriety of an index of forbidden books, Lewis Beccatell, archbishop of Ragusa, and Augustin Selvago, archbishop of Genoa, were of opinion that the Index of Paul IV. on this subject, being sufficient, it would be only a waste of time to attempt anything further.

On the 9th of September, 1562, considerable dissatisfaction appeared respecting the arrangement and importance of the subjects proposed for the deliberation and sanction of the council. "I have no objections," said Suarez, bishop of Coimbra, "to small matters, when they occupy their own order and place. But let us begin at the head, and proceed from the pope to the cardinals, and from them to the bishops, and from the bishops to the inferior orders. Otherwise, if they persisted in the disorderly and trifling manner in which they had hitherto conducted what was called reform, they would excite the indignation of the catholics, and expose themselves to the raillery of the protestants." "These hundred and fifty years," said the bishop of Paris, "Christendom has demanded in vain a reformation of the head and members; it was now time to become serious.* In France

The scandalous lives of the clergy formed a fruitful topic of declamation at the sittings of this famed council, of which the reader may take the following hints as a sample. Thus, in 1545, the bishop of Bitunt exclaimed to the council:—" With what monstrous turpitude, with what sordid pollution, with what a pestilence, are not both the priests and the people in the church defiled and corrupted! I put it to your judgment, fathers! and begin with the sanctuary itself, if any shame remains—any modesty—any hope or reason, of living well! If there be not libido effrenata et indomita; audacia singularis—wickedness incredible! The two leeches, cupidity and ambition, are always crying out, 'bring, bring.' Hence piety is turned into fucum and hypocrisy, and preaching into contention, and pride into a turpissimum mer-

alone, more had been already done by a national council, than was likely to be done at Trent for the whole Christian church." "The patient will die among your hands," said the bishop of Segovia, "while you, like unskilful physicians, are losing time in the administration of mere lenitives." Other orators suggested particular abuses and disorders which required immediate and powerful correctives. All these complaints, however, produced no amendment; the legates maintained their influence, and occupied the council with subjects which to them appeared most in-offensive and safe.

17th September.—Nine articles of a decree, and nine corresponding canons, were framed on the subject of the mass; that

catum; hence the sheep scatter and wander; hence religion declines into superstition, faith to infidelity; and all exclaim that there is no God."—Plat's Monum. Com. Trid. i. p. 16.

In the same year, Ant. Marinarius, the Carmelite, in his oration at the same council, describes some prelates as sleeping, or acting the part of mercenaries, not to say worse; many doctors teaching piety with their mouths, and impiety by their actions; professing a perfection of life, and disturbing all things by their scandalous examples; the face of the church dishonoured by the corrupt manners of the age.—

16. p. 30.

In the next year the bishop of St. Mark thus harangued the council: Look at Rome, which ought to be a shining luminary in the midst of the nations; look at Italy, France, and Spain, you will find no degree, age, or sex, which is not corrupt; labefactum; putre. No Scythians or Africans live more impurely or flagitiously. O prelates! cities placed on mountains, we murder the sheep of the Lord by our example. Looking at our manners and life, they plunge with us into these whirlpools. We cannot restore the edifice which has fallen by our wickedness, but by probity, humility, poverty, and charity.—Ib. p. 34.

In 1546, the Jesuit Alphonso Salmero urged the same topic. "Proh dolor! how great and how deplorable an evil is it, when the pastor makes the prince of darkness his leader. To be ignorant of the divine scriptures—to be ashamed of the office of preaching the gospel, as a contemptible thing—to regard mercenary gains—to be devoted to luxury—to swell at praise. The tempter suggests an insatiable appetite for domination when he leads to crave higher seats, fatter benefices, loftier dignities, in the church. Pastors err when they convert their power into tyranny: who prefer to be, I will not say the shearers, but the devourers, of their sheep. Hence those complaints of the people, (I wish they were untrue), that they are oppressed with burthens, robbed of their property, afflicted in their hearts, and tormented from want of the divine word." He then notices the pastors who do not watch their flock; who indulge themselves; who seek with great diligence to dress their body, to fill their bellies, to increase their revenues, and to have splendid furniture, and the favour of princes,—p. 99.

the bread, or wafer, to be eaten, is the true and proper body of Christ; is a real sacrifice, and ought as such to be offered to God; that this sacrifice was ordained by Christ, when he said, "Do this in remembrance of me;" that it is not a sacrifice of praise only, but of propitiation; and is profitable, not merely to him that receives it, but to others, the dead as well as the living; that it is not derogatory from the virtue of Christ's atonement on the cross; that it ought to be celebrated in honour of saints, and to secure their intercession with God; it is free from error; none of its ceremonies lead to impiety; the priest may lawfully communicate in it alone; he ought to pronounce some of the words in a low voice, and not in the vulgar tongue. These canons were each accompanied with an anathema.

From the 23rd of September, 1562, to the 11th of July, 1563, the congregations were occupied chiefly with discussions concerning the divine right of episcopacy; whether bishops received and held their office of God or of the pope. As the question involved the papal jurisdiction and supremacy, it was urged on the one hand, and opposed on the other, with great learning and eloquence, and on both sides with insidiousness and firmness, till at last the emperor interposed, by instructing his clergy not to carry the matter any further. The subject was accordingly dropped as far as related to the divine right of episcopacy; and a tame decree was issued in general as follows:-That sacrifice and the priesthood have been always inseparably united: the priesthood of the New Testament was instituted by Jesus Christ, to which he gave all power in his church; that being divine, it is becoming, and in order that its dignity may be duly maintained, that it be arranged into subordinate ranks, as appears to have been intended in the epistles of the apostles, as well as in the writings of the fathers; that as grace is conferred by ordination, so it is and ought to be held one of the seven sacraments; that the character conveyed by ordination is ineffaceable, and cannot be laid down, nor absolutely taken away, so as that a priest can again ever become a layman.

This was followed by a decree of reformation, chiefly to enforce residence; to secure the speedy supply of vacant benefices; the faithful exercise of the trust of granting orders; the due qualifi-

cation and age of candidates; the public and solemn performance of the duty of granting orders, and the institution and maintenance of seminaries of education, by and near cathedral churches.

There was added, the chapter of the reformation of princes, in twelve decrees, bearing that the clergy shall not in any case be judged by the secular magistrates; that secular judges shall not intermeddle with ecclesiastical causes, nor appoint judges therein, nor use any undue influence or authority over churchmen in the discharge of their duty; that they shall not intermeddle with vacant benefices, or other ecclesiastical goods; that churchmen shall not be obliged to pay taxes, or subsidies of any kind; that ecclesiastical summonses and sentences shall be freely published and executed.

The subject of marriage having also been long under deliberation, it was decreed, that marriage was one of the seven sacraments; that no man shall have more than one wife at the same time; that the church may either extend the degrees of affinity and consanguinity, beyond what is recorded in the sacred book of Leviticus, or dispense with them; that marriage is not compatible with a religious vow; that divorce in certain cases is lawful; that churchmen in holy orders and regulars cannot contract a marriage; that celibacy is preferable to marriage; that there are certain holy seasons of the year when no marriage ought to be celebrated; that ecclesiastical men only are competent judges of marriage; that clandestine marriages are lawful, yet have always been detested and forbidden by the church, which hereby ordains the banns to be proclaimed on three several days, after which, if no objection be offered, the marriage may be In certain cases, the banns may be dispensed with celebrated. by the ordinary.

The two months from the 11th of November, the date of the preceding decrees, till the council terminated, were occupied with deliberations and decrees of regulation respecting churches and monasteries, which were either treated and decreed before, or were more suitable to a bishop's court than a national council. But the pope and the legates were alarmed by the discussions, especially on residence and the divine right of episcopacy. The session and council, therefore, finally concluded. The decrees were

subscribed by four legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, 168 bishops, seven abbots, thirty-nine proctors or episcopal deputies, and seven generals of monastic orders.

From this rapid sketch of the council of Trent, it appears that nothing was determined respecting the supremacy and infallibility of the pope; whether he was superior or inferior to a general council; or whether he was alone infallible, or merely acting as the organ of the church or general council. His agents had always influence enough, when these subjects were proposed, to prevent them from being deliberated or decided on. Of course they remained as they were left by the council of Constance. But the pope claimed to be the infallible head of the church on earth; and the great body, both of clergy and laity, have tacitly admitted his claim.*

I shall close the present lecture with a short account of the institution of the order of the Jesuits, for which I own myself indebted to the pen of the late Sir James Mackintosh. Thus he writes:—

The institution of the Jesuits originated about the year 1538, and its object was to counteract the heretical spirit of the followers of Luther. Ignatius, or Inigo Loyola, a Spanish Biscayan, of ardent and meditative temper, had imbibed a more than usual portion of the hatred towards the enemies of the catholic religion which Spaniards had, beyond other nations, learnt in the course of the mortal feuds and fierce wars which had for centuries raged between the Christians and Mahometans of the peninsula, rather with the fury of civil discord, than with the more regulated hostilities of foreign warfare. He was distinguished by imagination and feeling. His breast glowed with ardent but mistaken piety; his religion was that of a soldier determined to defend his faith, and ready to spread it by the sword. All the noble feats of Spaniards had been achieved for religion. It was the basis of their martial renown, and of their national honour. He who was not an orthodox catholic could not be embraced as a true Loyola and his first associates amounted only to Spaniard.

History of the Council of Trent, by Fra. Paolo, passim. Dr. Rankin's History of France, vol. ix.; Dupin, b. iii. Cent. 16.



eight, all superior to other men in enthusiasm and fortitude; some possessed of those great qualities which enable men to produce mighty changes in the opinions of their fellows, and to exercise a lasting sway over willing minds. Their original purpose was limited to pilgrimages to the holy sepulchre, and missions into unbelieving lands. Faure, Iai, and Coduri, of Geneva: Lainez, Salmeron, and Bobadilla, Spaniards: Roderic and Xavier, Portuguese; and Broet, from Dauphiné, were the original Jesuits, of whom Francis Xavier, the apostle of the Indies, was a man worthy of honour, for devoting himself to a life of suffering for what he believed to be the supreme good of mankind; and the name of Lainez, the second general, cannot be forgotten, as the man of legislative genius, who formed the plan and laid the foundation of that system which rendered the order memorable. Pope Paul III. approved of their institution, under the name of "The Society of Jesus," on condition that their number should not exceed sixty. In 1543, when the restriction was removed, they increased to eighty. In the course of about fifty years their number was estimated at more than 10,000, or, according to some accounts, at nearly double that great number. They were neither confined nor apparelled like monks. They were allowed to live in the world dressed like the secular clergy. They were destined to preach, to teach, to confute heretics, to convert unbelievers, to confess dying penitents, or to act in any manner required by the holy see for the interests of religion. The authority of their general was more absolute than that of the chief of any other order; and they were dispensed from the obligation of offering daily prayers in public, that they might have more leisure for their special and momentous destination.

Having arisen in the age of reformation, they became the chosen champions of the church against her new enemies. They used some generous and liberal weapons in their warfare. Instead of following the unlettered monks, who decried knowledge as the parent of heresy, they joined in the general movement of mankind towards polite literature, which they cultivated with splendid success. They were the earliest reformers of European education. "For education," said Lord Bacon, "consult the college of the Jesuits. Nothing hitherto tried in practice

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surpasses them." "Education," says he, "has been in some sort revived in the colleges of the Jesuits, of whom, in regard to this and other sorts of human learning and moral discipline, talis cum sis utinam noster esses."

Secularly subjected to the see of Rome by their constitution, they were devoted to its highest pretensions from feeling the necessity of a monarchical power to conduct their efforts against formidable enemies. While the nations of the Spanish peninsula, with barbaric chivalry, carried religion at the point of the sword to the uttermost extremes of the east and the west, the Jesuits reclaimed the American cannibals from savage customs, and taught them the arts and duties of a civilized life. they suffered martyrdom with heroic constancy. They penetrated the barrier which shuts out strangers from China; and by the obvious usefulness of their scientific acquirements they obtained toleration, patronage, and honours, from the most jealous of governments. They were fitted, by their release from conventual life, and from their allowed intercourse with the world, to be the confessors of kings; and while some guided the conscience of a royal penitent at Versailles or Vienna, others were teaching the use of the spade and the shuttle in California, and a third body were braving a death of torture from the mountain chiefs of southern India. No community ever practised with so much success the art of discerning the fitness of a peculiar frame of mind for some specific station. Hence this society of missionaries and schoolmasters had to boast of the most vigorous controversialists, the most polite scholars, the most refined courtiers, and (unfortunately) the most flexible casuists. of their age.

They are the strongest, if not the only, proof afforded by authentic history, that an artificial system of government and education, formed at once by human contrivance, is, in some circumstances, more capable of attaining its proposed object than the general experience of mankind would warrant us to expect. The Jesuits had not leisure for works of genius or for discoveries in science, to say nothing of philosophical speculation, from which last they were interdicted by the adoption, or sometimes only by the profession, of implicit faith. Though they covered the world for two centuries with their fame and their power, they

had no names who could be opposed to Racine and Pascal, the produce of the little persecuted community of Port Royal during its short and precarious existence. This observation, however, only imports that their powers were more applied to active than to contemplative life. They were hated by the secular clergy, and envied by other regulars, because they were the most potent of all associations of a monastic nature. They were watched with jealousy by statesmen and magistrates, on account of their boundless obedience to the see of Rome. To exalt the papal power, they renewed the scholastic doctrine of the popular delegation of the powers of government to rulers. The people themselves were on all controversies between them and their chiefs, to listen with reverential awe and unconditional subjection to the holy pontiff, the pastor of all subjects and sovereigns.

The doctrine of deposition and regicide were not peculiar to the Jesuits. They had been taught by other religious orders; and the first of them had been inculcated by Aquinas himself, the main column of the theological schools. It had been adopted by eminent persons among those protestants who, under Calvin, had risen against the civil authority, instead of being influenced by its guidance like the followers of Luther. But the whole odium belonging to some of these opinions fell on the Jesuits, the stanchest polemics of the court of Rome, who were looked on with an evil eye by those true catholics who acknowledged no final jurisdiction but that of the universal church, while they religiously respected the independent authority of the civil magistrate. As the Jesuits were a militia called out to combat the reformation, it is no wonder that they were regarded throughout all the reformed communions as incendiaries, always engaged in plotting the overthrow of protestant thrones, and in heaping up fuel to feed the flames by which alone protestant nations could be recalled from heresy.

But they owed their decay to the use of the fatal expedients to which many of them, doubtless, trusted as the strongest props of their greatness. However shallow statesmen may be deluded by some short and superficial appearances to the contrary, it is a truth proclaimed by the whole course of human affairs, that public bodies and associations vested with legal rights cannot very long survive the decline and downfal of their moral

character. General contempt and disgust are fatal to institutions which can flourish only by reverence. The corruption of those who profess to teach morality, or are appointed to enforce it, is an inconsistency which in the course of time shocks even the profligate. The Jesuits split upon this rock. They had too carefully cultivated the dangerous science of casuistry, the inevitable growth of the practices of confession and absolution, which, by inuring the mind to the habitual contemplation of those extreme cases in which there is a conflict of duties, and where one virtue may or must be sacrificed for the sake of a greater, does more to lessen the authority of conscience than to guide its perplexities. Casuistry has generally vibrated between the extremes of impracticable severity and contemptible indulgence. The irresponsible guides to the conscience of kings were led to treat their penitents with a very compliant morality, by the belief that no other could be observed by such penitents, by making too large allowances for the allurements which palliate royal vices, by the real difficulty of discovering when more austerity might plunge a prince into deeper depravity, by the immense importance of rendering his measures and councils, if not his example, favourable to religion, to say nothing of the subtle snares with which selfishness and ambition, often without the consciousness of the individuals, surrounded their narrow and slippery path. These and the like circumstances betrayed some of their doctors into shocking principles, which were held out to the world as the maxim of the society itself by the wit and eloquence of Pascal, one of the greatest, and, except to the Jesuits, one of the most just of men. The order certainly did not adopt the odious extravagances of some members. But the immoralities were not sufficiently disavowed. The selection of particular cases as matter of charge against a large body, has often the unjust effect of exaggeration. Yet it must be owned that invidious selections, and even gross exaggeration, are the indications of a proneness in the accused body towards the vice which appears in its harshest and most hideous shape in some of their members; and that they are a sort of natural, though not nicely equal, punishment of the wrong disposition which has infected the whole mass.

LECTURE LXXI.

Progress of the reformation in the Netherlands during the sixteenth century—Character of Philip II.—His zeal for popery—Issues sanguinary edicts—Establishes a species of inquisition—Philip's conduct towards his Spanish subjects—Advice of the prince of Orange to the regent of the Netherlands—The protestants sign "The Compromise"—Noble speech of the prince of Orange—Philip sends the duke of Alva with an army into the Netherlands to extirpate heresy—His sanguinary proceedings—And answer to the people of Antwerp. A.D. 1550—1570.

In the succession of kings by whom Spain had been governed for about the space of 300 years, the popes of Rome had generally found a race of obsequious princes, seldom reluctant to yield their concurrence with any measures that might be proposed for the destruction of heretics. But about the middle of the sixteenth century it was the misfortune of that country to possess a monarch whose zeal for the extirpation of heretical pravity surpassed even that of popes and cardinals. This monarch was Philip II., son of the emperor Charles V., and of Isabella, daughter of Immanuel the Great, king of Portugal. He was born on the 27th of May, 1527, and educated in Spain, under ecclesiastics noted for their bigotry, which may account for several of those features in his character that afterwards appeared so prominently in his conduct. He was the most powerful monarch of the age; for, besides the government of Spain, he possessed the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; the duchy of Milan, Franche Compté, and VOL. III. A A

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the Netherlands, or, as they were then generally termed, the Low Countries.

These provinces, which, on account of their situation, are called the Netherlands, had been long governed by their respective princes, under the titles of dukes, marquises, or counts; and under the administration of the princes of the house of Burgundy, they had flourished in trade, commerce, and manufactures, beyond any other European state. No city, in those days, except Venice, possessed such extensive commerce as Antwerp. It was the great mart of all the northern nations. Bruges was little inferior; and in the city of Ghent there were many thousand artificers employed in the woollen manufacture long before the art was known to the English, from whom the wool was purchased by the industrious Flemings.

In consequence of the constant intercourse which subsisted between Germany and the Netherlands, we may naturally suppose that the doctrines of the reformers would be early propagated from the former to the latter country; and accordingly, in the month of May, 1521, even before the days of Philip, his father, the emperor Charles V., had published an edict, in which all the penalties of high treason were pronounced against heretics. In the execution of this edict, which Charles, from time to time, renewed, all the fury of persecution was exercised; and it is affirmed by several cotemporary historians, that during his reign fifty thousand of the inhabitants of the Netherlands were put to death on account of their religious principles.* Those principles, however, far from being extirpated, became more generally propagated and diffused amidst the severities which were employed to suppress them.

Before the emperor Charles V. had resigned the reins of government to his son Philip, great numbers of his subjects had begun to retire from the provinces of the Netherlands, and to transport their families and effects to the neighbouring states; and when he was informed of this by the regent, who was his sister and queen dowager of Hungary, his heart relented for the calamities of his people, and he dreaded the consequences of depopu-

^{*} F. Paul's History of the Council of Trent, b. v. Grotius doubles the number!

lating a country from which he had often received the most effectual assistance and support. But these considerations had no influence on his son Philip. He republished the edicts of his father, and ordered the governors and magistrates to carry them into rigorous execution.

In these edicts it was enacted, that all persons who held erroneous opinions in religion should be deprived of their offices, and degraded from their rank. It was ordained, that whoever should be convicted of having taught heretical doctrines, or of having been present at the religious meetings of heretics, should, if they were men, be put to death by the sword; and if women, be burned alive. Such were the punishments demounced even against those who repented of their errors and forsook them; while all who persisted in them were condemned to the flames. And even those who afforded shelter to heretics in their houses, or who omitted to give information against them, were subjected to the same penalties as heretics themselves.

But Philip could not content himself with publishing and executing these cruel edicts. He also established a particular tribunal for the extirpation of heresy, which, although it was not called by the name inquisition, had all the essentials of that iniquitous institution. Persons were committed to prison upon bare suspicion, and put to the torture on the slightest evidence. The accused were not confronted with their accusers, or made acquainted with the crimes for which they suffered. The civil judges were not allowed to take any further concern in prosecutions for heresy, than to execute the sentences which the inquisitors pronounced. The possessions of the sufferers were confiscated; and informers were encouraged by an assurance of impunity in case they themselves were guilty, and by the promise of rewards.*

That the establishment of this arbitrary tribunal should have excited considerable commotion in the Netherlands, can occasion no surprise. It had created disturbances even in Spain and Italy, where civil liberty was not enjoyed in the measure that it was in the Netherlands. Among the Flemings, therefore, it excited the most terrible apprehensions: they considered it as

[•] Grotius, Annales, lib. i.

utterly subversive of their liberty. But to the grievances already enumerated, the inhabitants of the Netherlands further complained that the provinces were filled with Spanish soldiers, whose insolent and rapacious behaviour was intolerable. And to all these causes of discontent, Philip added another by increasing the number of bishoprics from five to seventeen, which was the number of the provinces. These new bishops were regarded as so many new inquisitors, and their creation was considered as an encroachment on the privileges of the provinces, and a violation, on the part of the king, of the oath which he had taken at his accession, to preserve the church in the condition in which he found it. Such was the state of affairs, when Philip, who had for some time taken up his residence among his subjects in the Netherlands, proposed, in the year 1559, to quit the country and fix the seat of his government in Spain. During his absence the government of the Netherlands was conferred upon the duchess of Parma, who was a natural daughter of the late emperor, and who sustained the title of regent.

As Philip did not intend to return speedily to the Netherlands, he thought proper, before his departure, to summon a convention of the states, which was accordingly held at Ghent. He himself was present, accompanied by the new regent, at the first opening of the assembly; but as he could not speak the language of the country, he employed the bishop of Arras to address the deputies in his name. Among other things, the latter was instructed earnestly to exhort the states to study to preserve the public peace; and to this end he thought nothing could conduce so much as the extirpation of heresy, which, whilst it set men at variance with God, put arms into their hands against their civil sovereign. They were, therefore, strenuously exhorted to maintain the purity of their ancient faith; and for this purpose, to execute vigorously the several edicts published for the suppression of heresy.

The reply of the deputies of the states to this speech contained the warmest sentiments of loyalty, but it was also accompanied with intimations, that they had expected the foreign troops would have been immediately transported to Spain,—that they were unable to discover any reason for keeping them any longer in the



Netherlands, but such as filled their minds with terror. Their suspicion that the inquisition was about to be established in the Netherlands excited the most disquieting apprehensions. of the deputies did not scruple to remonstrate openly, that the Netherlands had never been accustomed to an institution of so much rigour and severity; that the people trembled at the very name of the inquisition, and would fly to the remotest corners of the earth rather than submit to it; that it was not by fire and the sword, but by the gentlest and softest remedies, that the evil complained of must be cured. Various representations of this kind were addressed to the king himself by some of the deputies, who endeavoured to persuade him at least to moderate the edicts, if he would not entirely annul them; but on this head Philip was inexorable. And when one of his ministers reported, that by persisting in the execution of those edicts he might kindle the seeds of rebellion, and thereby lose the sovereignty of the provinces, he replied, "That he had much rather be no king at all, than have heretics for his subjects."*

His religion was of all superstitions the most intolerant; his temper of mind, which was naturally haughty and severe; his pride, which would have been wounded by yielding to what he had repeatedly declared he would never yield; his engagements with the pope, and an oath which he had taken to devote his reign to the defence of the popish faith, and the extirpation of heresy; above all, his thirst for despotic power, with which he considered the liberties claimed in religious matters by the protestants as utterly incompatible;—all these united causes rendered him deaf to the remonstrances which were made to him, and fixed him unalterably in his resolution to execute the edicts with the utmost rigour. He shewed himself equally inflexible with regard to the new bishoprics; nor would he consent, at this time, to withdraw the Spanish soldiers. In order, however, to lessen the odium arising from his refusal, he offered the command of these troops to the prince of Orange and count Egmont, the two ablest and most popular noblemen in the Netherlands; the former of whom he had appointed governor of Holland, Zealand,

^{*} Bentiveglio, lib. i., p. 9, 10.

and Utrecht; and the latter of Artois and Flanders. Both of them declined accepting of the offer which was made to them, and had the courage to declare, that they considered the continuance of the troops in the Low Countries, after peace had been established in France, as a violation of the fundamental laws of the constitution.

The prince of Orange, so well known in history by the name of William I., was the representative of the ancient and illustrious family of Nassau, in Germany. From his ancestors, one of whom had been emperor of Germany, he inherited several rich possessions in the Netherlands; and he had succeeded to the principality of Orange by the will of René Nassau and Chalons, his cousin-germain, in the year 1544. From that time the late emperor had kept him perpetually about his person, and had early discovered in him all those extraordinary talents which rendered him afterwards one of the most illustrious personages of the age.

It does not appear that before the assembly of the states Philip had any just ground for his suspicions of William's conduct; and there is only one circumstance recorded to which they can be ascribed. The prince having been sent to France as an hostage for the execution of some articles of the peace of Chateau-Cambresis, had, during his residence there, discovered a scheme formed by the French and Spanish monarchs for the extirpation of the protestants. This scheme he had communicated to such of his friends in the Netherlands as had embraced the reformed religion, and from that time the king ceased to treat him with his wonted confidence.*

On the 20th of August, 1559, Philip set sail from the Netherlands with a fleet of seventy ships, and on the 29th arrived at Loredo, in the province of Biscay. He reached the port in safety, but no sooner had he landed than a dreadful storm arcse, in which a part of his fleet was shipwrecked, above a thousand men perished, and a great number of capital paintings, statues, and other curious works of art, were lost, which the late emperor, Charles, had been employed during forty years in collecting, in

[&]quot;Thuanus, tom. i., lib. xxii., sect. 10.

Germany, Italy, and Flanders. Philip thought he could not, on this occasion, better express his gratitude for his own personal preservation, than by declaring his resolution to dedicate his life to the defence of the catholic faith and the extirpation of heresy; and such were the feelings with which he was animated when he entered Spain.

The inquisition had been introduced into Spain about a century before this time; and it met with the entire approbation and countenance of Philip, who had imbibed, in all its virulence, that spirit of bigotry and persecution which gave it birth. regarded heretics as the most odious of criminals; and considered a departure of his subjects from the Roman superstition as the most dreadful calamity that could befal them. therefore determined to support the inquisitors with all his power, and he encouraged them to exert themselves in the exercise of their office with the utmost vigilance. The zeal and diligence of these men corresponded to the ardour with which their sovereign was inflamed; yet so irresistible was the spirit of inquiry and the force of truth, that the opinions of the reformers had found their way into Spain, and were embraced openly by great numbers of both sexes, among whom were several priests and nuns.

Before Philip's arrival in the city of Valladolid, an auto-da-fé had been celebrated, in which a great number of protestants had been committed to the flames. There were still in the prisons of the inquisition more than thirty persons, against whom the same dreadful punishment had been denounced. Philip, eager to give public proof as early as possible of his abhorrence of these innovators, desired the inquisitors to fix a day for their execution; and he resolved to witness it. The dreadful ceremony (more repugnant to humanity, as well as to the spirit of the Christian religion, than the most abominable sacrifices recorded in the annals of the pagan world) was conducted with the greatest solemnity which the inquisitors could devise; and Philip, attended by his son Don Carlos, by his sister, and by his courtiers and guards, sat within sight of the unhappy victims. After hearing a sermon from the bishop of Zamora, he rose from his seat, and having drawn his sword, as a signal that with it he would defend the

holy faith, he took an oath administered to him by the inquisitorgeneral, to support the inquisition and its ministers against all heretics and apostates, and to compel his subjects everywhere to yield obedience to its decrees.

Among the protestants condemned, there was a nobleman of the name of Don Carlos di Sessa, who, when the executioners were conducting him to the stake, called out to the king for mercy, saying, "And canst thou thus, O king! witness the torments of thy subjects? Save us from this cruel death; we do not deserve it." "No," Philip sternly replied, "I would myself carry wood to burn my own son, were he such a wretch as thou." After which he beheld the horrid spectacle that followed with a composure and tranquillity that betokened the most unfeeling heart.

This dreadful severity, joined with certain rigid laws, enacted to prevent the importation of Lutheran books, soon produced the desired effect. After the celebration of another auto-da-fé, in which about fifty protestants suffered, all the rest, if there were any who still remained, either concealed their sentiments, or made their escape into foreign parts.*

But though Philip had, for a moment, banished the heretics from his Spanish dominions, he had the mortification to contemplate the rapid progress of heresy in almost every other state in Europe; and, in order to obstruct it, he employed all his influence to procure the convocation of a general council of the church. For several centuries before the reformation, and for some time after it had been set on foot, the bigotry of the papists would not suffer them to think of any other means of extirpating the opinions of the protestants, but persecution, which was exercised against them with the same unrelenting severity as if they had been guilty of the most atrocious crimes. But it soon appeared how inadequate this barbarous procedure was to the purpose which the Romanists intended. Those bloody edicts which were published, those fires which were lighted up, and that variety of torments which priests and inquisitors invented with ingenious cruelty, served in reality to propagate the doctrines against which

^{*} Watson's History of Philip II., vol. i., b. iv.

they were employed, and contributed to inflame, rather than extinguish, that ardent zeal with which the protestants were animated. Being firmly persuaded that the cause which they maintained was the cause of God and truth, and that their perseverance would be rewarded with a happy immortality, they courted their punishments instead of avoiding them; and, in bearing them, displayed a degree of fortitude and patience, which, by exciting admiration in the beholders, produced innumerable proselytes to the faith for which they suffered.

Several princes had embraced the doctrines of the reformers. In some states the protestants had become more numerous and powerful than their opponents; and in others, their opinions so generally prevailed, that the catholic princes found it no longer possible to extirpate them, without depriving themselves of great multitudes of their most industrious subjects, on whom the wealth and importance of their states depended. The time when persecution might have proved effectual was past, and the princes came at length to perceive the necessity of having recourse to some more gentle means than had been hitherto employed. They were, at the same time, sensible, notwithstanding their prejudices against the reformers, that some reformation was extremely necessary; they had long borne with great impatience the numberless encroachments of the court of Rome, and were convinced, that if some abuses were removed, it would not be impracticable to persuade many of the protestants to return into the bosom of the church.

A general council appeared to be the only expedient by which this important end could be obtained; and the late emperor, Charles had taken infinite pains to procure the convocation of that assembly. In former times the councils of the church had been convened by the emperors themselves; but, in the time of Charles, the power of calling them was, by all true catholics, considered as the peculiar prerogative of the popes, who dreaded that such assemblies might derogate from their usurped authority, and were therefore inclined, if possible, to prevent them from being held. With the timid Clement, Charles employed all his art and influence to procure a council, but in vain. Paul III. was no less averse to this measure than Clement; but the emperor

being seconded by almost all the catholic princes in Europe, Paul yielded to their importunities, and summoned a council to meet in Trent. From this place it was afterwards translated to Bologna. After the death of Paul it was again assembled in Trent, in 1551, and continued to be held there till the year following, when it was prorogued for two years, upon war being declared against the emperor by the elector of Saxony.*

In the sessions which were held under Paul, that fundamental tenet of the reformers, by which the writings of the evangelists and apostles are held to be the only rule of the Christian faith, was condemned; and equal authority was ascribed to the books termed Apocryphal, and to the oral traditions of the church. From the manner in which the deliberations of this assembly were conducted, from the nature of its decisions, and from the blind attachment of a great majority of its members to the court of Rome, there was little ground to hope for the attainment of those ends for which the calling of it had been so earnestly desired. But no other expedient could be devised, which the catholics thought so likely to stop the progress of heresy; and therefore, as soon as the war between France and Spain was concluded, the several catholics began to think seriously of the restoration of the council.

The state of Europe at that time seemed more than ever to require the application of some immediate remedy. The power and number of the protestants were every day becoming more and more considerable. Both England and Scotland had disclaimed allegiance to the see of Rome, and new-modelled their religion. In the Netherlands the reformers had greatly multiplied of late not-withstanding the most dreadful cruelties had been exercised against them; and in France, where every province was involved in the most terrible combustion, there was ground to apprehend that they would soon become too powerful for the catholics, and be able to wrest from them the reins of government. The new opinions had penetrated even into Italy, and had been embraced by a considerable number of persons both in Naples and Savoy. From the former of these states they were extirpated by the un-

^{· •} Vide the preceding lecture.

relenting severity of Philip; who issued orders to his viceroy to put all heretics to death without mercy, and even to pursue with fire and sword a remnant of them who had fled from Cosenza, and were living quietly among the mountains.*

But in the Netherlands, the seeds of discord which were sown in that unhappy country in the beginning of the reign of Philip II. continued to approximate towards maturity. At his departure from among them he had given strict orders to the regent to enforce a rigorous execution of his edicts, and the persecutions were accordingly carried on as formerly. The council of Trent had published its decrees, and Philip resolved to have them obeyed throughout all his dominions. The disturbances which subsisted in the Low Countries ought to have deterred him from adding fuel to a flame which already burnt with so much violence; but his bigotry, together with his arbitrary maxims of government, rendered him averse to every mild expedient, and determined him to enforce obedience to the decrees in the Netherlands. as well as in Spain and Italy. When the regent laid his instructions on this head before the council of state, she found the counsellors much divided in their opinions. The prince of Orange maintained, that the regent could not require the people of the Netherlands to receive the decrees, because several of them were contrary to the fundamental laws of the constitution. represented that some catholic princes had thought proper to reject them; and proposed that a remonstrance should be made to the king on the necessity of recalling his instructions.

Let us not, by our misrepresentations, said he, make him believe the number of heretics to be smaller than it is. Let us acquaint him, that every province, every town, every village, is full of them. Let us not conceal from him how much they despise the edicts, and how little they respect the magistrates; that he may see how impracticable it is to introduce the inquisition, and be convinced that the remedy which he would have us to apply would be infinitely worse than the disease. He added, that although he was a true catholic and a faithful subject of the king, yet he thought the calamities which had been lately ex-

* F. Paul, lib. v.

perienced in France and Germany, afforded a sufficient proof that the consciences of men were not to be compelled, and that heresy was not to be extirpated by fire and sword, but by reasoning and persuasion; to which it was in vain to expect that men would be brought to listen, until the present practice of butchering them like beasts was wholly laid aside. He represented, likewise, the absurdity of publishing, on this occasion, the decrees of the council of Trent, and proposed that count Egmont should be instructed to request the king to suspend the publication of them till the present tumults were allayed.

Many of the other nobles set on foot, at this time, a confederacy, by which they bound themselves to support one another, in preventing the inquisition from being established in the Netherlands. The prime mover of this expedient was Philip de Marnix, lord of St. Aldegonde, a nobleman highly distinguished for his eloquence, his address, and his political abilities, who had the merit of contributing more than any other person (the prince of Orange alone excepted) towards accomplishing that happy revolution, by which the northern provinces were rescued from the Spanish yoke. By his advice, and according to his direction, a writing was drawn up, termed the Compromise, which is here inserted, as it marks strongly the spirit by which the people of the Netherlands were animated.

"Whereas certain malicious persons, under the cloak of zeal for the catholic religion, but in reality prompted by ambition, pride, and avarice, have, by their misrepresentations, persuaded our lord the king to introduce into these provinces that most pernicious tribunal—the inquisition, which is not only contrary to all human and divine laws, but exceeds in cruelty the most barbarous institutions of the most savage tyrants in the heathen world, which subjects all authority to that of the inquisitors, reduces all men to a perpetual state of miserable slavery, and by the visitations which it appoints, exposes the best men to continual apprehensions; so that if a priest, a Spaniard, or wicked minion of power, shall incline, he may, by means of this institution, accuse any man, however innocent, and cause him to be imprisoned, condemned, and put to death, without being confronted with his accusers, and without being allowed to bring

evidence of his innocence, or to speak in his defence: for these reasons, we whose names are here subscribed have resolved to provide for the security of our families, goods, and persons; and for this purpose we hereby enter into a sacred league with one another, promising with a solemn oath, to oppose with all our power the introduction of the above-named inquisition into these provinces, whether it shall be attempted openly or secretly. and by whatever name it shall be called, whether that of inquisition, visitation, commission, or edict; declaring, at the same time, that we are far from entertaining the design of attempting anything prejudicial to the interest of our sovereign the king; but, on the contrary, that our fixed intention is to support and defend his government, to maintain peace, and to prevent, to the utmost of our power, all seditions, tumults, and revolts. This agreement we have sworn; and we hereby promise and swear to maintain it for ever sacred; and we call Almighty God to witness, that neither in word or deed shall we ever weaken or counteract it.

"We likewise promise and swear mutually to defend one another, in all places, and on all occasions, against every attack that shall be made, or prosecution that shall be raised, against any individual amongst us, on account of his concern in this confederacy. And we declare, that no pretence of the persecutors, who may allege rebellion, insurrection, or any other plea, shall exempt us from this our oath and promise. No action can deserve the name of rebellion that proceeds from opposition to the iniquitous decrees of the inquisition; and therefore, whether any of us be attacked directly on account of opposing these decrees, or under pretence of punishing rebellion or insurrection, we hereby swear to endeavour, by all lawful means, to procure his deliverance.

"In this and every part of our conduct regarding the inquisition, our meaning is, to submit to the general opinion of our confederates, or to that of those who shall be appointed by the rest to assist us with their counsel.

"In witness of this our league, we invoke the holy name of the living God, as the searcher of our hearts; humbly beseeching him to grant us the grace of his Holy Spirit, and that all our enterprises may be attended with success, may promote the honour of his name, contribute to the welfare of our souls, and advance the peace and true interest of the Netherlands."

Such were the terms of the Compromise, which was quickly circulated through the provinces, and subscribed by persons of all ranks, whether catholics or protestants. Books were, at the same time, multiplied, in which liberty of conscience was pleaded, the absurdities in the popish doctrines and worship exposed, and hideous pictures drawn of the inquisition.

The regent felt great anxiety with regard to the consequences with which so much ill-humour and discontent were likely to be attended. She had never fully credited the representations which the prince of Orange and some of her other counsellors had often made to her. And she now complained bitterly of the situation to which she was reduced by the orders sent from Spain. "For to what purpose was it," she said, "to publish edicts, when I wanted power to enforce their execution? They have served only to increase the people's audacity, and to bring my authority into contempt."

The prince of Orange, and the counts Horn and Egmont, had, ever since the last republication of the edicts, absented themselves from the council. The regent now wrote to them in the most urgent manner, requiring their attendance. They readily complied; and the regent, after having informed them of her design in calling them together, desired they would deliver their opinions without reserve. The prince of Orange was among the last who rose, and he spoke as follows:—

"Would to heaven I had been so fortunate as to gain belief, when I ventured to foretel what has now happened. Desperate remedies would not, in that case, have been first applied, nor persons who had fallen into error been confirmed in it, by the means employed to reclaim them. We should not certainly think favourably of a physician's prudence, who, in the beginning of a disease, when gentle remedies were likely to prove effectual, should propose the burning or cutting off the part infected. There are two species of inquisition. The one is exercised in the name of the pope, and the other has been long practised by the bishops. To the latter, men are, in some measure, recon-

ciled by the power of custom; and considering how well we are now provided with bishops in all the provinces, it may reasonably be expected that this sort will alone be found sufficient. The former has been, and will for ever be, an object of abhorrence, and ought to be abolished without delay.

"With respect to those edicts which have been so often published against the innovators in religion, hearken not to me, but to your own experience, which will inform you, that the persecutions to which they have given rise have served only to increase and propagate the errors against which they have been exercised. The Netherlands have, for several years, been a school, in which, if we have not been extremely inattentive, we may have learned the folly of persecution. Men do not for nothing forego the advantages of life; much less do they expose themselves to torture and death for nothing. The contempt of death and pain exhibited by heretics in suffering for their religion, is calculated to produce the most powerful effects on the minds of spectators. It works on their compassion, it excites their admiration of the sufferers, and creates in them a suspicion, that truth must certainly be found where they observe so much constancy and fortitude. Heretics have been treated with the same severity in France and England as in the Low Countries. But has it been attended there with better success? On the contrary, is there not reason, there as well as here, to say what was said of the Christians of old, that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. The Emperor Julian, the most formidable enemy that Christianity ever had, was fully sensible of the truth of this. Harassing and tormenting could only serve, he knew, to inflame that ardent zeal which he wanted to extinguish. He had recourse therefore to the expedient of ridicule and contempt; and this he found to be more effectual. The Grecian empire was, at different periods, infected with heresies of various kinds. Ærius taught errors in the reign of Constance; Nestorius in that of Theodosius; Arius in that of Constantine. No such punishments were inflicted, either on the heresiarchs themselves or on their disciples, as are now practised in the Netherlands; and yet where are all those false opinions now, which the first broachers were at so much pains to propagate? Such is the nature of heresy, if it rests it rusts; but he who rubs it, whets it. Let it be neglected and overlooked, it will soon lose the charm of novelty; and with that, it will lose the greatest part of its attractive power. But they are not the examples only of heathen princes which I would recommend to the regent's imitation. In complying with my advice, she will tread in the steps of our late glorious emperor, her father, who, from experience, was convinced that gentle measures were more likely to prove effectual than severe ones; and therefore adopted the former in preference to the latter, for several years before his resignation.

"The king himself appeared, at a certain period, inclined to make trial of mild expedients; but, through the influence of the bishops and other ecclesiastics, he has changed his views. Let these men answer for their conduct if they can. For my own part, I am entirely satisfied that it is impossible to root out the present evils in the Netherlands by force, without shaking the state from its foundation. I conclude with reminding you of what we have all heard frequently, that the protestants in the Low Countries have opened a correspondence with those in France. Let us beware of irritating them more than we have already done, lest by imitating the French catholics in their severity, we, like them, involve our country in the dreadful miseries of a civil war."

The regent, finding that her situation became every day more critical, informed the king of it, who immediately sent the duke of Alva, a nobleman of the most imperious character, tyrannical and vindictive in the extreme, to execute his pleasure in the Netherlands, armed with full power to punish or to pardon crimes of every sort. He began his administration with publishing a declaration, that a month should be allowed to the reformers for preparing to leave the country, without receiving, during that space, any trouble or molestation, and at the same time he issued secret orders to the inquisitors to proceed immediately in the execution of their edicts with the utmost rigour. To assist and encourage these men in the exercise of their office, he instituted a new council, to which he gave the name of the Council of Tumults, which he appointed to take cognizance of the late disorders, and to search after and punish all those who had been concerned,

directly or indirectly, in promoting them. This council consisted of twelve persons, the greatest part of whom were Spaniards. The duke was the president himself, and in his absence, Vargas, a Spanish lawyer, distinguished above all his countrymen by his avarice and cruelty.

One of the first deeds of this tribunal, which might well be called, as the Flemings termed it, the Council of Blood, was to declare, that to have presented or subscribed any petition against the late erection of bishoprics, or against the edicts or inquisition, or to have permitted the exercise of the new religion under any pretence whatever; or to insinuate by word of mouth or writing, that the king has no right to abolish those pretended privileges which have been the source of so much impiety, is treason against the king, and justly merits the severest punishment he shall be pleased to inflict.

The governor had already stationed his army in such a manner as he thought would most effectually secure the execution of this cruel, undistinguishing resolution of the council. In Antwerp he built a citadel, and compelled the inhabitants to defray the expense which this instrument of their own slavery had cost him. He began to build citadels in other places; and, in the meantime, he spread his troops over the country in such formidable bodies, that the people over whom they exercised the most oppressive tyranny, either forsook their habitations, or gave themselves up to despair. Above twenty thousand persons escaped at this time into France, England, and the protestant provinces of Germany. Great numbers were prevented from flying, and seized whilst they were meditating flight, by the cruel hand of the persecutor. innocent were overwhelmed with horror at the sight of the dreadful punishments inflicted on the guilty, and lamented that this once flourishing country, so much distinguished for the mildness of its government and the happiness of its people, should now present no other object to view, but confiscations, imprisonments, and blood.

There was no distinction made of age, sex, or condition. Persons in their earliest youth; persons worn out, and ready to sink under the infirmities of age; persons of the highest rank, as well as the lowest of the people, on the slightest evidence, and sometimes even on bare suspicion, were alike sacrificed to the rapacity and cruelty of the governor and his associates.

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Although in the space of a few months upwards of 1800 persons suffered by the hand of the executioner, yet the duke of Alva's thirst of blood was not satiated. Prisoners were not brought in so fast, nor seized in such considerable numbers, as he desired. The time of carnival was approaching, when he expected that he should find the reformers off their guard. They would then leave their skulking-places, he supposed, and visit their families, while the catholics were immersed in mirth and dissipation. On this occasion his soldiers, accompanied by the inquisitors, like so many wolves, were let loose among the protestants; who were seized in the middle of the night in their beds, and from thence dragged to prisons and dungeons.

Many who had been only once present at the protestant assemblies, even although they declared their faith in the catholic religion to be firm and unshaken, were hanged or drowned; while those who professed themselves to be protestants, or refused to abjure their religion, were put to the rack, in order to make them discover their associates; they were then dragged by horses to the place of execution, and their bodies being committed to the flames, their sufferings were prolonged with ingenious cruelty.

To prevent them from bearing testimony, in the midst of their torments, to the truth of their profession, their executioners were not satisfied with barely confining their tongues; they first scorched them with a glowing iron, and then screwed them into a machine, contrived on purpose to produce the most exeruciating pain.

It is shocking to recount the numberless instances of inhuman cruelty perpetrated by Alva and his associates, especially when we consider that the unhappy victims were not those hardened wretches, who, by daring and bloody deeds, are guilty of violating the laws of nature and humanity, but were generally persons of the most inoffensive characters; who, having imbibed the new opinions in religion, had too much probity to disguise their sentiments; or, at the worst, had been betrayed into indiscretions by their zeal for propagating truths, which they believed to be of the highest importance to the glory of God and the happiness of men.

Alva communicated a great share of his savage spirit to the inferior magistrates; who knew that they could not recommend themselves more effectually either to the king or to the governor than by the exercise of rigour and severity. Several of them, however,

whose humanity prevailed over the considerations of safety and interest, were induced to give the protestants timely warning to withdraw. Even the members of the bloody council began to feel their hearts revolt against the reiterated instances of cruelty to which their sanction was required. Some of them applied for dismission; others had the courage to absent themselves; and out of the twelve, of which the council was composed, there were seldom above three or four present.

About this time, the magistrates of Antwerp, whose behaviour from the beginning of Alva's administration had been extremely obsequious, thought they might venture to interpose in favour of certain citizens whom the inquisitors had imprisoned. Their petition was conceived in the humblest terms; and they represented, that although the persons for whom they pleaded had been present two or three times in the protestant assemblies, yet it was only curiosity that had led them thither; they were still true sons of the church, and faithful subjects to the king; and they had remained in the country till the time of their imprisonment, on the faith of the declaration which the governor had made, that they should not receive any disturbance on account of what had passed, till the expiration of a month after his arrival in the Netherlands.

To this petition Alva haughtily replied, that he was amazed at their folly in presuming to apply to him in behalf of heretics; and they should have reason, he added, to repent bitterly of their conduct, if they did not act more prudently in future; for they might rest assured, that he would hang them all, for an example to deter others from the like presumption.

Notwithstanding thia, some of the catholic nobility, and Viglius, who had formerly concurred in all the arbitrary measures of Granvelle, but whose heart melted at the present misery of his countrymen, had the courage to remonstrate to the king against the governor's barbarity. Even the pope exhorted him to greater moderation. Philip, however, refused to countermand the orders which he had given till he should hear from Vargas, who advised him to persevere in the plan which he had adopted, assured him of its success, and at the same time flattered him with the hopes of an inexhaustible fund of wealth that would arise from confiscation. Vargas being seconded by the inquisitors at Madrid, Philip lent a deaf ear to the remonstrance which had been made

to him, and the persecutions were continued with the same unrelenting fury as before.

The people of the Netherlands were confirmed in their despair of obtaining mercy from Philip, by the accounts transmitted to them, at this time, from Spain, of his cruel treatment of his son, Don Carlos, whom he treated with savage barbarity. The son had not scrupled, on different occasions, to censure the measures of his father's government, and particularly those which had been adopted in the Netherlands. He had sometimes expressed his compassion, for the people there had threatened the duke of Alva, and was suspected of holding secret interviews with the marquis of Mons and Baron de Montigny; and had afterwards formed the design of retiring into the Netherlands, with an intention of putting himself at the head of the malcontents.

Of this design intelligence was carried by some of the courtiers to the king, who, after having consulted with the inquisitors, at Madrid, as he usually did in matters of great importance and difficulty, resolved to prevent the prince from putting his scheme into execution, by depriving him of his liberty. For this purpose he went into his chamber in the middle of the night attended by some of his privy counsellors and guards, and, after reproaching him with his undutiful behaviour, told him that he had come to exercise his paternal correction and chastisement. Then, having dismissed all his attendants, he commanded him to be clothed in a dark-coloured mourning dress, and appointed guards to watch over him, and to confine him to his chamber. The high-spirited young prince was extremely shocked at such unworthy treatment, and prayed his father and his attendants to put an immediate end to his life. He threw himself headlong into the fire, and would have put an end to his life had he not been prevented by the guards. During his confinement, his despair and anguish rose to a degree of frenzy. But his father was relentless and inexorable; and after six months' imprisonment, he caused the inquisition of Madrid to pass sentence against his son, and, under the cover of that sentence, ordered poison to be given him, which in a few hours put a period to his miserable life, at the age of twenty-three. *

^{*} Watson's History of Philip II., vol. i., b. viii.



LECTURE LXXII.

Some account of the Mennonites, or modern Dutch Baptists—Inquiry respecting their origin—Their distinguishing tenets—The sect brought prominently forward by the Lutheran reformation—Disgraced by the Munster Anabaptists—Fanatical principles and extravagant conduct of the leaders of that faction—Sanguinary punishments to which they were subjected—Appearance of Menno Simon, and particulars of his history—Draws up a syllabus of doctrines, and a plan of church government—The Mennonites repudiate the imputation of their descent from the Munster anabaptists—Mosheim's explanation of this point—Avowed principles of the Mennonites—Their principles justified—The discipline of their churches rigorous and austere—Section of the Waterlandians—The Mennonites tolerated under the Dutch government.

A. D. 1500—1600.

It is my intention in the present lecture to furnish some account of a sect which sprang up in Germany, or, perhaps I ought rather to say, which first began to obtain visibility as a distinct denomination in the Christian church about twenty years after the rise of the Lutheran reformation. And I am induced to adopt this course from various considerations, which will appear in the sequel. Scarcely any sect that has arisen since the days of the apostles has been more "spoken against." It is therefore desirable to ascertain how far they are deservedly entitled to the torrent of obloquy which has been heaped upon them; and if it should appear to be unmerited, to vindicate the cause of God and truth against its revilers and gainsayers.

For the materials of their history I acknowledge myself indebted, chiefly, to the learned Dr. Mosheim, who, living among their descendants, was familiar with their language, and having access to the best means of information respecting them, I consider the best guide to follow. I shall therefore, unhesitatingly, adopt his narrative for my text, accompanying it with such notes and observations as it appears to me to require; and let me add, that one thing which renders these annotations necessary is, that Mosheim was an advocate for a national establishment of religion, which the Mennonites protested against and consequently it forms the ground of his heaviest charges of blame against them. It is true, also, that since the time in which Dr. Mosheim wrote, some additional light has been thrown upon the history of this people, by travellers and historians, of which it will be desirable to avail ourselves, so that the subject may be freed from much misrepresentation, and, as far as circumstances will permit, presented to the reader in an impartial light. I will, however, before introducing the extract from Mosheim, submit a brief notice of these same people, of a more recent date, which I find in a volume, entitled, "Farewell Letters to a few Friends in Britain and America on returning to Bengal, in 1821. By William Ward, of Serampore." 3rd ed. 1822. Thus Mr. Ward writes:-

The following account of the origin of the Dutch baptists is given by Dr. Ypeij, principal teacher of theology at Groningen, and by the Rev. J. J. Dermont, secretary to the synod of the Dutch reformed church, preacher at the Hague, and chaplain to the king of the Netherlands. It appears in the first volume of a work published by these gentlemen at Breds, in the year 1819.

"The present race of Dutch baptists are descended from the evangelical Waldenses, who were driven by persecution into various countries, and who, during the latter part of the twelfth century, fled into Flanders, and into the provinces of Holland and Zealand, where they lived simple and exemplary lives, in the villages, as farmers, and in the towns, by trades and various handicraft labours, free from the charge of any gross immoralities, and professing the most pure and simple principles, which they exemplified in a holy conversation. They were therefore in existence long before the reformed church in the Netherlands.

"Besides other points of belief among the Waldenses, they professed to adhere only to the sacred scriptures, rejecting the authority of the fathers and ecclesiastical synods, and of the pope; and owning no representative of Christ on earth. They maintained that all the brethren were equal, and that each had a right to exhart for edification, and to reprove another in the church. They rejected transubstantiation and confession to a priest, declaring that salvation was only to be obtained by faith in Christ; and that good works would not purchase salvation; but that works were necessary as the confirmation and evidence of faith, and as obedience to the will of God. Religion, they said, was not confined to time or place; but that it was proper to meet on the first day of the week to honour God; it was duty to preach and hear the pure gospel, to honour the Saviour (but not to do homage to saints), to observe both the sacraments, &c. They professed to adhere rigidly to the scheme of Christian morals laid down by our Saviour in his sermon on the Mount: hence they judged it to be improper to bear arms; to resist injustice even by a law process, or to take an oath. From this they were called the yea and nay people.

"Respecting the government of the church, they believed it to be invested, according to apostolic example, in bishops, elders, and deacons; but they denied that these officers were to be exalted above their brethren; affirming that they, like the apostles, should be unlettered, not rich, nor powerful, but earning their support by any secular employment, or by daily labour.

"From this history of the old Dutch Waldenses, as they existed in the twelfth century, and from the doctrines they held at that time, and during the following centuries, we see what a striking similarity there existed between them and the ancient and later Dutch baptists, whose existence and doctrines are so well known. It must, however, be admitted, that there is no reference to baptism in any of the confessions of faith of the Waldenses. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that the Dutch Waldenses rejected the baptism of children, and applied the ordinance to adults alone. This is maintained by Hieronymus, Verdussen, Cligny, and other Roman-catholic writers.

"In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Dutch Wal-

denses, or as they were then called, the anabaptists, perceiving that many learned men exposed the ignorance, errors, and superstition of the people, no longer hid themselves, but began the dissemination of purer religious knowledge, that they might annihilate, as far as possible, the power of the Romish superstition. They were so successful in drawing persons to baptism from the Roman communion, that the civil rulers issued strict orders against their persons, who, however, still multiplied, till they were at length joined in this opposition to Rome by other reformers. This was before even the name of Luther was known as a reformer.

"Had the anabaptists at that time possessed men truly learned, how great must have been the harvest arising from the good seed which they then sowed! From their communion would probably have arisen, and that much earlier than it did, all that light which now beams upon Europe. But there was not one person among them qualified to become a reformer of the Roman church; not one who possessed sufficient learning to obtain that influence as a writer, as that he might be looked up to as an universal guide; for since the twelfth century, not one person distinguished for learning had appeared amongst them. The renowned Peter Waldus, or Waldo, known in their history, may be considered as the first and the last individual among them who was eminently learned: hence they were despised by the Romish church. They were, in fact, little known; they lived in retirement, cultivated only those virtues which distinguished them as good citizens, and as a pure Christian community. They have this latter testimony from very early Roman-catholic writers, who were willing to do homage to the truth.

"From hence it will appear how greatly the Dutch Waldenses, or the so-called anabaptists, would rejoice when Luther and his followers began the reformation; they avowed their approbation of it, praising God that he had raised up brethren with whom they might unite in the essential points of the gospel.

"There were then two sects amongst them; the one called the *perfect* and the other the *imperfect*. The former professed to have a community of goods, so that none should be rich while the others were poor. Some carried the principle so far, that they sometimes suffered from want and nakedness. The imperfect lived less strict, and indulged in a greater intercourse with mankind. Both these sects were spread all over Germany, Switzerland, and Holland. Fanatical persons among the followers of Luther and Zuinglius took advantage of the simplicity of many of the first sect, called the perfect, and urged them to assist in acts of outrage and insurrection. Among the followers of Luther thus acting, were Stork and Muntzer, and among those of Zuinglius were Lodowyk, Hetzer, B. Hubmer, and others. By far the greater part of the first sect, the perfect, and the whole of the second, were certainly the most pious Christians the church ever saw, and the worthiest citizens the state ever had. History removes every doubt upon this subject.

"It is certain that these worthy anabaptists, or who may be better called Baptists, were found in great numbers in the Netherlands, not only in Holland, Friezland, Groningen, but especially in Flanders; consequently in those provinces wherein we have related that the Waldenses, their ancestors, had established themselves in and after the 12th century.

"And here they had the good fortune, in the year 1536, that their scattered community obtained a regular state of church order separate from all Dutch and German protestants, who at that time had not been formed into one body by any bands of unity. This advantage was procured them by the sensible management of a Friezland protestant, Menno Simon, born at Witmarsum, and who had formerly been a popish priest. This learned, wise, and prudent man was chosen by them as their leader, that they might, by his paternal efforts, in the eyes of all Christendom, be cleared from that blame which some of them had incurred. This object was accomplished accordingly; some of the perfectionists he reclaimed to order, and others he excluded, and gave up to the contempt of their brethren. He purified also the religious doctrines of the Baptists.

"We have now seen, that the Baptists, who were formerly called anabaptists, and in latter times Mennonites, were the original Waldenses, and who have long, in the history of the church, received the honour of that origin. On this account the Baptists may be considered as the only Christian community

which has stood since the times of the apostles, and as a Christian society, which has preserved pure the doctrines of the gospel through all ages. The perfectly correct external and internal economy of the Baptist denomination tends to confirm the truth, disputed by the Roman church, that the reformation brought in in the sixteenth century was in the highest degree necessary; and at the same time goes to refute the erroneous notion of the catholics that their communion is the most ancient."*

Thus far Mr. Ward: let us now attend to Dr. Mosheim.

- I. The true origin of that sect which acquired the denomination of anabaptists + by their administering anew the rite of baptism to those who came over to their communion, and derived that of Mennonites from the famous man to whom they owe the
- In a subsequent part of his volume, Mr. Ward gives his readers the following "Extracts from a work published at Amsterdam, in the year 1815, entitled, A List of the Names of Baptist Ministers in and out of the Kingdom of Holland, with Intelligence respecting the Mennonite Churches."
- "In the department of Amsterland there are fifty-two churches; in that of Massland, five; in that of Utrecht, one; in that of Friezland, sixty-one; in that of Groningen, twenty-one; in that of Overyssel, sixteen; in that of Guelderland, two; in that of East Friezland, three.
- "On the Continent, In Newistedgoden, one church; in Holstein, two; in the dukedom of Berg, two; on the Meuse, nine; on the Lower Rhine, eleven; on the Upper Rhine, twenty-six; in the department of Upper Viefne, one; in the county of Weisbaden, one; in the principality of Baden, one; in the Upper Paltz, thirteen; on the east side of the Necker, four; in Prussia, twenty-seven; in the principality of Wiedneuwied, one; in Switzerland, several; in the counties of Salm and Saarbruck. two; in the principalities of Minden, Lautern, Leiningen, and Nassauweilburg, six; in the Upper Hynschen-Kreits, one; in Nassau Leigin, one; in the counties of Walder, Witgenstein, Barlenburg, and Leuwenhof, four; in German Lotheringen, one; at Prisgau, one; near Markerch, one; at Salmer, one; in Russia, three. In the United States of America, there are more than two hundred Mennonite churches; and amongst them, some churches contain as many as three hundred members each. Besides these, meetings are held in many private houses; they are scattered about in many parts, but in some places the whole population are Mennenites, particularly in Lancaster county and other parts of Pennsylvania. They are mostly the descendants of the Mennonites, emigrating in great numbers from Palts. They are not to be confounded with the English Baptists in America, but agree in doctrine with the reformed church.
- † Ambaptists. The modern Mennonites reject the denomination of anabaptists, and also disavow the custom of repeating the ceremony of baptism, from whence this denomination is derived. They acknowledge that the ancient anabaptists (Novatianists) practised the repetition of baptism to those who joined them from other Christian churches; but they maintain, at the same time, that this is at present

greatest part of their present felicity, is hid in the remote depths of antiquity, and is, of consequence, extremely difficult to be ascertained. This uncertainty will not appear surprising, when it is considered, that this sect started up, all of a sudden, in several countries at the same point of time, under leaders of different talents and different intentions, and at the very period when the first contest of the reformers with the Roman pontiffs drew the attention of the world, and employed the pens of the learned, in such a manner as to render all other objects and incidents almost matters of indifference. The modern Mennonites not only consider themselves as the descendants of the Waldenses who were so grievously oppressed and persecuted by the despotic heads of the Roman church, but pretend, more-

abolished by far the greatest part of their community. See Herm. Schyn's Historias Mennonitarum plenior Deductio, cap. ii., p. 32. [Mosheim's note.]

The great objection which is made against all that are popularly called anabaptists, especially here in England, is, that they practically support the ancient mode of immersion. This is the great source of most of the reproach and ridicule that they have had to beer, and the world is told that the "sect" had "its origin from the German anabaptists." Thus all the baptists in the kingdom are supposed to be allied to the madmen of Munster! But in examining the histories of the time, there is a remarkable silence on everything that relates both to their sentiments and practice on this point, except that they opposed infunt baptism, and asserted that beptism should be administered only to adults. The extended accounts respecting Luther and the reformation in the ponderous folio of Seckendorf's Historia Lutheranismi, (Ed. 2, Lipsim, 1694,) frequently brings forward the anabaptists to notice and censure, but in one place a decisive evidence of their practice is adduced. He informs us, that the fanatical anabaptist sect was not so extinct even after the destruction of Muncer and the flight of Carlostadt; that no remains were left, especially in the country about the river Saal; that the elector (of Saxony) renewed more than once his edict against them, and particularly after the uproar at Munster; that in the year 1535, an officer from Leuchtenburg, in Little Entersdorff, on the river Saal, apprehended a miller, and his wife and daughter, and fourteen others, who said that they re-baptized adults in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, but only with three drops of water sprinkled on the heads of those who were baptized! so that these anabaptists were not baptists at all;—they went no further than to use a sprinkling of a very sparing kind. That they were great heretics in the estimation of some is true enough, for they believed that all infants might be saved without baptism, even those of Turks, Jews, and heathens; and though they bore their persecutions with great firmness, yet Melancthon cautioned the people of that country against the favourable impression which their patience in tribulation might produce, by attributing to it diabolical obduracy! (Kinghorn, in the Bapt. Mag. May, 1880.)

over, to be the purest offspring of these respectable sufferers, being equally averse to all principles of rebellion on the one hand, and all suggestions of fanaticism on the other. Their adversaries, on the contrary, represent them as the descendants of those turbulent and furious anabaptists, who in the sixteenth century involved Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and more especially the province of Westphalia, in such scenes of blood, perplexity, and distress; and allege, that, terrified by the dreadful fate of their associates, and also influenced by the moderate councils and wise injunctions of Menno, they abandoned the ferocity of their primitive enthusiasm, and were gradually brought to a better mind. After having examined these two different accounts of the anabaptists with the utmost attention and impartiality, I have found that neither of them are exactly conformable to truth.

II. It may be observed, in the first place, that the Mennonites are not entirely mistaken when they boast of their descent from the Waldenses, Petrobrussians, and other ancient sects, who are usually considered as witnesses of the truth in the times of universal darkness and superstition. Before the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed, in almost all the countries of Europe, particularly in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland, and Germany, many persons, who adhered tenaciously to the following doctrine, which the Waldenses, Wycliffeites, and Hussites, had maintained, some in a more disguised, and others in a more open and public manner:-viz. "That the kingdom of Christ, or the visible church he had established upon earth, was an assembly of true and real saints, and ought therefore to be inaccessible to the wicked and unrighteous, and also exempt from all those institutions which human prudence suggests, to oppose the progress of iniquity, or to correct and reform transgressors. This maxim is the true source of all the peculiarities that are to be found in the religious doctrine and discipline of the Mennonites; and it is most certain, that the greatest part of these peculiarities were approved of by many of those who, before the dawn of the reformation, entertained the notion already mentioned relating to the visible church of Christ. There were, however, different ways of thinking among different members of this sect,

with respect to the methods of attaining to such a perfect churchestablishment as they had in view. Some, who were of a fanatical complexion, on the one hand, and were persuaded, on the other, that such a visible church as they had modelled out in fancy could not be realized by the power of man, entertained the pleasing hope that God, in his own good time, would erect to himself a holy church, exempt from every degree of blemish and impurity, and would set apart, for the execution of this grand design, a certain number of chosen instruments, divinely assisted and prepared for this work by the extraordinary succours of his Holy Spirit. Others, of a more prudent and rational turn of mind, entertained different views of this matter. They neither expected stupendous miracles nor extraordinary revelations. since they were persuaded that it was possible, by human wisdom, industry, and vigilance, to purify the church from the contagion of the wicked, and to restore it to the simplicity of its original constitution, provided that the manner and spirit of the primitive Christians could but recover their lost dignity and lustre.

III. The drooping spirits of these people, who had been dispersed through many countries, and persecuted everywhere with the greatest severity, were revived when they were informed that Luther, seconded by several persons of eminent piety, had successfully attempted the reformation of the church. Then they spoke with openness and freedom, and the enthusiasm of the fanatical, as well as the prudence of the wise, discovered themselves in their natural colours. Some of them imagined that the time was now come in which God himself was to dwell with his servants in an extraordinary manner by celestial succours, and to establish upon earth a kingdom truly spiritual and divine. Others, less sanguine and chimerical in their expectations, flattered themselves, nevertheless, with the fond hopes of the approach of that happy period in which the restoration of the church, which had been so long expected in vain, was to be accomplished, under the divine protection, by the labours and councils of pious and eminent men. This sect was soon joined by great numbers, and (as usually happens in sudden revolutions of this nature) by many persons whose characters and capacities were very different, though their views seemed to turn upon the same object. Their progress

was rapid; for in a very short space of time, their discourses, visions, and predictions, excited commotions in a great part of Europe, and drew into their communion a prodigious multitude, whose ignorance rendered them easy victims to the illusions of enthusiasm. It is, however, to be observed, that as the leaders of this sect had fallen into that erroneous and chimerical notion, that the new kingdom of Christ, which they expected was to be exempt from every kind of vice, and from the smallest degree of imperfection and corruption, they were not satisfied with the plan of reformation proposed by Luther. They looked upon it as much beneath the sublimity of their views, and consequently undertook a more perfect reformation, or, to express more properly their visionary enterprize, they proposed to found a true church, entirely spiritual and truly divine.

IV. It is difficult to determine with certainty the particular spot that gave birth to that seditious and pestilential sect of anabaptists whose tumultuous and desperate attempts were equally pernicious to the cause of religion and the civil interests of mankind. Whether they first arose in Switzerland, Germany, or the Netherlands, is as yet a matter of debate, whose decision is of no great importance. It is most probable that several persons of this odious class made their appearance at the same time in different countries; and we may fix this period soon after the dawn of the reformation in Germany, when Luther arose to set bounds to the ambition of Rome. This appears from a variety of circumstances, and especially from this striking one, that the first anabaptist doctors of any eminence were almost all heads and leaders of particular and separate sects. For it must be carefully observed, that though all their projectors of a new, unspotted, and perfect church, were comprehended under the general denomination of anabaptists, on account of their opposing the baptism of infants, and their re-baptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of childhood in other churches, yet they were, from their very origin, subdivided into various sects, which differed from each other in points of no small moment. The most pernicious faction of all those that composed this motley multitude, was that which pretended that the founders of the new and perfect church already mentioned were under the direction of a divine impulse, and

were armed against all opposition by the power of working miracles. It was this detestable faction that, in the year 1521, began their fanatical work, under the guidance of Munzer, Stubner, Storck, and other leaders of the same furious complexion, and excited the most unhappy tumults and commotions in Saxony and the adjacent countries. They employed at first the various arts of persuasion in order to propagate their doctrine. They preached, exhorted, admonished, and reasoned, in a manner that seemed proper to gain the multitude, and related a great number of visions and revelations with which they pretended to have been favoured from above. But when they saw that these methods of making proselytes were not attended with such a rapid success as they fondly expected, and that the ministry of Luther, and other eminent reformers, was detrimental to their cause, they then had recourse to more expeditious measures, and madly attempted to propagate their fanatical doctrine by force of arms. Munzer and his associates assembled, in the year 1525, a numerous army, composed for the most part of the peasants of Suabia, Thuringia, Franconia, and Saxony, and at the head of this credulous and deluded rabble declared war against all laws, governments, and magistrates, of every kind, under the chimerical pretext, that Christ was now to take the rein of civil and ecclesiastical government into his own hands, and to rule alone over the nations. But this seditious crowd was routed and dispersed, without much difficulty, by the elector of Saxony, and other princes; Munzer, their ringleader, ignominiously put to death, and his factious counsellors scattered abroad in different places.

V. This bloody defeat of one part of these seditious and turbulent fanatics did not produce that effect upon the rest that might naturally have been expected; it rendered them, indeed, more timorous, but it did not open their eyes upon this delusion. It is certain that, even after this period, numbers who were infected with the same odious principles that occasioned the destruction of Munzer, wandered about in Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, and excited the people to rebellion by their seditious discourses. They gathered together congregations in several places, foretold, in consequence of a divine commission, the ap-

proaching abolition of magistracy, and the downfal of civil rulers and governors; and while they pretended to be ambassadors of the Most High, insulted, on many occasions, the Majesty of heaven, by the most flagitious crimes. Those who distinguished themselves by the enormity of their conduct in this infamous sect, were Lewis Hetzer, Balthaza Hubmeyar, Felix Mentz, Conrad Grebel, Melchior Hoffman, and George Jacob, who, if their power had seconded their designs, would have involved all Switzerland, Holland, and Germany, in tumult and bloodshed. A great part of this rabble seemed really delirious; and nothing more extravagant or more incredible can be imagined than the dreams and visions that were constantly arising in their disordered brains. Such of them as had some sparks of reason left, and had reflection enough to induce their notions into a certain form, maintained, among others, the following points of doctrine:-" That the church of Christ ought to be exempt from all sin; that all things ought to be in common among the faithful; that all usury, tithes, and tribute, ought to be entirely abolished; that the baptism of infants was an invention of the devil; that every Christian was invested with a power to preach the gospel; and consequently, that the church stood in no need of ministers or pastors; that in the kingdom of Christ civil magistrates were absolutely uselessand that God still continued to reveal his will to chosen persons by dreams and visions.

It would betray, however, a strange ignorance, and an unjustifiable partiality, to maintain that even all those who professed in general this absurd doctrine were chargeable with that furious and brutal extravagance which has been mentioned as the character of too great a part of their sect. This was by no means the case; several of these enthusiasts discovered a milder and more pacific spirit; and were free from any other reproach than that which resulted from the errors they maintained, and their too ardent desire of spreading them among the multitude. It may still further be affirmed with truth, that many of those who followed the wiser class of anabaptists, nay, some who adhered to the most extravagant factions of that sect, were men of upright intentions and sincere piety, who were seduced into this mystery

of fanaticism and iniquity, by their ignorance and simplicity on the one hand, and by a laudable desire of reforming the corrupt state of religion on the other.

VI. The progress of this turbulent sect, in almost all the countries of Europe, alarmed all that had any concern for the public good. Kings, princes, and sovereign states, exerted themselves to check these rebellious enthusiasts in their career, by issuing out, first, severe edicts to restrain their violence, and employing, at length, capital punishment to conquer their obstinacy.*

 Before the reduction of Munster, the emperor, Charles V., issued a proclamation at Brussels, " that all men and women who should be found infected with the reprobate heresy of the anabaptists, of what state and condition soever, and all their followers, accomplices, and abettors, should forfeit life and estate:" " that all who should be convicted of having taken upon themselves the name of prophet, apostle, or bishop, or had seduced or perverted any to this sect, or rebaptized them, or should continue obstinate in their errors, should suffer death by fire; and all other men who had suffered themselves to be rebaptized, or had privately and knowingly harboured snahaptists, in case they renounce their evil designs and opinions, and sincerely repeated, should be so far favoured as to die by the sword; and as for the women, they should only be buried alive." This horrible edict also "commands" all the emperor's " loving subjects" to inform against all the said anabaptists, on pain of being punished as favourers, adherents, and accomplices;" promises, as a reward, one-third of their estates on conviction, and forbids any to intercede on their behalf, or offer any petition in their favour! How justly it is said, the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel. This edict should never be forgotten in reading the history of Charles V.

For a time it was enforced with great severity. Some insurrections had taken place in Holland which excited the government to put many to death who came within the reach of the law, without making any distinction between the most simple and the most criminal. At Amsterdam, Peter, of Sardam, a teacher among the anabaptists, was beheaded for being concerned in the insurrection which took place in that city, though he had used his utmost endeavours to hinder it! At Horn, five were put to death-three men and two women; their crime, as expressed in their sentence, was, "that they had openly declared that they had been rebaptized." The men were beheaded, the women thrown into the sea with a great stone fastened to their bodies. These executions excited compassion in the people, and made the magistrates, as far as they could, avoid executing the law.

Another edict was issued through Holland, in January, 1538, and renewed in February, stating that none should dare to harbour David Jorison (or George), and Mamard van Embden, (teachers among the anabaptists,) on pain of being hanged at their own door; but that whosoever discovered them, should receive a reward of 100 guilders for each of the aforesaid persons, and forty guilders for any other anabaptists.

In October, 1536, Henry VIII. of England wrote to the elector of Saxony, and requested that Melancthon, and some other men of talent and reputation, might be CC

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But here a maxim, already verified by repeated experience, received a new degree of confirmation; for the conduct of the anabaptists, under the pressure of persecution, plainly shewed

sent to England to assist in promoting "the glory of Christ," and other good things. About this time a poor anabaptist happened to be caught; his name was Peter Tasch: by this means it was discovered that there existed a correspondence between the German anabaptists and English anabaptists; that some one of the latter had published a book on the incarnation of Christ, which Peter Tasch very much approved, and hoped the sect would make great progress in England. For the purpose of gratifying Henry, and of convincing him that they were free from the heresy of anabaptism, the elector and landgrave of Saxony took this occasion in their reply of informing the king of what they had discovered by the capture of Tasch, and of the correspondence carried on between the German and English heretics. While they gave this friendly warning to King Henry, they describe them as pestiferous fanatics, and tell him they are like Manichees, and hold a "barbarous confusion of superstitions and opinions." They then add their own method of dealing with them, which is, in the first place, to endeavour to teach them better; but, if this does not succeed, "if they tenaciously defend their opposition to our baptism, or their other impieties," &c., the only thing that remains is to punish them. This letter Seckendorf says was written by Melancthon. picture of the times do these events display! Persecutors in one country inform persecutors of another, that a few obscure anabaptists are living among them, in order that they may be hunted down like beasts of prey! Can we be surprised that the anabaptists should class Luther and the pope together as of the same party?

We justly lament the deficiency of their system, the incorrectness of some of their reasonings, and the practical delinquencies of too many of their body; yet truth and justice require us to state, that, in many things, they brought forward to notice, and materially assisted to establish, important principles, which those generally called the reformers neither felt nor saw. The anabaptists were reproached for asserting that in the Lord's Supper there was only bread and wine, and that the sacraments were only signs of profession before men and of agreement (or of a covenant) among men; and these were called their profane opinions. The divines of Wittenberg, at the command of the elector in the year 1539, drew up a form of recantation to be used by such anabaptists as they might induce to renounce their former opinions. According to this formulary, the penitent was (among other things) to say, " As to baptism, I believe, that all infants have, in themselves, and derive from their birth, original sin, and therefore should be baptized, that they may obtain the faith, which is the only way to Christ; for by this they receive the remission of sins through the blood of Christ, and so are pleasing to God, and are saved. All these things reason neither knows nor understands, but God alone operates in infants in a manner above our conceptions. Concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, I believe as the words state-namely, that Christis truly in the sacrament, and operates in it when I receive it, because Paul says, 'the bread which we break, is it not a participation of the body of the Lord.' "+

Seckendorf, lib. iii. sect. 31, § 119, p. 528.

[†] Seckendorf, lib. iii. sect. 20, § 75, p. 244.

the extreme difficulty of correcting or influencing by the prospect of suffering, or even by the terrors of death, minds that are either deeply tainted with the poison of fanaticism, or firmly bound by the ties of religion. In almost all the countries of Europe an unspeakable number of these unhappy wretches preferred death, in its worst forms, to a retraction of their errors. Neither the view of the flames that were kindled to consume them, nor the ignominy of the gibbet, nor the terrors of the sword, could shake their invincible but ill-placed constancy, or make them abandon tenets that appeared dearer to them than life and all its enjoyments. The Mennonites have preserved records of the lives, actions, and unhappy fate, of those of their sect who suffered death for the crimes of rebellion or heresy, which were imputed to them. Certain it is, that they were treated with severity: but it is much to be lamented that so little distinction was made between the members of this sect, when the sword of justice was Why were the innocent and the unsheathed against them. guilty involved in the same fate? why were doctrines purely theological, or at worst fanatical, punished with the same rigour that was shewn to crimes inconsistent with the peace and welfare of civil society? Those who had no other marks of peculiarity than their administering baptism to adult persons only, and their excluding the unrighteous from the external communion of the church, ought, undoubtedly, to have met with milder treatment than what was given to those seditious incendiaries who were for unhinging all government, and destroying all civil authority. Many suffered for errors they had embraced with the most upright intentions, seduced by the eloquence and fervour of their doctors, and persuading themselves that they were contributing to the advancement of true religion. But as the greatest part of these enthusiasts had communicated to the multitude their visionary notions concerning the new spiritual kingdom that was soon to be erected, and the abolition of magistracy and civil government that was to be the immediate effect of this great revolution, this rendered the very name of anabaptists unspeakably odious, and made it always excite the idea of a seditious incendiary, a pest to human society. It is true, indeed, that many anabaptists suffered death, not on account of their being considered as rebellious subjects, but merely because they were judged to be incurable heretics; for in this century the error of limiting the administration of baptism to adult persons only, and the practice of re-baptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of infancy, were looked upon as most flagitious and intolerable heresies. It is nevertheless certain that the greatest part of these wretched sufferers owed their unhappy fate to their rebellious principles and tumultuous proceedings, and that many also were punished for their temerity and imprudence, which led them to the commission of various crimes.

VII. There stands upon record a most shocking instance of this, in the dreadful commotions that were excited at Munster, in the year 1533, by certain Dutch anabaptists, who chose that city as the scene of their horrid operations, and committed in it such deeds as would surpass all credibility, were they not attested in a manner that excludes every degree of doubt and uncertainty. A handful of madmen, who had got into their heads the visionary notion of a new and spiritual kingdom, soon to be established in an extraordinary manner, formed themselves into a society, under the guidance of a few illiterate leaders, chosen out of the populace; and they persuaded not only the ignorant multitude, but even several among the learned, that Munster was to be the seat of this new and heavenly Jerusalem, whose ghostly dominion was to be propagated from thence to all the ends of the earth. The ringleaders of this furious tribe were John Matthison, John Bockhold, a tailor of Leyden, one Gerhard, with some others, whom the blind rage of enthusiasm, or the still more culpable principles of sedition, had embarked in this extravagant and desperate cause. They made themselves masters of the city of Munster, deposed the magistrates, and committed all the enormous crimes and ridiculous follies which the most perverse and infernal imagination could suggest. John Bockhold was proclaimed king and legislator of this new hierarchy; but his reign was transitory, and his end deplorable. For the city of Munster was, in the year 1536, retaken, after a long siege by its bishop and sovereign, Count Waldeck, the New Jerusalem of the anabaptists destroyed, and its mock monarch punished with a most painful and ignominous death. The disorders occasioned by the

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anabaptists at this period, not only in Westphalia, but also in other places, shewed too plainly to what horrid lengths the pernicious doctrines of this wrong-headed sect were adapted to lead the inconsiderate and unwary; and therefore it is not at all to be wondered that the secular arm employed rigorous measures to extirpate a faction which was the occasion, nay, the source, of unspeakable calamities in so many countries.*

• Enameus, whose testimony will be admitted by all men to be of great weight, regretted the persecutions which the party of Zuinglius raised against the anabaptists, and says, "They insist and argue that heretics ought not to be punished with death, whereas they themselves inflict the same upon the anabaptists, a people against whom there is very little to be said, and concerning whom we are assured that there are many who have been reformed from the worst to the best lives. Yet they have never stormed towns nor churches, nor entered into any combinations against the authority of the magistrate, nor driven anybody from his government or state."

This was written about the year 1590, and is a picture of their primitive character. The outrages at Munster, which took place afterwards, were exceptions to their general conduct, and can be sufficiently accounted for, by considering properly a few things which their history suggests.

In the first place, the beginning of the troubles arose from the severe oppression of the people by the higher orders, and when they were by this means urged to resistance, all that in their opposition could be denominated of a religious character, was occasioned by the encroachments and immoralities of the church of Rome.

Secondly, a few restless fanatical men, who had the talents which fitted them to be popular leaders of the multitude, seized the occasion, and using the idea commonly received among the reformers, that a new kingdom would be established in the earth, induced the people to believe that the time was at hand. To forward their own designs, and as the people might be led to imagine, to promote this desirable end, their leaders excited them to expel the peaceful citizens, to obliterate the whole existing system of magistracy, and thus leave none to control their proceedings.

Thirdly, the invitation given to all those in the surrounding countries who were disposed to join such an insurrection, by the temptation of dividing among them the property of those of better sentiments and habits, naturally increased that profligate multitude which no reason can ever restrain.

Once more, the depravity which destroyed the last remains of decency in Munster, doubtless, in part, arose from the sanction of John of Leyden, whose unprincipled character rendered him capable of any vicious excess; but other causes were clearly in operation at the same time. It could not be supposed that such a vicious population as then filled the city would be obedient to moral restraint. The licence thus given them, while it filled up the measure of their iniquities, gratified their worst passions, and would tend to preserve their attachment to a leader, who was tempted to use any expedient that would keep them at his devotion. Nor can we suppose that the vicious example of the Romish priesthood could be forgotten, or could be remembered without being pleaded as a sanction for their present conduct.—
(Kinghorn, ut supra.)

VIII. While the terrors of death, in the most dreadful forms. were presented to the view of this miserable sect, and numbers of them were executed every day without a proper distinction being made between the innocent and the guilty, those that escaped the severity of justice were in the most discouraging situation that can well be imagined. On the one hand, they beheld, with sorrow, all their hopes blasted by the total defeat of their brethren at Munster; and on the other, they were filled with the most anxious apprehensions of the perils that threatened them on all sides. In this critical situation they derived much comfort and assistance from the counsels and zeal of Menno Simon, a native of Friesland, who had formerly been a popish priest, and, as he himself confesses, a notorious profligate. This man went over to the anabaptists, at first, in a clandestine manner, and frequented their assemblies with the utmost secrecy; but in the year 1536, he threw off the mask, resigned his rank and office in the Roman church, and publicly embraced their communion. About a year after this, he was earnestly solicited by many of the sect to assume among them the rank and functions of a public teacher; and as he looked upon the persons from whom this proposal came, to be exempt from the fanatical frenzy of their brethren at Munster, (though, according to other accounts, they were originally of the same stamp, only rendered somewhat wiser by their sufferings,) he yielded to their entreaties. From this period to the end of his days,—that is, during the space of twenty-five years,—he travelled from one country to another with his wife and children, exercising his ministry under pressures and calamities of various kinds, that succeeded each other without interruption, and constantly exposed to the danger of falling a victim to the severity of the laws. East and West Friesland, together with the province of Groningen, were first visited by this zealous apostle of the anabaptists; from thence he directed his course into Holland, Guelderland, Brabant, and Westphalia, continued it through the German provinces that lie on the coasts of the Baltic sea, and penetrated so far as Livonia. In all these places his ministerial labours were attended with remarkable success, and added to his sect a prodigious number of proselytes. Hence he is deservedly looked upon as the common chief of almost all the anabaptists,

and the parent of the sect that still subsists under that denomination. The success of this missionary will not appear very surprising to those who are acquainted with his character, spirit, and talents, and who have a just notion of the state of the anabaptists at the period of time now under consideration. Menno was a man of genius, but was not under the direction of a very sound judgment. He had the inestimable advantage of a natural and persuasive eloquence, and his learning was sufficient to make him pass for an oracle in the eyes of the multitude. He appears, moreover, to have been a man of probity, of a meek and tractable spirit, gentle in his manners, pliable and obsequious in his commerce with persons of all ranks and characters, and extremely zealous in promoting practical religion and virtue, which he recommended by his example, as well as by his precepts. A man of such talents and dispositions could not fail to attract the admiration of the people, and to gain a great number of adherents wherever he exercised his ministry. But nowhere could he expect a more plentiful harvest than among the anabaptists, whose ignorance and simplicity rendered them peculiarly susceptible of new impressions, and who having been long accustomed to leaders that resembled frenetic Bacchanals more than Christian ministers, and often deluded by odious impostors, who involved them in endless perils and calamities, were rejoiced to find at length a teacher, whose doctrine and manner seemed to promise them more prosperous days.

IX. Menno drew up a plan of doctrines and discipline of a much more mild and moderate nature than that of the furious and fanatical anabaptists already mentioned, but somewhat more severe, though more clear and consistent, than the doctrine of some of the wiser branches of that sect, who aimed at nothing more than a restoration of the Christian church to its primitive purity. Accordingly, he condemned the plan of ecclesiastical discipline, that was founded on the prospect of a new kingdom to be miraculously established by Jesus Christ on the ruins of civil government, and the destruction of human rulers, and which had been the fatal and pestilential source of such dreadful commotions, such execrable rebellions, and such enormous crimes. He declared, publicly, his dislike of that doctrine which pointed

out the approach of a marvellous reformation in the church by the means of a new and extraordinary effusion of the Holy Spirit; he expressed his abhorrence of the licentious tenets which several of the anabaptists had maintained with respect to the lawfulness of polygamy and divorce; and finally considered as unworthy of toleration those fanatics who were of opinion that the Holy Ghost continued to descend into the mind of many chosen believers in as extraordinary a manner as he did at the first establishment of the Christian church; and that he testified his peculiar presence to several of the faithful by miracles, predictions, dreams, and visions of various kinds. He retained, indeed, the doctrines commonly received among the anabaptists in relation to the baptism of infants, the millennium, or thousand years' reign of Christ upon earth, the exclusion of magistrates from the Christian church,* the abolition of war, and the prohibition of oaths enjoined by our Saviour, and the vanity, as well as the pernicious effects, of human science. But while Menno retained these doctrines in a general sense, he explained and modified them in such a manner as made them resemble the religious tenets that were universally received in the protestant churches; and this rendered them agreeable to many, and made them appear inoffensive even to numbers who had no inclination to embrace them. It however so happened, that the nature of the doctrines considered in themselves, the eloquence of Menno, which set them off to such advantage, and the circumstances of

^{*}By the "exclusion of magistrates from the Christian church," the reader would do great injustice to Menno and his friends were he to suppose, for a moment, that there was anything in the office of a civil magistrate which the Mennonites considered as incompatible with the profession of Christianity. All that they contended for on this point was, that as magistrates they had no jurisdiction in the kingdom or church of Christ; a perfectly harmless sentiment, because well supported by the New Testament. A kingdom which is not of this world, and such is the kingdom of Christ, according to his own confession before Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, can never be subject to human laws, or brought under the power of the civil magistrate. It recognises no earthly head, whether emperor, pope, king, or bishop, nor yet any conclave of cardinals, or "general assembly;" all its laws are of Divine origin, and are contained in the New Testament—they are held superior to all other laws; "We ought to obey God rather than man," said the inspired apostles, and on this principle is founded our opposition to all national establishments of Christianity, or the alliance between church and state. (Author's note.)

the times, gave a high degree of credit to the religious system of this famous teacher among the anabaptists, so that it made a rapid progress in that sect. And thus it was, in consequence of the ministry of Menno, that the different sorts of anabaptists agreed together in excluding from their communion the fanatics that dishonoured it, and in renouncing all tenets that were detrimental to the authority of civil government, and by an unexpected coalition formed themselves into one community.

These facts shew us plainly how the famous question concerning the origin of the modern anabaptists may be resolved. The Mennonites oppose, with all their might, the account of their descent from the ancient anabaptists which we find in so many writers, and would willingly give the modern baptists a more honourable origin. (See Schyn, Histor. Mennonitar, cap. viii. ix. xxi. p. 223.) The reason of their zeal in this matter is evident. Their situation has rendered them timorous. They live, as it were, in the midst of their enemies, and are constantly filled with an uneasy apprehension that some day or other malevolent zealots may take occasion, from their supposed origin, to renew against them the penal laws by which the seditious anabaptists of ancient times suffered in such a dreadful manner. At least, they imagine that the odium under which they lie will be greatly diminished if they can prove, to the satisfaction of the public, the falsehood of that generally received opinion, that "the Mennonites are the descendents of the anabaptists;" or, to speak more properly, "the same individual sect purged from the fanaticism that formerly disgraced it, and rendered wiser than their ancestors by reflection and suffering."

After comparing diligently and impartially together what has been alleged by the Mennonites and their adversaries in relation to this matter, I cannot see what it is properly that forms the subject of their controversy; and if the merits of the cause be stated with accuracy and perspicuity, I do not see how there can be any dispute at all about the matter now under consideration. For, in the first place, if the Mennonites mean nothing more than this,—that Menno, whom they considered as their parent and their chief, was not infected with those odious opinions which drew the just severity of the laws upon the anabaptists of

Munster; that he neither looked for a new and spotless kingdom that was to be miraculously erected on earth, nor excited the multitude to depose magistrates and abolish civil government; that he neither deceived himself nor imposed upon others, by fanatical pretensions to dreams and visions of a supernatural kind;—if (I say) this be all that the Mennonites mean, when they speak of their chief, no person acquainted with the history of their sect will pretend to contradict them; nay, even those who maintain that there was an immediate and intimate connexion between the ancient and modern anabaptists, will readily allow to be true all that has been here said of Menno.

Secondly. If the anabaptists maintain that such of their churches as received their doctrine and discipline from Menno have not only discovered, without interruption, a pacific spirit and an unlimited submission to civil government (abstaining from everything that carried the remotest aspect of sedition, and shewing the utmost abhorrence of war and bloodshed), but have even banished from their confessions of faith, and their religious instructions, all those tenets and principles that led on the ancient anabaptists to disobedience, violence, and rebellion,—all this again will be readily granted. And if they allege, in the third place, that even the anabaptists who lived before Menno were not all so delirious as Munzer, nor so outrageous as the fanatical part of that sect, that rendered their memory eternally odious by the enormities they committed at Munster; that, on the contrary, many of these ancient anabaptists abstained religiously from all acts of violence and sedition, followed the pious examples of the ancient Waldenses, Henricians, Petrobussians, Hussites, and Wycliffeites, and adopted the doctrine and discipline of Menno as soon as that new parent arose to reform and patronize the sect,—all this will be allowed without hesitation.

But, on the other hand, the Mennonites may assert many things in defence of the purity of their origin which cannot be admitted by any person who is free from prejudice, and well acquainted with their history. If they maintain—first, that none of their sect descended, by birth, from those anabaptists who involved Germany and other countries in the most dreadful calamities, or that none of these furious fanatics adopted the doctrine

and discipline of Menno, they may be easily refuted by a great number of facts and testimonies, and particularly by the declarations of Menno himself, who glories in his having conquered the ferocity, and reformed the lives and errors, of several members of this pestilential sect. Nothing can be more certain than this fact-viz., that the first Mennonite congregations were composed of the different sorts of anabaptists already mentioned; of those who had been always inoffensive and upright, and of those who, before their conversion by the ministry of Menno, had been seditious fanatics. Nor can the acknowledgment of this incontestible fact be a just matter of reproach to the Mennonites, or be more dishonourable to them than it is to us that our ancestors were warmly attached to the idolatrous and extravagant worship of paganism or popery. Again, it will not be possible for us to agree with the Mennonites, if they maintain—secondly, that their sect does not retain at this day any of those tenets, or even any remains of those opinions and doctrines, which led the seditious and turbulent anabaptists of old to the commission of so many and such enormous crimes. For, not to mention Menno's calling the anabaptists of Munster his brethren (a denomination, indeed, somewhat softened by the epithet of erring, which he joined to it), it is undoubtedly true that the doctrine concerning the nature of Christ's kingdom, or the church of the New Testament, which led by degrees the ancient anabaptists to those furious acts of rebellion that have rendered them so odious, is by no means effaced in the minds of the modern Mennonites. It is, indeed, weakened and modified in such a manner as to have lost its noxious qualities, and to be no longer pernicious in its influence, but it is not totally renounced nor abolished.

XIV. If we are to form our judgment of the religion of the Mennonites from their public creeds and confessions, we shall find that though it varies widely from the doctrine of the Lutherans, yet in most things it differs but little from that of the reformed church. They consider the sacraments in no other light than as signs or symbols of the spiritual blessings administered in the gospel; and their ecclesiastical discipline seems to be almost entirely the same with that of the presbyterians. There are, however, peculiar tenets, by which they are distinguished from all

other religious communities, and these may be reduced under three heads. For it is observable, that there are certain doctrines which are held in common by all the various sects of Mennonites; others which are only received in some of the more eminent and numerous sects of that community (such were the sentiments of Menno, which hindered him from being universally acceptable to the anabaptists); and others, again, which are only to be found among the more obscure and inconsiderable societies of that denomination. These last, indeed, appear and vanish alternately with the transitory sects that adopt them, and therefore do not deserve to employ our attention any farther in this place.

XV. The opinions that are held in common by the Mennonites seem to be all derived from this leading and fundamental principle,—that the kingdom which Christ established upon earth is a visible church or community, into which the holy and the just are alone to be admitted, and which is consequently exempt from all those institutions and rules of discipline that have been invented by human wisdom for the correction and reformation of the wicked.

This fanatical principle was frankly avowed by the ancient Mennonites;* their more immediate descendants, however, began

This "fanatical principle," as Dr. Mosheim is pleased to term it, is a principle firmly held by the great body of nonconformists in our own country, and may, indeed, be considered as the hinge on which the difference of church polity between them and the episcopalians turns. They consider a Christian church in the light of a company of disciples called out of the world by the preaching of the gospel-professing their faith in Christ, and their hope of salvation through his death-and coming together into one place to observe the ordinances which the apostles delivered unto the first churches—each church having its own office-bearers, of pastors and descons. They consequently repudiate all national establishments of religion which must necessarily connect the church with the state, or civil government, and render the former dependent on the latter. (See "Booth's Essay on the Kingdom of Christ," passim.) Dr. Mosheim was an advocate for this anomaly, and hence his reproachful epithet of "fanatical principle," &c. I may further add, that he evidently mistakes and misrepresents the principles of the Mennonites, when he describes them as maintaining the strange sentiment, that the church of Christ, as it exists in this world, is "an assembly of true and real saints-consequently, inaccessible to the wicked." Such a society never did, and probably never will, exist on earth, before the second coming of Christ. If it did, the exercise of discipline would be rendered unnecessary. The scriptures always suppose that hypocrites may gain access into

to be less ingenuous; and in their public confessions of faith, they either disguised it under ambiguous phrases, or expressed themselves as if they meant to renounce it entirely. To renounce it entirely was impossible, without falling into the greatest inconsistencies, and undermining the very foundation of those doctrines that distinguished them from all other Christian societies. yet it is certain that the present Mennonites, as they have in many other respects departed from the principles and maxims of their ancestors, so have they given a striking instance of defection in the case now before us, and have almost wholly renounced this fundamental doctrine of their sect relating to the nature of the Christian church. A dismal experience has convinced them of the absurdity of this chimerical principle, which the dictates of reason and the declaration of scripture had demonstrated sufficiently, but without effect. Now that the Mennonites have opened their eyes, they seem to be pretty generally agreed about the following tenets:—first, that there is an invisible church, which is universal in its extent, and is composed of members from all the sects and communities that bear the Christian name; * secondly, that the mark of the true church is not, as their former

the purest church on earth—there will be tares and wheat, good and bad fishes, &c.—and the Mennonites could not be ignorant of this; but they did not tolerate such persons in their communion when once discovered. (Author's note.)

On this I may be permitted to remark, that Dr. Mosheim's own principles, as an advocate for a national establishment of religion, has led him to write very confusedly on the topic he is here handling. Throughout the whole of his elaborate history we find him distinguishing between the "internal" and "external" church; a distinction entirely unknown to the scriptures. True, indeed, it is, that the word "church" is used by the inspired writers in two different acceptations. Sometimes it is taken to denote all the redeemed company, the purchase of the Redeemer's blood—all who have died in the faith from the beginning of the world, and are now gathered into his eternal kingdom; as well as all those now upon the earth, or yet unborn, who shall be brought to the knowledge of the truth, and consequently obtain salvation through his death. This is the only true catholic, or universal church, but then it is not visible in this world. The only other acceptation in which the word "church" occurs in the New Testament, is that of a particular congregation of professed believers, with its bishops, elders, or pastors, and deacons, regularly assembling in one place for the performance of religious worship, and the observance of Christ's institutions—such was the church at Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Philippi, &c. Hence we may learn how utterly unfounded is Dr. Mosheim's distinction between an internal and external church. (Author's note.)

doctrine supposed, to be sought for in the unspotted sanctity of all its members (since they acknowledge that the visible church is promiscuously composed of the righteous and the wicked), but in the knowledge of the truth as it was delivered by Christ, and in the agreement of all the members of the church in professing and defending it.

XVI. Notwithstanding all this, it is manifest, beyond all possibility of contradiction, that the religious opinions which still distinguish the Mennonites from all other Christian communities, flow directly from the ancient doctrine of the anabaptists, concerning the nature of the church. It is in consequence of this doctrine that they admit none to the sacrament of baptism but persons that are come to the full use of their reason, because infants are incapable of binding themselves by a solemn vow to a holy life, and it is altogether uncertain whether or no in maturer years they will be saints or sinners. It is in consequence of the same doctrine that they neither admit civil rulers into their communion, nor allow any of their members to perform the functions of magistracy; for where there are no malefactors, magistrates are useless. Hence do they pretend also to deny the lawfulness of repelling force by force, and consider war, in all its shapes, as unchristian and unjust; for as those who are perfectly holy can neither be provoked by injuries, nor commit them, they do not stand in need of the force of arms, either for the purposes of resentment or defence. It is still the same principle that excites in them the utmost aversion to the execution of justice, and more especially to capital punishments, since according to this principle there are no transgressions nor crimes in the kingdom of Christ. and consequently no occasion for the arm of the judge. Nor can it be imagined that they should refuse to confirm their testimony by an oath upon any other foundation than this, that the perfect members of a holy church can neither dissemble nor deceive. It was certainly, then, the ancient doctrine of the anabaptists, concerning the sanctity of the church, that gave rise to the tenets now mentioned, and that was the source of that rigid and severe discipline which excited such tumults and divisions among the members of that community.

XVII. The rules of moral discipline that were formerly ob-

served by the Mennonites, were rigorous and austere in the highest degree, and thus every way conformable to the fundamental principle which has been already mentioned as the source of all their peculiar tenets. It is somewhat doubtful whether these rules still subsist and are respected among them; but it is certain that in the times of old their moral precepts were very severe. And indeed it could not well be otherwise, for when these people had once got it into their heads that sanctity of manners was the only genuine mark of the true church, it may be well imagined that they would spare no pains to obtain this honourable character for their sect, and that for this purpose they would use the strictest precautions to guard their brethren against disgracing their profession by immoral practices. Hence it was, that they unanimously, and no doubt justly, exalted the rules of the gospel, on account of their transcendent purity. They alleged that Christ had promulgated a new law of life, far more perfect than that which had been delivered by Moses and the prophets; and they excluded from their communion such as deviated* in the least from the most rigorous rules of simplicity and gravity in their looks, their gestures, their clothing, and their table; all whose desires surpassed the dictates of mere necessity; nay, even all who observed a certain decorum in their manners, and paid a decent regard to the innocent customs of the world. this primitive austerity is greatly diminished in the more considerable sects of the Mennonites, and more especially among the

[•] What Dr. Mosheim here says of the Mennonites, regarding the strictness of their discipline, is highly honourable to this class of Christians, and it forms a striking contrast to what can be predicated of the church of Rome, the Lutheran church, or any national church. It strikingly manifests their regard to the laws of Christ's kingdom, such as Matt. xviii. 15—18. Only we must be permitted to doubt the length to which he says they carried their strictness. We can scarcely believe that "they would exclude from their communion such as deviated in the least from the most rigorous rules of simplicity and gravity," &c., or, indeed, from much greater offences, when brought to repentance for their manifest deviations. Such a temper and spirit is at variance with the plain command of Christ: "If thy brother trespass sgainst thee, rebuke him; and if he repeat, forgive him." (Luke xvii. 3, 4.) And this is to be done, not once or twice only, but until seventy times seven instances in one day. (Matt. xviii. 21, 22.) Upon the whole, it is not unreasonable to think that Dr. Mosheim, led by wrong information, has charged the Mennonites unfairly on these points. (Author's note.)

Waterlandians and Germans. The opulence they have acquired by their industry and commerce has relaxed their severity, softened their manners and rendered them less insensible of the sweets of life; so that at this day the Mennonite congregations furnish their pastors with as much matter of censure and admonition as any other Christian community. There are, however, still some remains of the abstinence and severity of manners that prevailed formerly among the anabaptists; but these are only to be found among some of the smaller sects of that persuasion, and more particularly among those who live remote from great and populous cities.

XIX. The anabaptists, however divided on other subjects, were agreed in their notions of learning and philosophy, which in former times they unanimously considered as the pests of the Christian church, and as highly detrimental to the progress of true religion and virtue. Hence it happened, that among a considerable number of writers who in this century employed their pens in the defence of that sect, there is none whose labours bear any inviting marks of learning or genius. The rigid Mennonites persevere still in the barbarous system of their ancestors, and neglecting totally the improvement of the mind and the culture of the sciences, devote themselves entirely to trade, manual industry, and the mechanic arts. The Waterlandians, indeed, are honourably distinguished from all the other anabaptists in this, as well as in many other respects; for they permit several of their community to frequent the public universities, and there to apply themselves to the study of languages, history, antiquities, and more especially of physic, whose usefulness and importance they do not pretend to deny; and hence it happens, that in our times so many pastors among the Mennonites assume the title and profession of physicians; nay, more, it is not unusual to see anabaptists of this more humane and moderate class engaged even in philosophical researches, on the excellence and utility of which their eyes are at length so far opened as to make them acknowledge their importance to the well-being of society. was no doubt in consequence of this change of sentiment that they erected, not long ago, a public seminary of learning in Amsterdam, in which there is always a person of eminent abilities

chosen as professor of philosophy. But though these moderate anabaptists acknowledge the benefit which may be derived to civil society from the culture of philosophy and the sciences, yet they still persevere so far in their ancient prejudices as to consider theology as a system that has no connexion with them; and, consequently they are of opinion, that in order to preserve it pure and untainted, the utmost caution must be used not to blend the dictates of philosophy with the doctrine of religion. It is further to be observed, that in the present times even the Flemish or rigid anabaptists begin gradually to divest themselves of their antipathy to learning, and allow their brethren to apply themselves to the study of languages, history, and the other sciences.

XXI. The Mennonites, after having been long in an uncertain and precarious situation, obtained a fixed and unmolested settlement in the United Provinces, under the shade of a legal toleration, procured for them by William, prince of Orange, the glorious founder of Belgic liberty.* This illustrious chief, who acted from principle in allowing liberty of conscience and worship to Christians of different denominations, was moreover engaged by gratitude to favour the Mennonites, who had assisted him, in the year 1572, with a considerable sum of money, when his coffers were almost exhausted. The fruits, however, of this toleration were not immediately enjoyed by all the anabaptists that were dispersed through the different provinces of the rising republic; for in several places, both the civil magistrates and the clergy made a long and obstinate opposition to the will of the prince in this matter; particularly in the province of Zealand

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The principles on which the states of Holland tolerated this defamed sect, may be learned from a conversation which the Dutch ambassador, Van Beuning, held with the celebrated M. de Turrenne. "Why should you wish," said the ambassador, "that we would not tolerate them? They are the best and most convenient people in the world. They never aspire to posts of honour, nor rival us in glory. One could wish that everywhere half the inhabitants would decline public offices; there would be more chance for the other half. We have no fear from a sect which maintains the unlawfulness of bearing arms. The Mennonites pay their taxes, and with the money we levy troops, who do us more service than they would. They apply themselves to business, and enrich the state by their industry, without injuring it by. the expense and contagion of their dissipations. But they refuse to take an oath! Terrible crime! They are as much bound by their word and promise as if they swore."—Bayle.

and the city of Amsterdam, where the rememberance of the plots the anabaptists had laid, and the tumults they had excited, was still fresh in the minds of the people. This opposition, indeed, was in a great measure conquered before the conclusion of this century, partly by the resolution and influence of William I. and his son Maurice, and partly by the exemplary conduct of the Mennonites, who manifested their zealous attachment to the republic on several occasions, and redoubled instead of diminishing the precautions that might remove all grounds of suspicion to their disadvantage, and take from their adversaries every pretext which could render their opponents justifiable. But it was not before the following century that their liberty and tranquillity were fixed upon solid foundations, when, by a confession of faith published in the year 1626, they cleared themselves from the imputation of those pernicious and detestable errors that had been laid to their charge.

The reader has now before him Dr. Mosheim's account of these interesting people, the Mennonites, or Dutch Baptists, and may judge for himself how far they are entitled to the obloquy and reproach which have been heaped upon them, chiefly by the advocates of infant sprinkling. The aim of the denomination has evidently been, to restore their religious profession to the simplicity of the New Testament. In Holland, they honourably declined the salaries which the government there offers to all denominations under its authority. The abbé Gregorie, in his "Histoire de Sectes Religieuses," is pleased to say of them, that "the Dutch Mennonites are better informed than the Baptists of other countries," vol. i., p. 246. And certain it is, that there have appeared some very distinguished literary characters of their communion. Among these may be mentioned, Wagenaar, the Tacitus of Holland, who has written the history of the country, and a History of Amsterdam; Husholf, who has been so often adorned with literary honours at Berlin, at Haarlem, and by the society of Stolp, at Leyden, and who is likewise the author of four volumes of Sermons. To these may be added, Martinez, known as the author of the "Catechism of Nature;" Jerome de Bosch, a celebrated Latin poet, who has written, among others, "A Poem on Equality;" Loorjeas, a man of letters, and librarian at Haarlem; and De Vos, minister at Amsterdam, author of several learned works, and particularly against slavery and duelling. To these honourable names, those of many others, we are told, may be added, whose works make part of the "Teylerian Collection."

LECTURE LXXIII.

Rise and progress of the reformation in Scotland-Opinions of Wucliffe early introduced—Scottish prelates at the beginning of the sixteenth century-Assembly of the clergy-Letters to the pope—Competition for vacant offices—Birth and Education of John Knox-Appointed tutor to some noblemen's sons-Becomes a decided reformer—Preaches against popery—Is carried a prisoner into France, and thence sent on board the gallies-Obtains his liberty and returns to England—Appointed chaplain to Edward VI., A. D. 1552-Refuses the living of Allhallows -Gives his reasons for refusing it, and is persecuted-Flies to the continent—Becomes minister to the English refugees at Frankfort -Visits Calvin at Geneva-Returns to Scotland in 1555-The reformation advances—Change of policy in the queen regent— The protestants remonstrate—Meeting at Perth — Sermon by Knox-Violent proceedings of his followers-Destruction of the Carthusian monastery - The queen advances with an army towards Ferth-The protestants attempt to justify their conduct-The congregation enter into a new covenant—Deceitful conduct of the regent-Knox retires to St. Andrew's and preaches against popery-Destruction of the monasteries there-The protestants assemble in vast multitudes-Capitulation of the garrison of Perth-Knox writes to secretary Cecil-Destruction of the abbey church of Scone. A. D. 1550-1600.

THE opinions of Wycliffe were early introduced into Scotland, and in some places they took deep root and continued long. To eradicate these noxious weeds, (as they were then esteemed,) archbishop Blackater held a provincial synod at Glasgow, A.D. 1494, at which the king and council were present. Before this synod, George Campbell of Cesnock, Adam Read of Barskining, John

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Campbell of Newmills, Andrew Shaw of Polkemac, Helen Chambers, Lady Pokelly, Isabell Chambers, Lady Stairs, with about twenty others of inferior rank, in the counties of Kyle and Cunningham, were arraigned for heresy. The heresies of which these persons, who were commonly called the Lollards of Kyle, were accused, were the same with the doctrines of Wycliffe, and nearly the same with those of all the protestant churches, intermixed with a few absurd opinions, which they had rashly adopted, or which were falsely imputed to them by their enemies. Adam Read made a bold and spirited defence for himself and the others accused, which exposed the malice and ignorance of their accusers, and rendered them equally odious and ridiculous. This, however, would not have saved them, if the king, who had a friendship for some of the gentlemen, had not interposed, and put a stop to the prosecution. It is much to the honour of James IV., that he was an enemy to persecution, and that not so much as one person suffered for his religious opinions in his reign.

Archbishop Shevez was succeeded in the see of St. Andrew's by the king's brother, James Steward, duke of Ross, marquis of Ormond, earl of Ardmannark, lord of Brechen and Nevers, commendator of Dunfermline, and chancellor of the kingdom. Of this high-born prelate, who was loaded with so many honours, we know nothing, but that he died young, A.D. 1503. was succeeded in his archbishopric by Alexander Steward, the king's natural son, a boy about eight years of age. Though this nomination was contrary to several canons, the pope, for political reasons, confirmed it; for which the king wrote him a letter of thanks, full of the warmest expressions of gratitude, in which, among many other flattering things, he says,-" We have often sent our letters to you, most blessed father, but never in vain. It was one strong proof of your paternal affection to me, that soon after your exaltation to the apostleship, you sent me a full remission of all my sins; which was the more valuable, because the salvation of the soul is more precious than all other things. But to that inestimable favour you have now added another, by committing the charge of the famous archbishopric of St. Andrew's to my son, though he is but a child." This was

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no doubt intended for a compliment, though it was really a reproach. This youthful prelate, the pupil and favourite of Erasmus, fell, with his royal father, in the fatal battle of Flodden, in the eighteenth year of his age.

Robert Blackater, the first archbishop of Glasgow, died as he was going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, A.D. 1509; and was succeeded in that see by James Beaton, of the ancient family of the Beatons, of Balfour, in Fife. This prelate rose rapidly in the church, deeply engaged in all affairs of the state, and shared in the good and bad fortune of the parties with whom he was connected.

Another prelate flourished in this and the preceding reign, who is well entitled to a place in history, on account of his talents, his virtues, and his services and benefactions to his country. This was William Elphingston, bishop of Aberdeen. He was of an opulent mercantile family in Glasgow, and one of the first elèves of the University of that city. From thence he went to Paris, where, after he had studied several years, he read lectures on the civil and canon law to crowded audiences with great applause. On his return to his native country he was promoted in the church, and employed in several embassies, both by James III. and James IV.; in which he acquitted himself with ability and success.

His first bishopric was that of Ross; from thence he was translated to Aberdeen. In this city he founded a University, in which he built, furnished, and endowed, the first college. He also built the bridge over the river Dee. These were great, expensive, and useful works, from which his country derived great and permanent advantages. He lived admired and beloved for his charity, hospitality, public spirit, and other virtues, to a very advanced age. He was so deeply affected with the deplorable disaster of Flodden, that he never recovered his wonted cheerfulness, and died in the year A.D. 1514. To embalm the memory of great and good men, the benefactors and ornaments of their country, is the most pleasant and useful province of the historian.

The popes, in the times we are now delineating, considered all the clergy in the Christian world as their immediate subjects, and claimed and exercised the right of taxing them at their pleasure. At this the clergy sometimes murmured and remonstrated, but were compelled to submit and pay these papal taxes. The pope sent a legate, named Bajomanus, into Scotland, A.D. 1512, who held a synod of the clergy, both regular and secular, in the Domincan convent at Edinburgh, and demanded an annual tax of two shillings in the pound on every benefice of forty pounds a year and upwards. To this demand the synod consented, but with much reluctance; and it continued to be levied till the reformation, by the name of Bajomanus's tax.

By the great slaughter of the nobility at Flodden, many of the principal offices, both in church and state, became vacant, and the surviving clergy and nobles, instead of uniting together for the defence of their country, engaged in the most violent competitions for these vacant offices. For the archbishopric of St. Andrew's, three powerful competitors appeared; Gavin Douglas, uncle to the earl of Angus, and afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, was nominated by the queen regent, and supported by the Douglasses, who put him in possession of the castle of St. Andrew's. John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrew's, was elected by the convent and supported by the Hepburns', a numerous and powerful clan. By his office of prior he was administrator of the see, and collected the rents of it during the vacancy; and by the assistance of the clergy and people he expelled the servants of his rival, the bishop of Dunkeld, and got possession of the castle of St. Andrew's, in which he placed a garrison. The third competitor was Andrew Foreman, bishop of Moray, in Scotland, archbishop of Bourges, in France, and commendator of several rich abbeys. Foreman was in such high favour with King James IV., that he obtained letters from him under the privy seal, permitting him to solicit the pope for any benefice that became vacant in Scotland, any law to the contrary notwithstanding. Of this permission he now availed himself. and solicited so effectually at the court of Rome, that the pope, Leo X., promoted him to the vacant archbishopric, and to all the abbeys the late archbishop had possessed; and also appointed him his legatus a latere in Scotland. He was then on an embassy at the court of France; but as soon as he had received his bulls from Rome he returned to Scotland to prosecute his claims.

It appears from an authentic letter of the queen regent to the pope, that she had first nominated that excellent prelate, William Elphingston, bishop of Aberdeen, to the archbishopric, and that he had consented to accept of it; but his death prevented his promotion. In another letter, the arrangement that was first intended by the court is thus delineated: - "That William, bishop of Aberdeen, should be translated to St. Andrew's; that George, abbot of Holyrood-house, should be bishop of Aberdeen; Patrick, abbot of Cambus-kenneth, should be abbot of Holyrood-house; that the abbey of Cambus-kenneth, should be given in commendam, to Andrew, bishop of Caithness; the abbey of Arbroath, to Gavin Douglas; Dumfermlin, to James Hepburn; Inchefferay, to Alexander Stewart; Glenluce, to the bishop of Lismore; and Coldingham, to David Hume." But this arrangement was disconcerted by the death of the bishop of Aberdeen, and the subsequent contest for the primacy.

The queen regent and nobility were greatly interested in the disposal of these benefices. This appears from several letters written by them to the pope and cardinal with uncommon warmth. In these letters they put the pope in mind, "that several of his predecessors had granted this privilege to the kings of Scotland by their bulls; that they and their successors would never grant any vacant prelacies in Scotland, till they had waited eight months for the royal nomination, which they would confirm." They declare, in the strongest terms, "that they would not suffer their infant king to be deprived of that privilege. They speak of bishop Foreman with great asperity, as an upstart, and enemy to his king and country, for which the parliament had justly deprived him of all his offices, banished him the kingdom, and would never suffer him to return." The pope, however, paid no regard to all this warmth and threatening.

But I hasten from these introductory remarks to the subject more immediately in view, which is, to furnish an outline of the reformation of religion in Scotland during the sixteenth century. The history of this great and auspicious revolution is connected, almost exclusively, with one extraordinary man—the intrepid and unbending *Knox*.

JOHN KNOX was born in the year 1505, at Giffard, near Had-

dingtoun, in the shire of East Lothian, in Scotland. He received the rudiments of his education at the Grammar-school at Haddingtoun, from whence he was removed to the University of St. Andrew's, and placed under the tuition of the learned John Mair, or Major. He applied with uncommon diligence to the academical learning at that time in vogue; and having great acuteness of wit, he made a very considerable progress in these studies, and obtained, whilst very young, the degree of master of arts. As the bent of his inclinations led him strongly to the church, he turned the course of his studies early that way, and became so distinguished for his skill in scholastic theology, that he obtained priest's orders before the time usually allowed by the canons. However, Knox having read the works of St. Jerome and St. Austin, began to dislike the scholastic theology, and to apply himself to a more plain and solid divinity.

At his entrance upon this new course of study, he attended the preaching of Thomas Guilliam, a black friar, whose sermons were of extraordinary service to him; and the famous Mr. George Wishart coming from England, in 1544, with the commissioners sent from king Henry VIII., Knox, being of an inquisitive temper, learned from him the principles of the reformed religion; upon which he renounced the errors of popery, and became from henceforward a zealous protestant.

Mr. Knox had quitted St. Andrew's a short time before this, being appointed tutor to the sons of the lairds of Ormistoun and Langnidry, who were both favourers of the reformation. His usual residence was at Langnidry, where he not only instructed his pupils in the several branches of learning, but was particularly careful to instil into them the principles of piety and the protestant religion. This coming to the ear of David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, that prelate persecuted him with such severity, that he was frequently obliged to abscond, and to fly from place to place. Wearied with such continual dangers, he resolved to retire to Germany, where the reformation was gaining ground; knowing that in England, though the papal supremacy was renounced, yet most of the doctrines of popery were still retained. But he was dissuaded from this design by the fathers of his two pupils; and cardinal Beaton being assassinated, in 1546, Mr.

Knox was prevailed upon to go to St. Andrew's about Easter, 1547, and for his own safety, as well as that of his pupils, to betake himself to the castle, where they might all be secure from the efforts of the papists; for the persons who had been concerned in the death of Beaton, were at this time in possession of the castle of St. Andrew's. Knox was better qualified in point of learning, and had more extensive views, than any of those who had before preached the reform doctrines in Scotland. decessors had, however, laid the foundations of the reformation. the principles of which now began to be principally known. The inquisitive genius of the age pressed forward in quest of truth; the discovery of one error opened the way to others; the downfal of one imposture drew many after it; the whole fabric, which ignorance and superstition had erected in times of darkness, began to totter; and nothing was wanting to complete its ruin but a daring and active leader to direct the attack. John Knox was eminently qualified for the purpose; for besides those qualifications which I have already mentioned, he possessed the greatest intrepidity of mind. And, therefore, when he began his public ministry at St. Andrew's, it was attended with that success which always accompanies a bold and popular eloquence. Instead of amusing himself with lopping the branches, he struck directly at the root of popery, and attacked both the doctrine and discipline of the established church with a vehemence peculiar to himself, but admirably suited to the temper and wishes of the age.

He continued to preach against popery with great resolution and success, converting many to the protestant religion, though he was violently opposed by the popish party; but in July this year, 1547, the castle being surrendered to the French, Mr. Knox was carried with the garrison into France. He remained a prisoner on board the gallies till the latter end of the year 1549; when, being set at liberty, he went into England, and was there licensed, and appointed preacher, first at Berwick and next at Newcastle. While thus employed, he received a summons, in 1551, to appear before Tonstal, bishop of Durham, for preaching against the mass. However, in 1552, he was appointed chaplain to king Edward VI., "it being thought fit," says Mr. Strype,

"that the king should retain six chaplains in ordinary, who should not only wait on him, but be itineraries, and preach the gospel all the nation over." And the following year he had the grant of an annuity of forty pounds, payable quarterly out of the augmentation office, till some benefice in the church should be conferred on him.

Being now well esteemed by the king, Edward VI., and some of his court, for the zealous manner in which he had preached against the errors of the Roman church, he was about this time appointed to preach before his majesty and the council at Westminster: and in his sermon he aimed some very severe strokes against several men about the court. But, notwithstanding this, the council sent to the archbishop of Canterbury to bestow upon Knox the living of Allhallows, in London, which was accordingly offered him; but he refused it, not choosing to conform to the rites of the English church. He was called before the council to give his reasons for refusing the benefice which had been offered him; and after some conference concerning the ceremonies to which he objected, he was told, that "he was not called there with any ill-meaning, and that they were sorry to find him of a contrary mind to the common order." Knox's reply was, that "he was sorry the common order was contrary to Christ's institution!" It is also said, that he was even offered a bishopric by the king's command; but he refused it with indignation, vehemently condemning the prelatical titles as savouring of the kingdom of antichrist.

While Knox resided in England, he willingly gave his powerful aid to Cranmer in the establishment of that reformation which had been left imperfect by Henry VIII.; but the sudden death of the king, and the accession of Mary, compelled him to fly to the continent. During his exile, he was called to be minister of the English refugees at Frankfort; but his attachment to the doctrines of Calvin, with whom he had formed an intimate friendship, rendered it impossible for him to adopt the principles of those who preferred the service-book of Edward VI. to the more simple and, as it appeared to Knox, the more scriptural form of presbyterian worship, which at first, in compliance with their wishes, he had introduced amongst them; and religious dissen-

sions arose. Dr. Coxe, who had been tutor to Edward, vehemently contended for the service-book; his party became allpowerful; and the Scottish reformer, driven from his pulpit, and accused by his opponents of treason against the emperor, once more retreated into his native country, and took up his residence in the capital. Before leaving the continent, he had again visited Calvin at Geneva. The conversation of this celebrated man. then in the height of his reputation and usefulness, confirmed Knox in his affection to that form of worship which had been established at Geneva; his solitary reflections in exile, and under persecution, had, as we learn from his eloquent and pathetic letters, assumed an extraordinary bitterness of self-reproach; they seemed to upbraid him as one who had fled from the fold and deserted his flock when the spiritual conflict most required his presence, and he returned to Scotland in 1555 with the stern and honest resolution to "spare no arrows," to abide at his post, and to sacrifice everything for the complete establishment of the reformation, according to those principles which he believed to. be founded on the word of God.

During his absence from his native country, the persecutions of Mary, queen of England, had driven some pious and able men to take refuge in Scotland. Harlow, originally a tradesman in the lower ranks of life, but afterwards a zealous preacher under Edward VI., took up his abode in Ayrshire, and assembled around him a little congregation. John Willock, a Scottish Franciscan friar, who had been converted from popery, and afterwards admitted a chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, was another of these labourers. He had been sent twice, in 1555 and 1558, on missions from the duchess of Friesland, in whose dominions he had sought refuge, to the queen regent of Scotland, and as his affability, moderation, and address, were equal to his learning and piety, he was received with distinction, and privately permitted to address his exhortations to all who were anxious for instruction.

The second arrival of Willock gave a great impulse to the cause of the reformation. The images, says Knox, were stolen away in all parts of the country, and in Edinburgh, that great idol called St. Giles, was first drowned in the North Loch, and afterwards burnt, which raised no small trouble in the town. Notwithstanding this marked demonstration, it was resolved by the queen regent and the bishops, that the usual procession which took place on the saint's day should not be omitted, and having procured another image from the grey friars, and fixed it in a wooden barrow, which was borne on men's shoulders, the cavalcade, headed by the regent herself, surrounded by priests and canons, and attended by tabors and trumpets, proceeded down the high street towards the cross; the sight inflamed the passions of the protestants, and various bands of the citizens, abhorring such an abomination, resolved upon revenge. Nor was it long before this was accomplished; for scarce had the queen downger retired, when some of these, under pretence of assisting the bearers, caught hold of the barrow, cast down the idol, and dashing it to pieces on the pavement, left Dagon without a head or hands; and then, to use the words of Knox, "the priests and friars fled faster than they did at Pinky-cleuch; down goes the crosses, off goes the surplices, round caps, and cornets with the crowns. The grey friars gaped, the black friars blew, the priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first gat the house, for such a sudden fray came never among the generation of antichrist, within these realms before."*

Yet, although some progress had been made, and Knox hailed with gratitude the co-operation of Willock, it was with feelings of astonishment, bordering upon horror, that he found the friends of the protestant opinons unresolved upon the great question, whether it was their duty openly to separate from the church of Rome. Many of them continued still to sanction, by their presence, the celebration of the mass; and as the queen dowager had found it necessary, in the prosecution of her political objects, to extend her favour to the protestants, they were anxious to stretch their conformity to the national church as far, perhaps even further, than their consciences permitted. The discourses of the reformer, who at first preached privately to a few friends, in the house of James Syme, a burgess of Edinburgh, soon threw a new light upon the danger and sinfulness of such conduct.

^{*} See Maitland's History of Edinburgh.

Men's consciences became seriously alarmed, a solemn disputation was held upon the point between Maitland, of Lethington, and Knox. The secretary, a man of remarkable learning and ingenuity, exerted his powers to defend the perilous practice which he and his brethren had adopted. But Knox, mighty in the scriptures, honest and straightforward in his adherence to the truth, and master of that style of familiar and fervid eloquence which was adapted to the age and the audience, triumphed over his more elegant and subtle disputant. Maitland acknowledged his error, the practice was renounced, and it was agreed by the congregation, which now surrounded the reformer, that a public and formal separation must henceforth be made from the popish church in Scotland.

Amongst his hearers and followers at this time we find some who became afterwards noted in the history of their country. Erskine, of Dun, a baron of ancient family, whose learning was superior to the times; Sir James Sandilands, commonly called lord St. John, a veteran in his adherence to the reformation; Archibald, lord Lorn, afterwards earl of Argyle; the master of Mar, the lord James, afterwards regent. The earl of Glencairn and the earl marshal were usually present at his sermons, and ardent admirers of his doctrine and eloquence. At length, the Romish clergy, hitherto unaccountably indifferent, roused themselves from their lethargy, and Knox was summoned to appear before an ecclesiastical convention in the capital. He repaired to Edinburgh, prepared to defend his principles, and to his astonishment found the diet deserted, and his pulpit surrounded, not by his accusers, but by crowds of affectionate and zealous disciples, to whom, for a short season, he was permitted to preach without interruption or disturbance. This liberty he probably owed to the toleration of the queen regent; but when, at the request of the earl marshal, he carried his boldness so far as to address to this daughter of the house of Guise a letter, in which he exhorted her, not only to protect the reformed preachers, but to lend a favourable ear to their doctrine, he found his propositions received with derision and contempt. Receiving his letter from Glencairn, and glancing carelessly over it, the dowager handed it to the archbishop of Glasgow, asking him if his lordship was solicitous to read a pasquil, a mode of proceeding which the reformer treated afterwards with uncommon severity.*

At this critical period, when rejoicing in the success of his preaching, and congratulating himself that the time of the church's deliverance was drawing nigh, Knox received an invitation to become pastor of the reformed congregation at Geneva, and the readiness with which he obeyed the summons is an inexplicable circumstance in his life. Although his labours had been singularly rewarded, the infant congregation which he had gathered round him still required his nurture and protection. During his last journey into Angus, the threatenings of the friars and bishops had increased, and the clouds of persecution were seen gathering around him. The state of the gospel at Geneva, on the contrary, was prosperous. He had before bitterly upbraided himself for deserting his appointed charge in the hour of peril; yet he now repeated the same conduct, left his native country, and settled with his family on the continent. It was in vain to tell his followers, as he did, that if they continued in godliness, whenever they pleased they might command his return. They were continuing in the truth, as he has himself informed us, and they earnestly, but unsuccessfully, endeavoured to detain The rage, indeed, of his opponents, was about to assume at this time a deadly aspect. They had represented him to the queen as an enemy to magistrates, as well as a seducer of the people, and possibly by retiring he saved his life; but judging with all charity, it must be admitted, that whilst his writings at this season had all the impassioned zeal, his conduct betrayed some want of the ardent courage, of the martyr.

His retreat had an immediate and unfavourable effect on the progress of the reformation. The bishops and the friars increased in boldness and violence. Knox, whose personal encounter they dreaded, now that his appearance was impossible, received a summons to stand his trial; condemnation followed, and he was burnt in effigy, at the high cross of the capital (1556.) Previous to his departure, the reformer exhorted his followers to continue their private meetings, which he said they ought to open and

^{*} M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 177-188.



conclude with prayer, to read the scriptures, and to listen to the word of exhortation from any experienced brother, provided his instructions were given with modesty and a desire to edify. Such directions they willingly obeyed, and secure in the countenance and protection of the queen-mother, who at this time courted their assistance, they became less the objects of jealousy and persecution to their adversaries of the Romish faith. were they long left without preachers. In the year succeeding the retirement of Knox, John Douglas, a converted Carmelite friar, who was chaplain to the earl of Argyle, not only addressed a private congregation, but spoke openly at the court, against the superstitions of the times. Paul Methuen, also, originally a tradesman, began to teach in Dundee; others exhorted the people in Angus and Mearns, and the Romish clergy, taking alarm, so far succeeded in working upon the fears of the regent, that she issued a proclamation, summoning the preachers to answer for their conduct. This they prepared instantly to obey; but the gentlemen of the west of Scotland, who formed the chief part of their congregations, resolved to accompany them to their trial, and many had already arrived in the capital, when the queen, dreading a tumult, commanded all who had no express exemption, to repair for fifteen days to the borders. Far from submitting to an order, of which they easily detected the object, the barons surrounded the palace, obtained an audience, and in reply to the remonstrances of the regent, thus addressed her :-- "We know, madam, that this is the device of the bishops who now stand beside you. We avow to God it shall not go so. They oppress us and our poor tenants to feed themselves; they trouble our ministers, and seek to undo them and us all. We will not suffer it any longer." This bold address was given by Chalmers, of Catgirth, one of the barons of the west; and it is said, as he concluded it, his companions, who had hitherto been uncovered, with an air of defiance put on their steel caps. The regent was intimidated, declared that she meant no violence against their teachers, revoked the proclamation, and promised to be herself the judge of the controversy.*

^{*} Knox's Reformation, p. 103; Spottiswood, b. ii., p. 94.

This success, and a period of tranquillity which succeeded to it, emboldened the leaders of the reform party,—the earl of Glencarin, lord Lorn, son of the earl of Argyle, Erskine of Dun, and the prior of St. Andrew's, afterwards the celebrated regent Murray,—to request the return of Knox to his native country. In a letter addressed to this reformer, they informed him that the faithful of his acquaintance were steadfast to the belief in which he had left them; that they thirsted for his presence, and were ready to jeopard their lives for the glory of God. "Little cruelty," they observed, "had been used against them; the influence of the friars was decreasing, and they had good hopes that God would augment his flock."*

Obeying this invitation, Knox resigned his charge at Geneva, and arriving at Dieppe, on his way to Scotland, was met there, to his grief and mortification, by letters which arrested his journey. They stated that the zeal of the reformers had suddenly cooled; that many, contented with the toleration they enjoyed, preferred the security of worshipping God in private according to their conscience, to the peril attending a public reformation; and that the scheme which had given rise to their letter had been precipitately abandoned. It did not belong to the disposition or principles of the reformer to bear this vacillating conduct in silence. He addressed to them an immediate and indignant remonstrance; urged upon them the sacred duty of accomplishing the great work which they had begun; assured them that although dangers and trials must be met with in its prosecution, their relinquishing it would not save them from the most tyrannical proscription; and concluded by reminding them, that so vitally important a matter as the reformation of religion belonged to the nobility, even more than to the clergy or chief rulers called kings. This epistle, which was accompanied by a detailed address to the nobles, and by private letters to Erskine of Dun, and Wishart of Pitarrow, two leading men amongst the reformers, produced an astonishing effect. The lords deplored their weakness, a new impulse was given to the cause—zeal and resolution animated their repentant followers, and on the 3rd of December,

^{*} Keith, p. 65.

1557, that memorable bond of covenant was drawn up, which henceforth united the protestants under one great association, which was subscribed immediately by their principal supporters, and could not be deserted without something like apostasy. described in no mild or measured terms the bishops and ministers of the Romish church as members of Sathan, who sought to destroy the gospel of Christ and his followers, and declared that they felt it to be their duty to strive in their Master's cause even unto death—certain as they were of victory in him. For this purpose, it declared that they had entered into a solemn promise, in the presence of God and his congregation, to set forward and establish, with their whole power and substance, his blessed word -to labour to have faithful ministers-to defend them, at the peril of their lives and goods, against all tyranny; and it concluded by anathematizing their adversaries, and denouncing vengeance against all the superstition, idolatry, and abominations of the papal church. This bond, which was drawn up at Edinburgh, received the signatures of the earls of Glencairn, Argyle, Morton, lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, and many others. It was evidently an open declaration of war against the established religion - toleration and compromise were at an end, and their next step shewed that the congregation—for so the reformers now named themselves - were determined to commence their proceedings in earnest. They passed a resolution, declaring "that in all parishes of the realm, the Common Prayer (by which they meant the service-book of Edward VI.) should be read weekly, on Sunday and other festival days, in the parish churches, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, conformable to the Book of Common Prayer; and that if the curates of parishes be qualified, they shall be caused to read the same; but if they refuse, then the most qualified in the parish were directed to supply their place. It was resolved at the same time, that "doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of scripture, be used privately in quiet houses, avoiding great conventions of the people thereto, until such time as God should move the prince to grant public preaching, by true and faithful ministers."*

[•] Keith, 66; Knox, 111.

In 1558, Knox published, at Geneva, a treatise, entitled, "The First Blast of YOL. III. E E

These resolutions the lords of the congregation proceeded to put in execution in such places as were under their power. The earl of Argyle encouraged Douglas, his chaplain, to preach openly in his house; other barons imitated his example; a second invi-

the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regimen of Women." His chief motive for writing this, appears to have been the cruel and sanguinary government of queen Mary of England, and the measures of Mary of Lorraine, the queen-regent of Scotland, who was influenced by French councils to break through the legal constitution, and infroduce an arbitrary government into that kingdom. It has been observed, that Knox displays more erudition and more extensive reading in this, than in any other of his treatises. His design in it was to prove that it was against nature, and contrary to both scripture and reason, to entrust women with the government of states or kingdoms.

The treatise appears to have given umbrage to many; and it seems as if John Fox, the martyrologist, had made some objections to it, from the following letter, written by Knox to Mr. Fox, who was then at Basil; the original is preserved in the British Museum. (Harleian MSS., No. 416, fo. 70.)

" Dearly beloved brother,

" Albeit at the departure of this our brother, from whom I received your loving and friendly letter, myself could write nothing by reason of the evil disposition of my body; yet because I could not suffer him to depart without some remembrance of my duty to you, I used the help of my left hand,-that is, of my wife, in scribbling these few lines unto you. As touching my purpose and mind on the publishing the First Blast of the Trumpet, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, that shall be known, which now by many cannot be persuaded,—to wit, that therein I neither have sought myself neither yet the vain praise of men. My rude vehemency, and inconsidered affirmations, which may appear rather to proceed from choler than of zeal and reason, I do not excuse; but to have used any other title more plausible, thereby to have allured the world by any art, as I never purposed, so do I not yet purpose. To me it is enough to say that black is not white; and man's tyranny and foolishness is not God's perfect ordinance; which thing I do, not so much to correct common wealths, as to deliver my own conscience, and to instruct the consciences of some, who yet, I fear, be ignorant in that matter; but farther of this I delay to better opportunity. Salute your wife and daughter heartily in my name. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest with you now and ever. From Geneva, the 18th of May, 1558.

" Your brother to power,

"John Knox."

"I, your sister, the writer hereof, saluteth you and your wife most heartily, thanking her of her loving tokens, which my mother and I received from Mrs. Kent."

Knox intended to have written a subsequent treatise against the government of women, which was to have been called "The Second Blast;" but Queen Mary dying, and he, having expectations of advantage to the protestant cause from the accession of Elizabeth, went no farther.

tation was addressed to Knox (November, 1558), requesting his immediate presence amongst them, and a deep alarm seized the whole body of the Romish clergy. They represented, not unreasonably, the declarations of the congregation, and their subsequent conduct, as acts bordering upon treason; the Romish faith, they said, was still the established religion of the state; it enjoyed the sanction of the laws and the protection of the sovereign; and it was now openly attacked, and attempted to be subverted, by a private association of men, who, although no ways recognised by the constitution, had assumed the power of legislation. To what this might grow it was difficult to say; but it was impossible to view so bold a denunciation of the national religion without apprehension and dismay.*

These remonstrances were addressed to the queen regent at that critical season when the marriage between her daughter and the dauphin, although proposed in the Scottish parliament, had not been fully agreed to. It was necessary for her to manage matters warily with the principal nobles, and she expressed a steadfast disinclination to all extreme measures against the congregation. The archbishop of St. Andrew's also, a prelate whose character partook nothing of cruelty though his morals were loose and depraved, addressed an admonitory letter to Argyle, persuading him to dismiss his heretical chaplain, promising to supply his place with a learned and catholic instructor, complaining of the reproaches to which his ecclesiastical lenity had exposed him, and insinuating that repeated provocations might compel him, as the spiritual guardian of the church, to adopt a severer course (March, 1558.) Nor was it long before this severity was experienced, although there seems good grounds for believing that the prelate was innocent of having instigated it. Walter Miln, a parish priest of Lunan, in Angus, had early embraced the reformation, and having been seized and condemned as a heretic in the time of Beaton, was so fortunate as to escape from prison and remain in concealment in his native country. Encouraged by the subsequent leniency of the queen dowager, this aged and venerable minister of the truth, who was past eighty, had openly

Cook, vol. ii., p. 35; Spottiswood, p. 117.

preached to the people; but the severity of the clergy again compelled him to seek his lurking places, and being discovered at this time, he was tried for heresy at St. Andrew's, and condemned to be burnt. From his feeble frame and great age it was expected that he would say little in his defence, but the old man exhibited uncommon spirit, and so deeply moved were all who heard him, by his pathetic appeal and ardent exposition of the truth, that after the clergy had pronounced him guilty, no secular judge could be found to pass sentence. The odious office, however, was at last performed by a dissolute retainer of the archbishop, and he was led to the stake amid the tears and sympathy of an immense multitude, who execrated the cruelty of which he was the victim. Surrounded by the flames, he was yet able to testify that the cause for which he suffered was the defence of the truth of Jesus Christ. "As for myself," said he, "I am four-score and two years old, and cannot live long by the course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones, and I trust in God I am the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause." And his prophetic wishes were fulfilled, he was the last in that country of the army of martyrs, (April, 1558.)

This cruel and iniquitious execution was viewed by the people with horror, and excited the utmost indignation in the leaders of the congregation. They remonstrated in firm terms to the queen regent, and when this princess assured them that she was no party to such sanguinary proceedings, their whole animosity was directed against the clergy. Emissaries, commissioned by the reformers, travelled through the country, exposing the superstition, wickedness, and injustice of such conduct; many of the lesser barons, and the greater part of the towns, joined the party; a majority of the people declared themselves ready to support the cause, and the protestant lords presented an address to the dowager, in which they claimed redress at her hands, "of the unjust tyranny used against them by those called the estate ecclesiastical." "Your grace," said they, "cannot be ignorant what controversy hath been, and yet is, concerning the true religion and right worshipping of God, and how the clergy (as they will be termed) usurp to themselves such empire over the consciences of men that whatsoever they command must be obeyed, and whatsoever they

forbid avoided, without respect to God's pleasure revealed in his word, or else there abideth nothing for us but fagot, fire, and sword." They then noticed the cruel executions of their brethren, and declared that, although at the time they had neither defended these martyrs nor demanded a redress of their wrongs, they were now convinced that as "a part of that power which God had established in the realm, it was their duty either to have protected their brethren from such extremity, or to have borne along with them open testimony to their faith. It was evident," they said, "that abuses had now grown to such a head that public reformation was necessary, as well in religion as in the temporal government of the state; and they therefore implored her grace, and her grave council, whom they willingly acknowledged as the only authority placed in the realm for the correction of ecclesiastical and civil disorders, that she would listen to their requests, unless by God's word it could be shewn that they were unjust and ought to be denied." The following requests were appended to the supplication; they were drawn up with force and clearness, and involved, if granted, a complete reformation. It was required, first, that the congregation should be allowed to meet in public or in private, to hear common prayers in the vulgar tongue, that they might increase in knowledge and be led with all fervour and sincerity to offer up their petitions for the universal church, the queen, their sovereign, and her royal consort, the regent, and the whole estates of the realm. Secondly, that it should be lawful for any one present who was well qualified in knowledge, to interpret any obscure passages in the scriptures which should be read. Thirdly, that baptism and the Lord's supper should be administered in the vulgar tongue, and this last sacrament in both kinds, according to our Saviour's institution; and lastly, that the present wicked and scandalous lives of the clergy should be reformed, in obedience to the rules contained in the New Testament, the writings of the fathers, and the godly laws of the Emperor Justinian—which three standards they are willing should decide the controversy between them and the Romish clergy.*

However unpalatable such requests might be, it did not suit

Spottiswood, b. iii., p. 119; Keith, p. 80; Knox, p. 129.

the views of Mary Guise to give them a decided refusal. The marriage between her daughter and the dauphin had indeed been concluded; but at this moment she required all the influence of the protestant lords in parliament to obtain the crown matrimonial, and the title of king for the dauphin. When, therefore, the petition was presented to her at Holyrood house; by Sir James Sandilands, the venerable preceptor of the knights of St. John, she received it with respect, promised them that their proposal should have her anxious consideration, and in the mean time assured them of her protection.

Very different were the effects produced by this conduct on the Romish clergy and the lords of the congregation. Grateful for her forbearance, and relying upon her promises, the protestants abstained from all public exercises of their religion, and silenced one of their members who attempted to preach at Leith. But the papal party arraigned the pusillanimity of the regent in condescending to temporize with heretics; and in a convention, which was held at Edinburgh soon after, loaded Erskine of Dun, who supported the claims of the congregation, with mingled threats and reproaches.

The queen regent was now possessed of the great objects to which all her efforts had been so long directed. She had obtained the supreme power; her daughter, the queen, was married to the dauphin, and the title of king of Scotland and the crown matrimonial had been solemnly conferred upon him by the Scottish parliament. For the attainment of these objects she had been greatly indebted to the assistance of the protestant leaders. But she was also under obligations to France, especially to her brothers, the princes of the house of Guise, and these ambitious and unscrupulous men claimed as a return, that she should join that league for the destruction of the protestants, and the reestablishment of the catholic faith in Europe, to which they had become parties with the pope, the king of Spain, and the emperor. As one part of their vast and unprincipled design, it was necessary to put down the reformation in Scotland, and to secure the French ascendancy in that country; and having accomplished this, they trusted it would be no difficult matter to expel Elizabeth from the throne, to place the crown on the head of Mary, the young

queen of Scotland, whom they had already induced to assume the title of queen of England, and under her to unite the two kingdoms in the profession of the ancient faith.

These designs, and her expected co-operation in them, were communicated to the queen regent by Monsieur de Bettancourt, who arrived in Scotland on a mission from the king of France, soon after the conclusion of the peace of Cambray. The disposition of Mary of Guise was inclined to moderate measures, and being attached to some of the leaders of the protestants, to whose abilities and friendship she had been indebted, it was not without emotion and regret that she received the proposals of France. But she had been educated in the Romish faith, and in a profligate court; her brothers, the cardinal and the duke, had acquired an extraordinary influence over her mind; the great body of the papal clergy in Scotland urged upon her the necessity of adopting decided measures to check the rapid growth of heresy, and after a feeble and unsuccessful remonstrance to the court of France. she abandoned her better resolutions, and resigned herself to the entire direction of the Guises.

This fatal change in the policy of the queen regent was followed by an immediate collision between the protestant and the Romish parties; in a convention of the clergy, which assembled at Edinburgh (March, 1559), the lords of the congregation presented a petition, in which, in addition to their former demands, they now insisted that bishops should be elected with consent of the gentlemen of the diocese, and parish priests by the votes of the parishioners. To these they not only received a decided refusal, but the synod, contrary to the spirit of improvement and conciliation exhibited in the preceding year, declared that no language except the Latin could be used in the public prayers of the church, without violating its express decrees, and offering offence to the majesty of God; nor was this all. The queen, with a rigour for which it is difficult to account, issued a proclamation for conformity of religion; all were commanded to resort daily to mass and confession. In an interview with some of the protestant leaders, she exhibited to them the injunctions she had received from France, warned them of the peril in which they stood, and summoned some of the most distinguished among the reformed ministers to appear before a parliament to be held at Stirling, and defend themselves from the accusations which were to be brought against them.

Alarmed by these rash and unwise proceedings, the earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell, sheriff of Ayr, requested an audience, in which they delivered a strong remonstrance. But when they besought her not to molest their preachers, unless their doctrine could be proved to be repugnant to the word of God, she broke out into expressions of reproach and anger, declaring that their ministers should be banished, though they preached as soundly as St. Paul. Glencairn and Campbell calmly reminded her of the promises of toleration which she had made them. "Promises," she replied, "ought not to be urged upon princes, unless they can conveniently fulfil them." So flagrant a doctrine was received by the Scottish lords with merited indignation; to offer arguments against it would have been ridiculous; but they did not shrink from their duty. "If, madam," said they, "you are resolved to keep no faith with your subjects, we will renounce our allegiance, and it will be for your grace to consider the calamities which such a state of things must entail upon the country."

The boldness of this language produced a return to calmer reason, and she appeared willing to avert the storm; but at this moment the reformed opinions were publicly embraced by the town of Perth, and the queen, in great disturbance, commanded Lord Ruthven, the provost, to suppress the alleged heresy. His reply was, "that he could bring the bodies of his citizens to her grace, and compel them to prostrate themselves before her, till she was fully satiated of their blood, but over their consciences he had no power." She upbraided him for his "malapert" reply; commanded Dundee, Montrose, and all other places which had abjured the ancient faith, to be ready to receive the sacrament of the mass at Easter, and again summoned the preachers to appear at Stirling, to answer for their conduct, upon the 10th of May.

It was at this critical season that the adherents of the reformation received an important accession of strength, by the arrival of Knox in Scotland (May 3rd, 1559.) The remonstrances which he had transmitted to the lords of the congregation from Dieppe

had produced the most favourable effects; and in obedience to the second invitation, addressed to him in the month of November, 1558, he now came to take his part with Willock, Douglas, and others, faithful preachers, who during his absence had laboured at the peril of their lives for the establishment of the truth. He found the cause of the congregation in a condition very different from that in which he had left it, at the period of his retreat from Scotland in 1557. Then the seed had indeed been sown, and in some places began to spring up; but the Romish party were predominant, and matters had not yet ripened for a general reformation. Now the protestant faith was espoused by large masses of the people, professed by the most powerful of the nobles. and in the event of attack, it could look with some confidence to the countenance and support of England. But it acquired a wonderful accession of strength in the return of this bold, uncompromising, and eloquent adherent, who, without delaying in the capital, repaired directly to Dundee. Here, when he learnt the proceedings against the ministers, he earnestly required that he might be permitted to assist his brethren, and to make confession of his faith along with them, a request which we may believe was readily granted.

It was now resolved by the leaders of the congregation, that they would accompany their preachers to Stirling, and the principal barons of Angus and Mearns took their journey for this purpose to Perth. They were no armour, but declared that they came as peaceable men, and solely to make confession of their faith, and to assist their ministers in their just defence. Lest their numbers might create alarm, Erskine of Dun, a grave and prudent man, eminent for his early adherence to the truth, leaving his brethren in Perth, went forward to Stirling, and requested an interview with the queen. On this occasion, the regent acted with much dissimulation; she listened with apparent moderation, and when the envoy assured her that the single wishes of the congregation were to be permitted to worship God according to their conscience, and to secure liberty to their preachers, she declared that if the people would disperse, the preachers should be unmolested, the summons discharged, and new proceedings taken, which should remove all ground of complaint. Relying

upon this promise, Erskine wrote to his brethren, who were in Perth: their leaders sent home the people, and it was expected that peace and toleration would be restored. But with the removal of the danger, the regent thought it politic to forget her promises, and with a precipitation which was as treacherous as it was short-sighted, the summons was continued; the ministers who did not appear were denounced as rebels, and every person prohibited, under the penalty of high treason, from receiving or supporting them. Enraged at such perfidy, the laird of Dun withdrew indignantly from court, rejoined his brethren who were still at Perth, excused himself for having too much trusted a princess, who he was now convinced was resolved upon their destruction, and warned them to prepare for those extreme measures which were meditated against them. His representations made the deepest impression, and Knox seized the moment to deliver to the people a sermon against idolatry, with all that fervid and impassioned eloquence for which he was so remarkable. described how odious that crime appeared in the sight of God, what positive commands had been given in scripture for the destruction of its monuments, and concluded by a denunciation of the mass, as one of the most abominable forms in which it had ever appeared to ensuare and degrade the human mind.

It is by no means clear that the preacher, or the leaders of the congregation who supported him, entertained, at this moment, any intention of exhorting the multitude to open violence; on the contrary, the congregation, after the conclusion of the sermon, quietly dispersed, and a few loiterers, or, to use Knox's expressions, "certain godly men" alone remained in the church. Scarce, however, had the preacher retired, when a priest, with a spirit either of mistaken zeal, or of ill-timed defiance, unveiled a rich shrine which stood above one of the altars, and disclosing the image of the Virgin and the Saints, prepared to celebrate mass. A youth, who had listened to Knox's exhortations, exclaimed that this was intolerable. He appealed to those who stood by, and conjured them not to permit that idolatry which God had condemned to be used in their despite and before their face. The priest, indignant at the interruption, struck him, and he retaliated by casting a stone at the altar, which broke one of

the images. In an instant all was uproar and confusion; those who till now had been only spectators, and whose minds from the recent eloquence of Knox were highly excited, broke in upon the shrine, tore down its ornaments, shivered it to pieces, and, being joined by others whom the noise had attracted, demolished every monument or relic which they imagined to savour of idolatry, in an incredibly short space of time. (May 11, 1559.) The confusion now increased, and they who had inflicted this summary vengeance being joined by the "rascal multitude," as Knox denominates them, rushed with headlong fury to the religious houses of the Grey and Black Friars. They seem to have found them deserted-no defence at least was made; in a few hours these magnificent edifices were spoiled of their wealth, and their altars, confessionals, and every ancient and hallowed relic which adorned them torn down and defaced. The same fate was experienced by the Charter-house or Carthusian monastery, a building of extraordinary strength and magnificence, of which, within two days, nothing was to be seen but the bare and melancholy walls. The first invasion or impulse appears to have been solely against "idolatry," but although the preachers had been careful to warn their hearers not to put their hands to a reformation for covetousness sake, the people, stimulated by the extraordinary wealth and luxury of the Grey Friars, began to spoil. No honest man, however, says Knox, was enriched to the value of a groat, and the plunder was permitted to the poor. The probability seems to be, that the poor took the liberty of helping themselves. Nor was this ebullition of popular fury confined to Perth; the infection spread to Couper, a small town which had embraced the protestant faith, and here similar excesses, though on a smaller scale, took place.

It was with feelings of deep resentment that the queen regent heard of these violent and illegal proceedings. She lamented especially the destruction of the monastery of Carthusians, a royal foundation, and honoured by her as holding the ashes of James I. In the first paroxysm of her anger, she vowed vengeance against all who were connected with the disturbance, and declared her resolution to rase the town of Perth to the ground, and sow it with salt, as a monument of perpetual desolation. These were not

meant to be empty threats. She instantly summoned to her defence the duke of Chastelherault, with Athole, and D'Osell, the French commander; she remonstrated with those leaders amongst the congregation who, though attached to the doctrines of the reformation, were inimical to the excesses which had been committed: two of these, the earl of Argyle and the Lord James, disclaiming all intention of affording encouragement to rebellion, joined her with their forces, and, on the 18th of May, she advanced towards Perth, where the protestants had begun to collect their strength. Soon after, they drew up three letters in justification of their proceedings. In the first, which was addressed to the queen regent, they informed this princess, that, although they had till now served her with willing hearts, they should be constrained, if she continued her unjust persecution, to take the sword of just defence. They were ready, they added, to obey their sovereign and her husband under the single condition that they might live in peace, and have the word of Jesus Christ truly preached, and his sacraments rightly administered. this, they were determined never to be subject to mortal men. They declared that they were about to notify what they had done to their sovereign and the king of France, and they conjured her in the name of God, as she valued the peace of the realm, not to invade them till they had received their answer. The second letter of the congregation, which was a more elaborate defence, was directed to the nobility of Scotland. They knew, they said, that the nobles were divided in opinion. Some regarded them as a faction of heretics and seditious men, who troubled the commonwealth, and against whom no punishment could be too severe; others were persuaded of the justness of their cause; nay, had for some time openly professed it, and, after having exhorted them to the enterprize, had deserted them in their extreme necessity. To the first, they alleged that none could prove such offence against them; all that they had done being in obedience to God, who had commanded idolatry and its monuments to be cast down and destroyed. "Our earnest and long request," they continued, "hath been, and is, that in open assembly, it may be disputed, in the presence of indifferent auditors, whether these abominations, named by the pestilent papists, religion, which

they by fire and sword defend, be the true religion of Jesus Christ or not. Now, this humble request being denied us, our lives are sought in a most cruel manner, and ve, the nobility, whose duty it is to defend innocent persons, and to bridle the fury and rage of wicked men, were it of princes or emperors, do, notwithstanding, follow their appetites, and arm yourselves against your brethren and natural countrymen. If ye think that we be criminal because we dissent from you in opinion, consider, we beseech you, that the prophets under the law, the apostles of Jesus Christ, after his ascension the primitive church and holy martyrs, did disagree with the whole world in their days; and will ye deny that their action was just, and that all those who persecuted them were murderers before God? May not the like be true this day? What assurance have ye this day of your religion, which the world that day had not of theirs? Ye have a multitude that agree with you; and so had they-ye have antiquity of time; and that they lacked not-ye have councils, laws, and men of reputation, that have established all things as ye suppose; but none of all these things can make any religion acceptable to God, which only dependeth upon his own will, revealed to man in his most sacred word. Is it not, then, a wonder that ye sleep in so deadly a security in the matter of your own salvation?" To the second class, those of the nobles who had first espoused their cause, and now deserted it, they directed an indignant remonstrance. "Unless," said they, "ye again join yourselves to us, we declare that as of God ye are reputed traitors, so shall ye be excommunicated from our society, and from all participation with us in the administration of the sacraments; the glory of this victory which God will give to his church, yea, even in the eyes of men, shall not appertain to you; but the fearful judgment which apprehended Ananias and his wife Sapphira, shall apprehend you and your posterity." The spirit and contents of the third letter of the congregation may be divined from its extraordinary superscription. It was directed "to the generation of antichrist, the pestilent prelate, and their shavelings within Scotland." It contained a tremendous anathema against those who, in their blind fury, had caused the blood of martyrs to be shed; it warned them that if they proceeded in their cruelty they should be made the subject of a war of extermination, such as Israel carried on with the Canaanites; it arrogated to themselves the appellation of the congregation of Christ; it stigmatized their opponents as the offspring of the man of sin, and concluded, by uniting, in a manner which none can read without sorrow, expressions of extremest vengeance and wrath with the holy name of God, and the gospel of peace and love which was preached by his Son.

It is not to be expected that such violent measures should be attended with pacific effects; the army of the protestants was inferior to their opponents, and the queen regent, confident of victory, had disdainfully rejected all proposals of negotiation, when the arrival of Glencairn in the camp of the congregation, at the head of 2,500 men, induced her to hesitate. By the mediation of the earl of Argyle and the lord James, a cessation of hostilities was agreed on. Both parties consented to disperse—the town was to be left open to the queen regent. No person was to be troubled or brought to answer for the late changes in religion and abolishing of idolatry; the religion begun was to be suffered to go forward; no Frenchman was to approach within three miles of the town; when the queen retired no French garrison was to be left within it; and in the meantime all controversies were to be reserved till the meeting of parliament.

This treaty having been concluded, Willock, who had arrived with Glencairn, and Knox, who had remained at Perth since the demolition of the monasteries, sought an interview with Argyle and the lord James, and upbraided them with their desertion of the brethren. They repelled the accusation with warmth, declared their steady attachment to the cause, but said they had promised the queen to labour for peace, and that the terms which she had offered were too reasonable to be refused. If, however, she proved false to her word, they called God to witness, that they would assist and concur with their brethren in all times to come. Satisfied with this explanation, Knox ascended the pulpit. It was right, he observed, before they left the scene of their labours, that all men should be exhorted to constancy and thankfulness. It had pleased God to stay the rage of the enemy without the effusion of blood; but he added, with that discern-



ment into human motives and character with which he was eminently gifted, that he was well assured the queen meant no truth, "that it became no brother to be weary or faint, since he was certain the treaty would only be kept till the regent and her Frenchmen became the strongest."

Profiting by these warnings, the lords of the congregation, before they separated, framed a new bond or covenant, in which it was agreed "to unite together" in doing all things required of God in his scriptures that might be to his glory, and to put away all things that dishonoured his name, and hindered his pure and true worship. They solemnly obliged themselves to defend the congregation or any of its members when trouble was intended against them; and they promised, in the presence of God, to spare neither labour, life, nor substance, in maintaining the liberty of the whole brethren against whatever person should trouble them for the cause of religion or any other cause thereon depending. This agreement was signed by the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lord James, lord Boyd, lord Ochiltree, whose daughter Knox afterwards married, and Matthew Campbell, of Taringhame.

It was soon seen how necessary were these measures to the existence of the protestants. They had left Perth on the 29th of May; that day the queen regent entered the town, and, with the duplicity which Knox had anticipated, violated the promise which she had made. Chastelherault, D'Osell, and a body of French soldiers, accompanied her; the chief magistrates who had been favourers of the reformation were deprived of their authority; Charters, of Kinfauns, a man of profligate manners, was made provost, and many of the inhabitants abandoned their houses and submitted to a voluntary exile rather than witness the re-establishment of that worship which they abhorred. It had been stipulated that Perth should not be left in the occupation of a French garrison, and the regent congratulated herself upon her ingenuity in observing the letter, whilst she broke the spirit of the treaty. A body of troops in the pay of France, though natives of Scotland, were entrusted with the custody of the town; and the princess, when reminded of her engagements, of which the real meaning could not be easily misunderstood,

defended her conduct on the common and untenable maxim, that no faith was to be kept with heretics!

These dishonourable proceedings, however, produced important effects, and were favourable to the cause they were intended to destroy. The earl of Argyle and the lord James, faithful to their promise, deserted the regent, and departed secretly to St. Andrew's. Lord Ruthven, the earl of Monteith, and Murray of Tullibarden, disgusted at the hypocrisy with which they had been treated, accompanied them; and on receiving a summons from the queen dowager to repair instantly to court on pain of her highest displeasure, they answered that they dared not, with a safe conscience, be partakers of the manifest tyranny which was committed by her and her council, the prelates, against their brethren, who possessed a like faith with themselves. (1st June, 1559.) There was now no time for delay. Letters were dispatched by Argyle and the lord James to the lairds of Dun and Pitarrow, the provost of Dundee, and others of their brethren, to assemble for the reformation at St. Andrew's: and on the 4th of June they were joined, not only by many devoted brethren, but by Knox, who in the short interval between this and the treaty of Perth, had preached with great success in Fife.

The zealous spirit and popular eloquence of Knox now found daily employment, and was followed by violent effects. After a sermon at Crail, a small sea-town in Fife, in which he exhorted his hearers to die like men, or to live and be victorious in the great struggle in which they were engaged, the multitude demolished the altars and images in the church, and the same scenes were repeated after an equally stirring address at Anstruther, another seaport town not far distant.

But his greatest effort was reserved for St. Andrew's, the seat of the metropolitan of Scotland, and the scene which was associated in the mind of the reformer with his earliest labours and sufferings. The leaders of the congregation, however, became apprehensive of the consequences which, in this centre of Romish pomp, might follow a public address. The archbishop, hearing that his cathedral was to be reformed, entered the town on

Saturday evening with a hundred spears. He sent Colville, of Cleish, to inform Knox, that on his first appearance in the pulpit he should be saluted with a dozen culverins, and the reformer was earnestly requested to be silent. But no persuasions of his friends, no threats of his enemies, could shake his resolution. He ascended the pulpit, chose as the subject of his sermon that portion of scripture which describes our Saviour driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple, and delivered an address in his usual strain of familiar and indignant eloquence. Whatever may have been his sentiments, or those of the leaders of the congregation as to the first excesses of the people, it was evident that Knox, in a spirit of erroneous and misdirected zeal, no longer doubted that it was their duty, as professors of the truth, to put down by actual violence the idolatry which he condemned, to hazard all the evils of civil war and popular commotion, rather than suffer the alleged abominations of the Romish church, and the tyranny of the French faction, to pollute the faith and endanger the liberty of the country. Animated by this feeling, he drew a parallel between the abuses of the Jewish worship and the corruptions of popery; he explained to the magistrates and the commonalty that it was their duty to imitate Christ's example, and remove all monuments of idolatry; and so ready were they to follow his instructions, that the congregation sallied from the sermon to the monasteries of the Dominican and Franciscan order, and, encouraged by their chief magistrates, levelled these proud and wealthy edifices to the ground.

In the midst of this destruction the archbishop flew to the queen, who lay with her Frenchmen at Falkland. Inflamed by his account of the riot, the regent gave instant orders to advance upon St. Andrew's; and as Argyle and the lord James were but slenderly accompanied, she trusted to assemble an army and crush them before they could receive assistance. But here she was mistaken. On the first knowledge of their danger, men flocked in so rapidly, that, to use Knox's phrase, "they seemed to rain from the clouds," and when the regent mustered her army, it was found that the congregation who had encamped on Couper Moor greatly outnumbered hers. It was evident, too, that there were experienced officers amongst them. Their ordnance was judiciously placed, and the ground occupied by their horse and

their infantry chosen with considerable military skill. Fearful of attacking them with an inferior force, the queen again entered into a negotiation, and a truce of eight days was agreed on. It was stipulated that no Frenchmen should remain within the boundaries of Fife except the garrison, which previous to the raising of the last army lay in some of the coast towns, and that certain noblemen, appointed by the queen and council, should meet the leaders of the protestants, to decide on the best method for the restoration of peace to the country.

It was soon seen, however, that the single object of the queen was to procure delay; no commissioners arrived at St. Andrew's, where the lords of the congregation for some days anxiously expected them. Accounts were brought in the meantime of the tyranny exercised by Charters, the provost, and the garrison in Perth, and the protestants, pitying the condition of their brethren who had been driven from their houses to subsist on the charity of their friends, determined to assemble in force and expel the foreign troops from this city. Late events had taught them their own strength; habits of discipline, watchfulness, and active communication, had been introduced by that sense of mutual danger which is the best instructor; and Sir William Kirkaldy, of Grange, a soldier of great military experience and undaunted determination, had joined their party at this conjuncture. accession was of much importance to the congregation, and appears to have been the result rather of a wish to rescue his native country from becoming an appanage of France, than of a determination to overthrow the Romish faith. As early, at least, as March 1st, 1557, he had expressed himself with the utmost indignation against the yoke of the Frenchmen, and had offered his services to restore Scotland to its former liberty, and to promote an amity with England.

Intimation had been sent to the brethren (so the congregation were generally termed by their ministers) to assemble in the vicinity of Perth, on the 24th of June, and so strongly did they muster on the day appointed, that a summons was instantly given to the town, charging the garrison to abandon it, and commanding the provost to open the gates, and leave it free to the subjects of the realm. On his refusal, and after a vain attempt by the regent to procure delay, the batteries were opened

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by lord Ruthven on the west, and the citizens of Dundee who lay on the east quarter. It was evident, after the first discharge, that resistance would be vain, and the garrison having stipulated that they should march out with military honours, delivered the town to the congregation on Saturday, the 25th of June.

This success, owing to the strength and importance of Perth, at that time one of the few fortified towns in Scotland, was highly encouraging to the protestants. On the sabbath which succeeded the capitulation, public thanks were returned to God for their victory; England, it was hoped, would espouse their cause more openly, and Knox, whose work against female sovereigns, or, as he termed it, the "monstrous regimen" of women, had made him odious to Elizabeth, addressed a remarkable letter to secretary Cecil, in which he endeavoured to deprecate her resentment.* He intended to have enclosed, at the same time, an epistle to the queen herself, but this he delayed, owing to the sudden departure of the messenger. "I understand," said he,

• It is dated from Dieppe, the 22nd of April, 1559. "By divers messengers, (says Mr. Knox) I have requested such privilege as Turks commonly do grant to men of every nation,—to wit, that freedom should be granted me peaceably to pass through England, to the end that with greater expedition I might repair toward my own country, the which now beginneth to thirst for Christ's truth. This request I thought so reasonable, that almost I had entered the realm without licence demanded. And yet I understand that it hath been so received, that the solicitors thereof did hardly escape imprisonment, and some of that poor flock I hear to be so extremely handled, that those that most cruelly have shed the blood of God's most dear children, find this day amongst you greater favour than they do:" alluding, as it seems, to the severe measures which were taken against those protestant divines who scrupled the habits and ceremonies. He charges the secretary very strongly with having temporised in matters of religion in the reign of Mary. " As from God (says he) you have received life, wisdom, honours, and this estate in which you now stand, so ought you wholly to employ the same to the advancement of his glory, who only is the Author of life and Fountain of wisdom, and who most assuredly doth, and will honour and glorify those that with simple hearts do glorify him. The which, alas! in times past you have not done. But being overcome with common iniquities, you have followed the world in the way of perdition. For unto the suppression of Christ's true gospel, to the erecting of idolatry, and to the shedding of the blood of God's dear children, have you by silence consented and subscribed. This your horrible defection from the truth, known and professed, hath God unto this day mercifully spared, yea, to man's judgment, he hath utterly forgotten and pardoned the same." He then proceeds to tell Cecil, that he ought to atone for his former defection, and shew his sense of the mercy of God, by honestly and diligently promoting the interests of the gospel, without suffering himself to be biassed by carnal and worldly motives.

in that honest and undaunted style of writing which was unacceptable to the courtly taste of the English secretary, "I am become so odious to the queen's grace and to her council, that the mention of my name is unpleasing to their ears; but yet I will not cease to offer myself, requiring you, in God's name, to present to the queen's grace this my letter, smelling nothing of flattery, and therefore I hope it shall be the more acceptable. Why that either her grace, either that the faithful in her realm, should repute me as an enemy, I know no just cause. One thing I know, that England by me this day hath received no hurt, yes, it hath received, by the power of God working in me, that benefit which yet to none in England is known, neither yet list I to boast of the same; only this will I say, that when England and the usurped authority thereof was enemy to me, yet was I friend to it, and the fruit of my friendship saved the borders in their greatest necessities. My eyes have long looked to a perpetual concord betwixt these two realms, the occasion whereof is most present, if you shall move your hearts unfeignedly to seek the same. For humility of Christ Jesus crucified, now began here to be practised, may join together the hearts of those whom Satan, by pride, hath long dissevered; for the furtherance hereof I would have licence to repair towards you. God move your heart rightly to consider the estate of both these realms, which stand in greater danger than many do espy. The common bruit (report), I doubt not, carrieth unto you the troubles that be lately here risen for the controversy in religion. The truth is, that many of the nobility, the most part of the barons and gentlemen, with many towns and one city, have put their hands to remove idolatry and the monuments of the same. The reformation is somewhat violent, because the adversaries be stubborn; none that professeth Christ Jesus with us usurpeth anything against the authorities, neither yet intendeth to usurp, unless strangers be brought in to subdue and bring in bondage the liberties of this poor country; if any such thing be espied, I am uncertain what shall follow."

The lords of the congregation were now to discover that it is infinitely more easy to excite than to direct or to check the fury of the people. In the immediate vicinity of Perth was the ancient abbey church of Scone, regarded with peculiar reverence, as the spot in which, for many centuries, the Scottish monarchs had held

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the ceremony of their coronation. Beside it stood the palace of the bishop of Moray, a prelate of profligate life, and hated by the men of Dundee as a chief instrument in the martyrdom of Walter It was thought proper, therefore, that some "order" should be taken with him, and a message was sent by the leaders of the congregation, requiring him to join them with his servants, otherwise they would neither spare nor save his abbey. He consented to this, and added, that not only would he meet them with all his force, but vote with them against the clergy in parliament. But before this answer arrived, the citizens of Dundee had seized their weapons, and rushed forward to the abbey, followed by Knox and their chief magistrate, who in vain attempted to restrain them. It was the earnest wish of the reformer, and of the leaders of the protestants, to save both the palace and the abbey, and in this they at first so far succeeded, that nothing but the images were pulled down. Argyle and Murray then drew off the multitude; and receiving intelligence in the evening that the queen regent meditated to garrison Stirling, and pre-occupy the passes of the Forth, so as to prevent a junction between the northern reformers and their lowland brethren, these two leaders made a rapid night march, took possession of the town, and, according to the expression then commonly used, "purged it of idolatry." Their absence was fatal to Scone; some of the poor, in hope of spoil, and others with a lingering wish of vengeance, returned on the morrow, and began to prowl about the abbey; the prelate in the interval had barricaded his mansion, his servants had armed themselves, and a citizen of Dundee approaching near the "Girnel" or granary, was thrust through with a rapier by one, reported to be a son of the prelate. In a moment all was tumult, the air rang with shouts and cries of vengeance; the story flew to Perth, a multitude which no power could control attacked the ecclesiastical palace and the abbey, and within a few hours both were Many even of the most zealous of the brethren in flames. lamented this destruction, and Knox appears personally to have exerted himself to prevent it; but an aged matron who stood by viewed the scene with exultation and thankfulness; "Now," said she, "I see that God's judgments are just, and none can save where he will punish; since ever I can remember aught, this place hath been nothing else than a den of profligates, where these

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filthy beasts, the friars, have acted in darkness every sort of sin, and specially that most wicked man the bishop; if all knew what I know, they would see matter for gratitude, but none of offence."

Although Argyle and the lord James mustered only a small force at Stirling, the greater part of the army of the congregation having returned to their homes, such was the terror inspired by the rapidity and decision of their movements, that on their advance to Linlithgow, the queen regent and the French forces evacuated the capital, and retreated to Dunbar. The intelligence of this movement gave fresh spirits to the reformers, and having taken possession of Linlithgow, pulled down the images, and destroyed the relics, they entered Edinburgh in triumph on the 29th of June, 1559.

Here, however, I am compelled reluctantly to bring this lecture to a close. To pursue the narrative of the reformation in Scotland, though it were even in a very condensed form, through all its ramifications, would require volumes, and not a single lecture only. But having briefly noticed its commencement, and traced the leading events of the first six or seven years, I must desist, and recommend it to the reader, who would prosecute the subject at large, to have recourse to "Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland;" "Keith's History of the Affairs of the Church and State in Scotland," printed at Edinburgh, 1734; "Dr. Robertson's History of Scotland;" "Dr. M'Crie's Life of John Knox;" "Dr. Cook's History of the Reformation," &c. &c.*

 The reader may not be displeased with my subjoining the following short sketch of the character of Knox. Knox was, in his private life, exemplary and irreproachable; and it has been remarked, that his declarations against vice and luxury have in them every character of that natural antipathy which cannot be counterfeited or dissembled. "Knox (says Dr. Robertson) was the prime instrument of spreading and establishing the reformed religion in Scotland. Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness, were virtues which he possessed in an eminent degree. He was acquainted, too, with the learning cultivated in that age; and excelled in that species of eloquence which is calculated to rouse and to inflame. His maxims, however, were often too severe, and the impetuosity of his temper excessive. Rigid and uncomplying himself, he shewed no indulgence to the infirmities of others. And regardless of the distinctions of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to reclaim. Those very qualities, however, which now render his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of Providence for advancing the Reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers, and to surmount opposition, from which a person of a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back."

LECTURE LXXIV.

The Reformation in England in the reign of Henry VIII.—Introductory remarks—Birth, &c., of Henry—Complimented by the pope on his accession—His letter to Louis, of Bavaria—Henry writes a treatise against Luther—Some account of cardinal Wolsey—Luther repels the king's attack—Which is answered by Henry—The king's attachment to the lady Anne Boleyn—He seeks to be divorced from queen Catharine—Applies to the pope for a divorce or dispensation, but is opposed—Fall of cardinal Wolsey and rise of Cranmer—Interposition of Thomas Cromwell—Henry quarrels with the pope—Is advised by Cromwell to destroy the monasteries and convents—Assumes the title of Head of the Church—Henry's subjects rebel—Tindal translates the Bible, and suffers martyrdom—Published as Cranmer's Bible—Its beneficial results to the country. A. D. 1500—1550.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century, the immense and venerable fabric of the Romish church appeared to be firmly fixed on that foundation which had endured the shock of so many centuries; and yet it could scarcely have escaped the notice of an attentive observer, that some events had taken place, and some principles were then in operation, which could not fail to introduce important modifications in its worship, tenets, and discipline. On the one hand, it is not to be denied, and it was accordingly admitted by many who never separated from her communion, that there was much in the church of Rome requiring reformation and amendment. In the course of succeeding centuries,

there had gradually grown up a mass of error, tradition, and strange unmeaning ceremonies, the greater part of which had originated in the imaginations of men, and could not by any ingenuity be traced either to scripture or to the usage of the apostolic times. Whilst such was the case, and when no one could shut his eyes to the ignorance, idleness, and corruption which reigned throughout the great body of the Romish clergy, it was apparent, on the other hand, that every day the laity and the people were becoming more enlightened; that the powers of the human mind were gaining strength, and that a spirit of inquiry new to these times had begun to manifest itself, from which important results were to be anticipated. Some great events concurred at the same period to foster this spirit, and to discipline it for the contest in which it was soon to be engaged. The invention of the art of printing, the revival of literature, the study of the civil law, the introduction of a critical knowledge of Hebrew in some of the continental universities, and, most of all, the translation of the scriptures in many of the European countries into the vulgar tongue, all contributed to enlighten, to purify, and to stimulate the intellectual faculties, and to set them free from that state of moral torpor and indolent prostration which rendered them the easy captives of superstition. Nor is the observation to be omitted, that within the church itself a principle of inquiry and an ardent desire of reformation was at work, which, although it left untouched the great articles relative to faith, worship, and discipline, was nevertheless prepared to proceed to a considerable length in the removal of the prevailing corruptions, and in imparting purer instructions to the people.

HENRY VIII. was born on the 28th of June, 1491. He was the son of Henry VII., king of England, and of Elizabeth his queen, who was daughter of Edward IV., and heiress of the house of York. He had thus the advantage of uniting in himself the blood of those two great and rival families, for whose conflicting claims England had suffered so many calamities. His father died on the 22nd of April, 1508, and the accession of his son, then in his eighteenth year, to the throne of England, was hailed by the people with universal and unaffected joy. He was a polished and promising youth, and had evinced an ardent love

for the cultivation of letters. Having been destined for the church, he had studied the writings of Aquinas, and cultivated a taste for controversial divinity, which sharpened his intellect without adding materially to his devotional sentiments. pontifical chair at this time was filled by Julius II, who, within thirteen days after Henry's accession, transmitted to him a golden rose, accompanied by a letter, stating that it had been blessed by his own hands, sprinkled by odoriferous musk, and anointed with holy oil. The title of Christianissimus, which the pope had intimated an intention of withdrawing from the French monarch and conferring on him, early enlisted his vanity on the side of Rome; and not long after he received the intelligence of the Lutheran controversy, he expressed himself in strong terms against the reformer, in a letter to Louis of Bavaria: "That this fire," said he, "which has been kindled by Luther, and fanned by the arts of the devil, should have raged for so long a time, and be still gathering strength, has been the subject to me of greater grief than tongue or pen can express; and this not only, my dear friend, on your account, but for my regard for the welfare of Christendom. For, whether we look to the traditions of your ancestors, or consult your historical records, can there be found a single instance where the most indomitable country of yours, which has ever been the firmest citadel of the church in its affliction, has either knowingly admitted any seeds of heresy into its bosom, or, at least, has not instantly eradicated them, if, by any oversight, they silently insinuated themselves? For what could have happened more calamitous to Germany, than that she should have given birth to any man who (moved rather by the sinful licence of his own judgment than acting in the sincerity of Christian erudition) has dared to interpret the divine law, the statutes of the fathers, and those decrees which have received the consent of so many ages, in a manner totally at variance with the opinion of the learned fathers of the church,-of men, whose decision has been ever regarded as conclusive of the truth, proceeding, as it did, from a knowledge of scripture altogether divine, and sanctioned by a blameless sanctity of life. His offence would have been less intolerable had be abstained from an attack upon sacred letters,-had he not concealed the hated shapes of

heresy and schism under the cloak of religion,-had he not, to gratify the pride and iniquity of his mind, consented to bring into peril the catholic faith, and taught the flock of Christ to desert their Master. Since, however, such is the premeditated falsehood of this wicked man-since these wiles of his have, by the permission of God, become so known to the whole world, that all further confutation of them is superfluous, we most earnestly implore and exhort you, by the hereditary and innate affection which we bear to your person, and by the common cause of our salvation in Christ, that you bear a willing and hearty hand in averting this destruction which overhangs us; that you delay not a moment to seize and exterminate this Luther, who is a rebel against Christ; and, unless he repent, deliver himself and his audacious treatises to the flames. Thus only will you preserve and increase your illustrious rank and your Christian name. Nor will it be alleged against you that you permitted sacred and divine things to be disturbed or overturned by the fraud and cunning of a single heretic, or the pride and resentment of a few persons whose enmity you wished not to encounter. To the accomplishment of this work, at once so sacred and so acceptable to God, we most readily, and from the heart, offer you of our roval favour, patronage, assistance, and even, if necessary, our blood. And so we bid you happily farewell."*

We may, from the tone of this letter, form some idea of the violence with which, at this period (20th May, 1521), its author was transported against Luther. He was not, however, contented with a simple enunciation of his opinions. He had been much irritated by the contempt with which the reformer had dared to treat his favourite Aquinas; and impetuously unsheathing the sword of controversy, he attacked him in a work entitled, "A Defence of the Seven Sacraments, written against the Treatise of the Babylonian Captivity." Henry's book was presented to the pope, in full consistory, by Clark, the English ambassador at Rome, upon which occasion his holiness expressed high gratification, and declared he would do as much to testify to all Christian princes his approbation of its excellent learning, as had ever

[·] Gerdes' Hist. Reform. Religionis, vol. iv., Append. xxii.

been done for the works of St. Jerome or St. Augustine. Having accordingly given himself leisure to peruse the treatise, he declared that he found it sprinkled with the dew of ecclesiastical grace, and gave thanks to God, who had inspired the mind of the king to write such things for the defence of the holy faith. In the same bull from which this extract is given, he conferred on the royal author the title of Defender of the Faith, as a Christian addition to his other styles, whilst he published an indulgence to all who should peruse the king's book.*

It has sometimes been questioned, whether Henry really wrote this celebrated volume. Luther has ascribed it to Lee, the antagonist of Erasmus, and afterwards archbishop of York: whilst others have imagined that they can detect in it the style of bishop Fisher. There seems, however, little reason to doubt the solemn assertion made by the monarch himself, that the Treatise on the Seven Sacraments was his own composition. Of the subjects which it embraces, the greater part relates to matters which fell within the range of Henry's studies, rather than to any important questions of Christian doctrine; and it was of this that the monk of Wittenberg complained. "The controvery has arisen," says he, "not about those matters of Christian doctrine with which every believer must acquaint himself, and which are essential to salvation, but cavils have been raised concerning things which the church may not only safely be without, but which, in truth, unless it be without them, or, at least, be permitted to exercise its free judgment regarding them, it cannot possibly stand. Thus we are not called upon to consider faith, hope, charity, baptism, or the supper of our Lord; we find nothing upon the law, sin, death, freewill, grace; nothing said of Christ, of God, of the last judgment, of heaven, of hell, of the church, or similar subjects; but much concerning the papacy, the decrees of councils, chapters upon doctors, indulgences, purgatory, the mass, academies, monastic vows, bishops, traditions, the worship of saints, and newlyintroduced sacraments. These," says Gerdes, "were the subjects which Henry defended; in which he then placed unlimited faith; for the maintenance of which this high-sounding title, and the

^{*} Wilkins' Concilia, vol. iii. 693-5.

gift of the 'golden rose' were bestowed upon him;—presents, which he afterwards employed in such a manner that the pontiffs repented they had ever sent them."

It would be tedious and uninstructive to enter into any laboured criticism of the royal treatise against Luther; but there is a passage in the oration delivered by Clark, the English ambassador, when he laid it at the pope's feet, which is worthy of notice. "Let others," said he, "talk of other lands; assuredly, my native country of Britain, by modern cosmographers denominated England, situated in the remotest part of the world, and separated from the continent by the ocean, as it has not been inferior to Spain, France, Italy, or Germany, in the expressions of a holy zeal for the worship of God, the true Christian faith, and due obedience to the church of Rome, so there is no nation that doth more impugn this monster (meaning Luther) and the heresies revived by him. With us the church of God is in profound tranquillity; no differences, no disputes, no ambiguous words, murmuring, or complaints, are heard among the people; all troubles of mind, all apprehensions of strange revolutions in the world, and of the reign of antichrist, are now vanished." I have given this encomiastic passage from the oration of the ambassador, to shew how much he misled the pope and misrepresented the real condition of England. So far from that complete tranquillity, that freedom from all doubt, and universal affection to the holy see, which is here described, it is certain that the doctrines of Luther had already begun to make a serious impression, that they had infected the Universities, and, in many places, unsettled the minds of the people.

Of this the proof is to be found in the proceedings of cardinal Wolsey, who, in virtue of his legatine power, issued, on the 14th May, 1521, a commission to all the bishops in England, commanding them to cause any books of Martin Luther's errors and heresies which they could find within their dioceses, to be seized and sent up to him; and ordering a notice to be given in every church where the people were assembled at mass, by which all persons who had such books in their possession were to deliver them up within fifteen days, under pain of excommunication. He enjoined them, at the same time, to affix on the folding doors of

their cathedrals and parish churches, a list, containing some of the same reformer's chief errors, that all persons might have an opportunity of reading and avoiding them. "Which errors," says he, in the conclusion of his commission, "how infectious they are, how scandalous, how seductive to pious and simple minds, how much against all charity, against the reverence due to the holy Roman mother church, and that obedience which is the nerve of ecclesiastical discipline, the fountain and source of all virtues, and without which every man is in a state of infidelity, there is none possessed of a sound mind who can be ignorant."

But having introduced the mention of this extraordinary man, cardinal Wolsey, before we proceed further it will be necessary to say something of his personal history, seeing that it forms an important link in the chain of events that transpired during the reign of Henry VIII., and consequently, we shall often have occasion to mention him in the present lecture.

This singular individual was of low origin, nor does there appear any reasonable ground for questioning the common story, sanctioned by the high authority of lord Herbert, that his father exercised the trade of a butcher, at Ipswich. The old man's will, which proves him to have been a citizen of considerable wealth, has been quoted against this opinion; but there is nothing inconsistent or improbable in a butcher being a wealthy burgess. Educated for the church, he distinguished himself by early attainments in such knowledge as Oxford could then communicate; his precocity of talent procured him the name of the Boy Bachelor; and for some time after this he taught at the grammarschool adjoining to Magdalen College. But his talents for business, his quick discernment of the weak point of human character, and the unscrupulous readiness with which he accommodated himself to those he desired to please, soon pushed him into notice; and such was his boundless ambition, that his first preferments, which would have satisfied the desire of most men, served only as the steps to such an accumulation of power, dignity, and grandeur, as had never before this been concentrated in any Under Henry VII., the execution of a difficult negotisubject. ation at the imperial court with unusual success and expedition, had recommended him to the royal notice; but although he rewarded him with unwonted liberality, this cautious monarch was little worked upon by the address or flattery of others, and the full development of Wolsey's powers were reserved for the reign of his son. It was then that Fox, the bishop of Winchester, who dreaded, it is said, the preponderating influence of Surrey in the council, introduced him, as a kind of balance against it, to the notice of the young monarch; and such was the happy use which he made of his opportunities, that at the period of the king's campaign in France, we find him enjoying unbounded confidence, and possessing the highest political influence. this period preferments flowed in upon him with extraordinary rapidity, and it appeared as if Henry had determined that the man whom he honoured with special confidence should be the focus in which every ray of the royal favour should meet with intense brightness. He was made, successively, king's almoner, bishop of Tournay, bishop of Lincoln, cardinal, legate, archbishop of York, and lord high chancellor. If we except the endowments of his colleges, and his munificent exertions in the revival of learning, there is nothing peculiarly great in the character or career of Wolsey. Two principles regulated his life,-devotion to the church of Rome, of which he hoped one day to become the head, and a constant desire to acquire the supreme power in the councils of his sovereign. In this last object he completely succeeded, and his success implies certainly no inconsiderable portion of ability, though we must hesitate to pronounce it of the highest order. He had carefully studied the character of the king; he flattered his weakness, released him from the irksome weight of government, and whilst he originated, conducted, and concluded all, he had the rare address to leave his royal master business enough to conciliate his vanity, and persuade him that he had guided, whilst he only followed, the current of affairs. Deeply selfish, and looking to his own ends whilst he pretended a zeal for the public good, he acted upon no great plan, squandering the wealth, and exhausting the military resources of the country, in vague projects, generally dictated by the policy of the Vatican, which brought neither glory nor profit, though they might terminate in some accession of dignity to himself. Haughty, imperious, and magnificent to an excess which had never before

been seen in England; with a memory which seldom forgot an injury, and a spirit of revenge which slept only to exact a deeper interest; so sensual and luxurious, that he seems only to have escaped excessive profligacy by excessive business; insolent in prosperity, and abject in misfortune;—it is difficult to account for the extraordinary partiality of Henry for one whose moral and intellectual qualities seemed to challenge so little regard. It is probable that Wolsey's secret lay in persuading the king that his wealth, power, and splendour, were merely the emanation from the sun of the royal favour; that his glory was a reflection from his sovereign; and that a single blast of his displeasure might, in a few moments, wither the goodly boughs of that cedar, beneath which monarchs were content to take shelter. Such was indeed the truth, as the melancholy conclusion of his history very fully demonstrated; for none who had shot up to so grand and predominant a power in so brief a space of time, ever descended from his high honours by a more rapid course of calamity.

Henry, as we have seen, had written against Luther; and this able reformer, giving way to a violence of temper that none more deeply bewailed than himself, replied in a strain of virulence and abuse, which raised the indignation of the crowned heads in Europe, and occasioned the regret of Melancthon and some other of his warmest adherents. By their advice he now addressed an apologetic letter to the monarch. "He doubted not," he said, "but he had much offended his majesty by his reply, but he did so, rather enforced by others than of his own accord. He was now induced to write, presuming upon his well-known humanity, and especially as he understood that Henry himself was not the author of the book against him, but some other person who had usurped his name." It is not improbable that the extreme unpopularity of Wolsey at this moment, and some exaggerated reports of the king's severity towards him, had induced Luther to believe that the sovereign was becoming more alienated from the cardinal, and less zealous for the church, than was really the case; upon which ground he felt the less scruple in attacking him in the most indignant terms. brands him as a monster, a public offence to God and man, a pest of the kingdom, and caterpillar of England. He under-

stood (he observed) that his majesty had now begun to loathe that wicked sort of men, and in his mind to favour the truth. Whereupon he craved pardon, beseeching him to remember, that being mortal ourselves, we ought not to make our enmities immortal. He added, that should Henry be pleased to impose it, he would openly acknowledge his fault, and blazon his royal virtues in another book. Only, he entreated his highness to stop his ears against those who, with slanderous tongues, had branded him with heresy; and listen to the sum of the doctrine which he taught. "I have maintained," said he, "that we must be saved through faith in Christ, who bore the punishment of our sins in every part, and throughout his whole body; who, dying for us and rising again, reigneth with the Father for ever. have taught this to be the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, and have, out of this doctrine, deduced what Christ was; how we ought to comport ourselves one towards another, the obedience we owe to magistrates, and the duty incumbent upon us to spend our whole lives in the profession of the gospel. If this doctrine contain any impiety or error, why do not my adversaries demonstrate it? Why am I condemned without lawful hearing or confutation?" With regard to his invectives against the pope and his adherents, he maintained that he had good reason to pronounce them, seeing they taught things contrary to the doctrine and practice of Christ and the apostles, that they might domineer over the flock and maintain themselves in gluttony and idleness. This, he insisted, was the mark at which their thoughts and deeds aimed; and so notorious was it, that they themselves could not deny it; whereas, if they would consent to change their idle and voluptuous course of life, which was maintained by the loss and wrong of others, the differences might be easily composed. His tenets, he asserted, were approved by many princes and estates of Germany, who did reverently acknowledge this reformation as a great blessing from God, and amongst whom he most earnestly desired that he might include his majesty of England. The emperor, indeed, and some others, he allowed, opposed his proceedings; but why should we wonder at this, since, many ages ago, the prophet David had foretold that kings and nations should conspire against the Lord and against his

Christ, and cast away his yoke from them. When he considered this, it was, he maintained, rather a matter of wonder that any prince should favour the doctrine of the gospel.

The effect of this letter was altogether different from what its author had expected. The king returned a sharp and poignant reply; from which he seems to have been especially indignant at the imputation cast upon him by his antagonist, that he had permitted his name to be affixed to a work of which he was not the author. He declared that it was his own composition, and rejoiced that it was held in great esteem by many religious and learned men. With regard, he said, to that reverend father the cardinal, his slander and animosity against him was not more than could be expected in one from whose impiety neither God nor man was exempted. He observed, that both himself and his whole realm had found the profitable effects of Wolsey's wise counsels and faithful endeavours; and his minister, he declared, should at least reap this fruit of Luther's railing, that whereas he loved him very well before, he would now favour him more than ever; nor would he ever cease to reckon it amongst one of his good deeds, that none who were infected with the German leprosy, contagion, and heresies, should cleave to his kingdom of England, or take root therein. Henry concluded his letter by upbraiding his correspondent with his incestuous conduct in marrying a nun. It was a crime, he affirmed, which must have been committed under the direct instigation of the father of all evil,a heinous and most sacrilegious union, for which, had he lived under the ancient Roman government, the vestal whom he had married must have been buried alive, and he himself cut to pieces with stripes. The king caused this answer to be printed; and Luther, who had been induced to believe that the effects of his apology upon the mind of his regal adversary would be highly beneficial, and that there was even some hope of gaining him to the cause of reformed truth, was deeply disappointed at the result, and blamed his friends who had advised his concessions. He had shewn himself a fool, he said, in hoping to find pity and zeal in the courts of princes,—in seeking Christ in the kingdom of Satan,-in looking for John the Baptist amongst those clothed in purple. Henceforth, he concluded, let his enemies tremble;

to allure them with mildness was a vain attempt; the lash must be laid upon their backs.

The king was now in his thirty-sixth year. He had continued in wedlock since 1509, and had been deeply disappointed, that of the children which his queen had brought him, none survived but a single daughter. Naturally inclined to pleasure, and a devoted admirer of female beauty, Henry made little effort to shut his eyes to the fact that Catharine, now past forty, had entirely lost her personal attractions; and it was not to be expected that a monarch who was the slave of passion, and whose religion was a matter of the head, not of the heart, should maintain a rigid observance of his marriage-vows. In 1527, Mistress Anne Boleyn, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, returned from France, where she had been educated under circumstances which were favourable, not only to the acquisition of all elegant accomplishments, but to the strengthening of her understanding and the improvement of her mind.

When she first appeared at court she was a lovely young woman in her twentieth year. She is described as possessing a rare and admirable beauty, clear and fresh, with a noble presence and most perfect shape. Her personal graces were enhanced by a cheerfulness and sweetness of temper which never forsook her, and her education had secured to her all those feminine accomplishments which were fitted to dazzle and delight a court. She danced with uncommon grace, sung sweetly, and, by the remarkable vivacity and wit of her conversation, retained the admiration of those who had at first been only attracted by her beauty.

Henry, having determined to get rid of his good queen Catharine, and gratify his passion by substituting Anne Boleyn as his spouse, the project of a divorce became at once the earnest object of his contemplation. His scruples regarding the legitimacy of his union with Catharine, which had lain dormant four-and-twenty years, suddenly assumed in his mind an importance and a magnitude which it is probable they never would have attained, unless seen through the deceitful and distorting medium of his lust; but there were difficulties in the way of accomplishing his object. The pope must grant the dispensing

power; and besides this, there were porties at home to be propitiated. The two Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, raised a formidable opposition. Wolsey, ever obsequious to his master's will, encouraged the king's feeling, but it was in the hope that it might lead to a divorce, and enable him to bring about a matrimonial union between Henry and the sister of Francis, the king of France; for he appears for a time to have been kept ignorant of the object of his sovereign's predilection. In this posture of affairs, Wolsey was sent on an embassy to France, and during his absence the monarch had consulted the opinions of some learned scholars and canonists, and being himself no mean adept in scholastic theology, had returned to the study of Thomas Aquinas, his favourite author, collecting notes as he proceeded in his studies, and throwing them into the form of a separate treatise. Vanity had at first made him an author, and a correspondence in letters, which during a continuance of his work he carried on with Anne Boleyn, clearly proves that he resumed his pen under the influence of lower and more selfish motives.

On Wolsey's return to England from his French embassy, Henry communicated to him his grand secret respecting a divorce from Catharine, and marriage with Anne Boleyn; but when the cardinal was made acquainted with his sovereign's intention to marry a subject,—a woman so far beneath his royal rank, recommended solely by her beauty and accomplishmentsit came with stunning and appalling suddenness upon the minister. He fell upon his knees before his sovereign, and anxiously laboured to dissuade him from a resolution which he foresaw would be attended with calamitous consequences. Henry, however, was inexorable; and from this moment began the downfal of Wolsey. An envoy was despatched to Rome, to open the matter of divorce to his holiness, who was earnestly desirous to oblige Henry, he having hitherto comported himself as a dutiful son of the church; but he hesitated when he considered the almost invincible displeasure his compliance must occasion to others. Overcoming his scruples, however, he at last consented, and signed the papers required. But no sooner was this done, than a further request was made, that a legate from Rome should be sent from England, and joined in the commission with Wolsey. Accordingly, cardinal

Campegio was appointed to proceed to England, for the determination of the great question. His holiness at the same time granted a decretal bull, which prevented any appeal to Rome from the decision of his two representatives, and rendered final whatever decision they should pronounce.*

Although Campegio had been appointed in March, he did not arrive till October, a delay which exceedingly irritated the king, and led him to suspect that Wolsey had not employed sufficient diligence in expediting the divorce. It was now necessary to adopt some decided measures regarding the divorce; and a circumstance which occurred about this time gave a new and unexpected turn to the proceedings. When the king was on his progress into Northamptonshire, he was attended by Gardiner, then secretary, and Dr. Fox; and these two finding it impossible to have a lodging in the court with the rest of the royal suite, took up their abode at the house of a neighbouring gentleman named Cressy. At supper, the question of the royal marriage, then talked of at every table, became the subject of conversation, and the difficulty occasioned by the removal of the cause to Rome was strongly insisted on. A person of grave and pleasing manners, who was tutor in the family, expressed surprise that there should be so much hesitation as to the best mode of deciding it. On being pressed to explain himself, he said the proper plan would be, to have the matter discussed and determined by divines upon the authority of the word of God. "There is but one truth in it," said he, "which the scripture will soon declare, being searched into by learned and holy doctors; and without waiting from year to year for the judgment of the pope, this might be done immediately by consulting the Universities in England, as well as those of other countries. The truth of scripture being once ascertained by the judgment of the most learned and holy divines, it would then be open to the king to proceed upon that sentence, as the foundation of a process of divorce, without any reference to the decision of the pope, he being the supreme head of the church in his own dominions, and the cause being cognizable in his own ecclesiastical courts." The idea of con-

^{*} Carte, vol. iii. p. 90.

sulting foreign Universities had already been acted upon by Wolsey; but it had never before been seriously proposed to Henry, first to fix the truth by scripture, and then, by dispensing with the pope altogether, to proceed upon his own authority. On the conversation being reported to him, he caught eagerly at the idea, exclaiming, "that the man who spoke thus had the right sow by the ear," and he sent for him immediately. The person who suggested this new solution, was Thomas Cranmer; and on being introduced into the presence of his sovereign, he would have excused himself from embarking any further in so delicate a matter, but it was the nature of the king's mind to take no denial. "I perceive well," said he, "that you have the right scope of this matter; and, therefore, master doctor, I pray you,-and, because you are a subject, I charge and command you, all other business and affairs set apart, to take some pains to see this my cause furthered, according to your device." The doctor now explained his views upon the point, and Henry declared himself so much pleased with the advice, that he commanded him to follow the court, and to draw up his opinion at greater length in writing. Cranmer, who now set himself to obey the royal injunction, had already reached the middle period of life; and although little known to the world, enjoyed amongst divines the reputation of a profound theologian. He was sprung from an ancient family in Nottinghamshire, and, till he attained the age of twenty-three, had been neglected in his education, so far, at least, as related to useful learning; his master being an ignorant and severe priest, who taught him nothing but to suffer punishment with patience; and his father, an honest English gentleman of the old times, entirely devoted to martial exercises and country sports. This mode of nurture, however, had its advantages,—it gave him a strong robust constitution, and a spirit of early endurance. He could ride, hunt, hawk, handle his weapons, and draw the long bow with a skill and dexterity which he never forgot, and not unfrequently exercised after he had become a grave prelate; and when he began his studies in earnest, the strength of his body did not sink, as is sometimes the case, under the intense application of his mind. The works of Luther had

already made their way into England, and were known at Cambridge; and Cranmer, becoming deeply interested in the controversies of religion, devoted himself for three years, uninterruptedly, to the study of the scriptures and the perusal of the ancient fathers, and the examination of the treatises and doctrines of the great reformer. This was followed, as might have been anticipated, by a deep conviction of the corruptions of the Romish hierarchy, and of the departure of the mother-church from the pure doctrines of scripture, and the practice and principles of the primitive ages of the faith; but he who entertained these opinions was a man whose quiet and unobtrusive habits avoided display, and who loved truth for its own sake; so that, being little known beyond his own college, he was permitted to continue his researches undisturbed. In 1523, he took the rank of doctor in divinity. Soon after, he read the divinity-lecture, and in consequence of the reputation he had acquired, was appointed one of the examiners for conferring theological degrees. In this situation he incurred the hatred of the friars for the strictness with which he questioned them out of the scriptures, frequently sending them back to the study of the Bible, and reprimanding them for the shameful ignorance which they exhibited. When engaged in this manner, the plague broke out at Cambridge; and Cranmer, with his pupils, had retired to Mr. Cressy's house, at Waltham, in Essex, where he met Fox and Gardiner, apparently by accident. The interview, however, was one of those secret springs set in motion by the hand which is ever working for good, though ever invisible. It brought this eminent man out of the depth of his studious retirement into immediate contact with the king, and thus raised him up as the principal instrument in the accomplishment of the reformation. Soon after, Henry appointed him his chaplain, and requested the earl of Wiltshire, father of Anne Boleyn, to receive him into his family, and furnish him with books and conveniences for study, when composing his work on divorce. The earl was one of the most learned and accomplished noblemen in England, the friend of Erasmus, and a general patron of scholars. Nothing, therefore, could be more agreeable to Cranmer than this retreat; and such was the urbanity of his manners, and his unaffected simplicity of life, that before much time elapsed, he succeeded in endearing himself to the whole family.

He soon completed his treatise, in which he proved, by the united testimony of scripture, of general councils, and of the most ancient of the fathers of the church, that the bishop of Rome had no authority to grant a dispensation for a marriage which was condemned in scripture—Henry's marriage with his brother's widow being incestuous.

It was at this moment of uncertainty, when dismay was seen in the countenances of the powerful ministerial faction, who derived their chief strength from the prospect of a divorce, that the advice of an extraordinary man gave a new turn to events, and led the way to the entire separation of England from its dependence upon the Roman see. This person was Thomas Cromwell, a servant of the fallen Wolsey, and his chief assistant in the dissolution of the smaller monasteries. Cromwell's early pursuits had been calculated to improve his talents more than to settle his principles,—to give him accurate habits of business, a thorough knowledge of the world, and a deep insight into the lower and more selfish parts of human nature. He began life as a clerk in the English factory at Antwerp; he afterwards became a military adventurer, served in the army of the duke of Bourbon, and was present at the sack at Rome. He next acted as a commercial agent to a Venetian merchant; and, after this anomalous career in Italy, returned home to study law. When thus engaged, he became known to Wolsey, who appreciated his talents, took him into his service, and employed him, after his own disgrace, in his most delicate and confidential affairs. The household of a fallen minister, however, was no sphere for so ambitious and restless a disposition, and under a veil of what, without any breach of charity, we may pronounce religious hypocrisy, he appears to have concealed a determined purpose to retrieve his fortunes, and establish himself in favour with the king. It is at this moment that Cavendish, the affectionate biographer of the great cardinal, gives us this graphic picture of the aspiring adventurer. chanced me, upon Alhallon-day, to come there into the great chamber at Asher in the morning to give mine attendance,

where I found Master Cromwell leaning in the great window, with a primer in his hand, say our lady matins, which since had been a strange sight. He prayed not more earnestly than the tears distilled from his eyes. Whom I bade good morrow; and with that I perceived the tears upon his cheeks. To whom I said, 'Why, Master Cromwell, what meaneth all this your sorrow? Is my lord in any danger, for whom ye lament thus; or is it for any loss ye have sustained by any misadventure?"— 'Nay, nay,' quoth he, 'it is my unhappy adventure, which am like to lose all that I have travailed for all the days of my life, for doing my master true and diligent service.' 'Why, sir,' quoth I, 'I trust ye be too wise to commit anything by my lord's commandment, otherwise than ye might do of right, whereof ye have any cause to doubt of loss of your goods.' 'Well, well,' quoth he, 'I cannot tell; but all things I see before mine eyes is as it is taken; and this I understand right well, that I am in disdain with most men for my master's sake, and surely without just Howbeit, an ill name, once gotten, will not lightly be put away. I never had any promotion by my lord to the increase of my living; and thus much will I say to you, that I intend, God willing, this afternoon, when my lord hath dined, to ride to London, and so to the court, where I will either make or mar ere I come back again."

Cromwell obeyed this ambitious impulse, and posted to court, where he sought and obtained an interview with the monarch. The state of the royal mind, wavering between its wishes and its fears, was not unknown to him; and it can scarcely be doubted that this able and artful man, when he declared to Cavendish his resolution to advance or to hazard his fortunes upon a cast, had the project in his head, which at once brought him into notice. "He felt," he said, when introduced to the king, "his boldness in presuming to advise, and his inability to become a counsellor; but the sight of his sovereign's anxiety, and his affection as well as duty, compelled him to address him. He acknowledged that the question regarding the divorce was not without difficulties; but, in his opinion, the embarrassment arose principally out of the timidity of his majesty's ministers, who were deceived by appearances, and misled by vulgar opinion. Already the Universities

and the most learned divines had given an opinion in favour of the divorce; nothing was wanting but the confirmation of the pope. And with what object was the papal approbation so anxiously desired? It might indeed have some beneficial effects in moderating the indignation of the emperor; but was it so imperatively necessary that, if refused, Henry ought silently to submit and surrender his right? Had other princes done so? Did not his majesty live in the same age with the princes of Germanyand what had they done? They had thrown off the yoke of Rome, and had proclaimed their independence of the popedom. Why, then, might not the king of England, strengthened by the authority of his parliament, declare himself the head of the church within his own realm? At this moment, England was little else than a monster with two heads. But," said he, "every contradiction, every difficulty, would disappear, if your majesty would take into your own hands the authority now usurped by the pontiff. The clergy would then become obsequious to your will, when they were placed on an exact level with your other subjects. At present they consider themselves not so much the king's as the pope's subjects. They took, indeed, the oath of allegiance, but they were afterwards released from this obligation, and sworn anew to the pope; so that your majesty," said he, "is but half a king, and they but half your subjects." In this bold address it will be seen that Cromwell brought before the king two ideas, which were entirely new to him; the first, a project for claiming the supremacy; the second, a design for placing the whole body of the clergy within his power. When he had done, the monarch pondered for a few moments, and regarding the speaker with a piercing look, demanded if he could prove what he had last said. Cromwell drew from his pocket a copy of the oath administered to the bishops at their consecration, read it over, explained the manner in which the clergy had brought themselves within a charge of treason, and demonstrated that by the statutory law, their lives and possessions were at the mercy of the king. Henry was convinced and delighted; his mind seized on the new ideas suggested by his able and unscrupulous adviser with its characteristic impetuosity and vigour; he warmly thanked Cromwell. took him into his service, promoted him to the seat of a privy counsellor, and determined to follow out his suggestion.

Henry had hitherto lived with his queen, though apart from her intimate society. But his mind, irritated by opposition, and inflamed by the violence of his passions, now began to assume a darker and more cruel character. And this was soon after manifested by the execution of Thomas Bilney, a learned and amiable divine, who was burnt at Smithfield for heresy. He was the intimate friend of bishop Latimer; and having been accused of holding sentiments inimical to the church of Rome, 1528, had been persuaded by the affectionate entreaties of Tonstal, bishop of Durham, to save his life, by a recantation of his opinions. From that moment, however, he became heart-broken and disconsolate. The joy of his relatives, who welcomed him back amongst them, seemed to distress him deeply; his accustomed cheerfulness entirely forsook him; he shunned all company, and would sometimes break out into pathetic and passionate complaints of those false friends by whose unreasonable affection he had suffered himself to be overcome. During this time he read much, and having buried himself for nearly three years in a religious seclusion, he began to throw out obscure hints of some extraordinary design. He would say that he was now almost prepared; that he would shortly go up to Jerusalem; and that God must be glorified in him. What he meant was not at first understood; at length, however, he plainly told them, that he had long determined to extirpate his former abjuration by death, and that he was now ready. Nor could any entreaties move him from his purpose. Breaking at once from all his attachments to Cambridge, he took his journey into Norfolk, and there, in the place of his nativity, began publicly to expose the errors of popery, and to confess his guilt in abjuring the faith which he was now convinced had its foundation in eternal truth. As he had anticipated, he was immediately apprehended and thrown into prison, where, as he lay expecting the arrival of the writ for his execution, nothing could exceed the serenity and joy of his whole demeanour. The weight which had oppressed him, and rendered life an intolerable burden, seemed now completely removed; and on the evening before he suffered, his friends, who came to bid him farewell, found him at supper, in the most cheerful frame of mind. On expressing their surprise, he told them he was only keeping the ruinous house of his body in repair, so long as he inhabited

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it; and on the succeeding day, he welcomed death with heavenly composure and courage, repeating Psalm cxliii., and dwelling with deep emphasis on these words, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." But to return to Henry VIII.

The history of this monarch is perpetually putting us in mind of the remark of Lord Herbert, "that it is impossible to draw his picture well who hath several countenances." On the death of pope Clement, whom he regarded with a rooted enmity, Henry appears to have made advances to his successor, Paul III., empowering Sir Gregory de Cassalis to confer with the new pontiff on the cause so long under the consideration of the papal see. The application, it is probable, met with some favour; but when intelligence arrived in Italy of the extraordinary severities used to those who denied the king's supremacy, of the execution of several monks who had refused the oath, and above all, of the death of bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, a sudden revolution took place in the sentiments of the Roman hierarchy. By a bull, dated August 30th, Paul, in the severest language which could be employed, warned the king to repent of the grievous sins which he had committed in the divorce of queen Catharine, the marriage with Anne Boleyn, and the promulgation of the laws against the papal authority. If he should refuse obedience, he cited him to appear at Rome within ninety days, and give his answer; and if he neglected this, he, by the same bull, declared him to be excommunicated, pronounced the kingdom under an interdict, declared the issue of Anne illegitimate, interdicted his subjects from paying him allegiance, forbade other states from engaging in commerce with England, set free all foreign princes from the leagues which bound them to that country, commanded the clergy to depart forth of the realm, and enjoined the nobility to take arms against their sovereign. Although this bull was not instantly made public, the monarch against whom it was directed was soon informed of its contents, and with the object of strengthening himself against the popedom, and the formidable power of its ally

[•] Fox's Martyrology, vol. ii. p. 922; British Biography, vol. ii. p. 155-7; Burnett's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 164.

the emperor, he opened a negotiation with the protestant princes of Germany. In this he was joined by Francis I., who, with no very serious convictions of religion, but rather under the influence of political ambition, began at this time to shew some favour to the opinions of the reformers. Henry endeavoured also, about the same period, to engage his nephew, James V. of Scotland, in his opposition to the overgrown power of the Romish church, but with little success.

Not long after this, another important abridgment of the powers and revenues of the papal see took place, in the suppression of the monasteries, a measure chiefly recommended by Thomas Cromwell. The great abuses which, under the cloak of devotion, were practised in the religious houses so widely scattered over the kingdom, were well known to the Romish church, and soon after the accession of Henry, had excited in some of its more conscientious adherents the most earnest desire for reformation. No serious measures for effecting this purification, however, had been taken; and such were the blindness, the obstinacy, and the jealousy of those interested in the continuance of the evil, that little amelioration was to be expected. But when the king's supremacy was declared, and that oath by which it was acknowledged came to be tendered to all persons throughout the country, it met with a determined opposition from the monastic orders, and some of the most eminent members did not scruple to seal their refusal with their blood. About this same time, Henry had appointed Cromwell, who already held the offices of chancellor of the Exchequer and chief secretary, his royal vicegerent, vicar-general, and principal commissary. In this new dignity was vested the spiritual authority, which belonged to the king as head of the church, to be exercised in all cases which regarded ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or the reformation of errors in sacred matters. The refusal of the monks and friars to acknowledge the royal supremacy came accordingly under the direct cognizance of this high officer; and his attention being naturally directed to the abuses in the religious houses, he, with the unscrupulous boldness which belonged to his character, proposed a general dissolution of them throughout the kingdom, and the assumption of their immense revenues by the crown. The vicar-general was

too crafty not to be aware that this idea would be eagerly adopted by his master, who was irritated by the discourses which the monks had not hesitated to deliver against him in all parts of the country, and not indisposed to get rid of his opponents by an act which, at the same time, would so infinitely benefit his exchequer.

The monasteries which, even in their institution, were not founded upon strictly Christian principles, in the course of ages had been perverted from their original purposes, and in many cases, from schools of holy living and pious seclusion, had grown into seminaries of immorality and licentiousness. Yet, though in some instances this was the case, it was not so in all, perhaps not so even in the majority; and whilst in the privy-council, where the matter was first debated, no one opposed a general reformation, the expediency of their entire destruction came to be much questioned. It was argued that, admitting their excessive multiplication, their immense wealth, and luxurious idleness, to be an evil, it sprung out of the perversion of an otherwise useful institution. When kept within due bounds as to numbers, and compelled to follow the strictness of their original rules, such establishments, it was contended, were nurseries of devotion, retreats for learning in a dark and barbarous age, and hospitals for the sick and infirm, where the universal charity and practical benevolence inculcated by the Christian faith might be found in their purest exercise. Nor was it concealed that their entire suppression would be a great wrong committed against their founders, who had as much right to give their lands to that use as their heirs have to enjoy the remainder. On the other hand, the immense revenues of the clergy were pointed out as a great and growing evil. The state, it was observed, ought to be a symmetrical body, in which no part should exceed its just proportion; and yet, when the tenth paid to the clergy in one kind, and the lands they held in another, were taken together, it would be found that the fourth part of the revenues of the kingdom was engrossed by the ministers of religion. It might not be inexpedient, therefore, to follow the example already set by Wolsey, and suppress some, employing the money for the more urgent occasions of state, and keeping the rest, like public jewels, unprofitable indeed at the moment, but ready to be converted into coin when necessity arrived. In the meantime, the wisest course, previous to any more decisive measure, appeared to be a general visitation.

Having weighed these arguments, Henry adopted the last expedient; and Cromwell being appointed to superintend this duty, dispatched his emissaries, Layton, Leigh, and Detre, doctors of law, with London, dean of Wallingford, to make inquiry into the condition of the convents at large. Their instructions were ample, directing them to investigate, in the strictest manner, the government, education, and behaviour of persons of both sexes; to find out all their offences, and, with this object, to encourage them in accusing both their governors and each other; to compel them to exhibit their mortmains, evidences, and conveyances of land; to discover their jewels and relics; and to take inventories of their plate and money. addition to this, injunctions were given for the better regulation and government of those houses, and for the acknowledgment of the king's supremacy by every religious order in the kingdom. The result of this investigation, pursued at different times, was the disclosure of such a system of imposture, and the detection of so many immoralities in the lives of the pretended devotees, who had been long secluded from observation, that nothing short of a total dissolution of the monasteries appeared likely to remove the The machinery of the pretended miracles, by which the poor and ignorant people were abused, was, in many places, laid open in a striking manner. At Bexley, in Kent, for example, there was found a crucifix, which, by the pulling of certain wires, was made sometimes to move its head and eyes, sometimes to incline its body as if in the act of receiving prayers; whilst, by a different mechanism, those gestures were imitated which might be interpreted into a rejection of them. Many and great were the offerings which, for a long period, the ignorant devotion of pilgrims had presented to this image; but the imposition having been detected, and the internal construction exposed, it was commanded to be destroyed. At Hales, in the county of Gloucester, a liquid, which the priests declared to be the blood of our Saviour. was shewn in a phial of crystal, which the people sometimes

were able and sometimes unable to see. On investigation, it was found out they were made to believe that they could not be blessed with a sight of the sacred substance as long as they continued in mortal sin, even when the phial was placed immediately before their eyes; and they continued, therefore, to make offerings, till heaven was said to relent, and give them a view of this holy relic. Upon minute examination, it was discovered that the blood inclosed in the phial was nothing more than that of a duck. which was renewed every week; that one side of the vessel was thick and opaque, and the other side thin and transparent; it was placed in such a manner upon the altar, that a person concealed behind could turn either the one side or the other to the spectators. The whole was an impudent contrivance to drain those who came to see it of as much money as possible; after which the credulous votaries were made happy by having the transparent side turned towards them. Many of these superstitious images were publicly exposed and afterwards destroyed at St. Paul's cross; whilst a great number of pretended relics were discovered in different parts of the kingdom.

Of the monks and nuns, the fate was various, according to their several circumstances and condition of life. Many of them alleged that they were weary of the habit, having been professed before they reached the years of discretion; while some represented that the late injunctions were too strict to be observed; upon which his majesty seized upon and dissolved the house. All who had taken the vows when under the age of twenty-four were set at liberty, and those who had entered the monastery after that age had licence to depart if they thought proper. To some were given small pensions for life, on condition that they should surrender their establishments to the king; others redeemed their monasteries from immediate destruction by the payment of great sums to Cromwell, and the sacrifice of money, ornaments, and jewels, to the royal exchequer. These rigorous inquiries into the state of the monasteries took place on two different occasions, in 1535 and 1537, and such was the scandal and indignation occasioned by the discoveries of the feigned miracles, and the licentious lives of the religious orders, that, although the king

was at first disposed to pause as to their entire dissolution, the parliament judged otherwise; and by an act passed in February, 1536, suppressed three hundred and eighty of the lesser monasteries by which a revenue of £32,000 a year accrued to the public exchequer, besides £100,000 in plate and precious stones.

Such, however, was the influence of the monks in the remoter parts of the kingdom that the measure occasioned much discontent, which at length broke out into open rebellion in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. On the suppression of these disturbances it was thought proper, by two successive acts of the legislature, the first passed in the year 1539, and the last in 1545, to put down the remaining religious houses, and to vest their ample possessions for ever in the crown. The monarch it is to be observed, however, did not come immediately into the possession of their immense revenues, nor is it to be imagined that the wealth thus appropriated was spent exclusively for civil Henry created six new bishoprics; Westminster, afterwards changed into a deanery by Elizabeth, Peterborough, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, and Oxford. In eight other sees he established chapters, by converting the situations held by the priors and monks into appointments for deans and prebendaries. He also conferred an endowment on the college of Christ-church, in Oxford; laid the foundation of Trinity, in Cambridge; and finished King's-college, in that University. He instituted professorships of divinity, law, and physic, as well as of the Greek and Hebrew languages; while, for charitable purposes, he gave the convent of Grey Friars and St. Bartholomew's Hospital to the city of London. In concluding this account of the suppression of the religious houses, it ought to be observed, that all were not found alike criminal in their course of life. "Some societies." says lord Herbert, "behaved themselves so well, that their visitors became intercessors for them; their life being not only exempt from notorious faults, but their leisure time bestowed in writing books, painting, carving, engraving, and the like exercises. of those," continues the author, "I find not many mentioned; and even they were involved in the common fate; it being thought dangerous to use distinction, both lest the faults of

manners, which might be corrected, should be taken by the people as the sole cause of their dissolution, and, as was pretended, that the revenues should be employed to some better uses."*

The difference between Henry and the pope at this period amounted solely to the rejection of the papal jurisdiction. king was a schismatic, indeed, or a separatist, because he had himself assumed the title and authority of supreme head of the church of England; but, as he still adhered to the doctrines of the Romish church, he could not yet be called a heretic. Happily, however, for the truth, the death of the queen, which had now taken place, and who was a favourer of the reformers, was not attended by any evil consequences to their cause. The influence of Cranmer, and of Cromwell, now made vicar-general over the whole spiritual estate, continued undiminished; and in consequence of a memorial, drawn up by the lower house of convocation against certain errors formerly held by the Lollards, and now professed by the Baptists, the latter functionary brought an important message from the king. It commanded them to proceed to the reformation of the rites and ceremonies of the church by the test of the scriptures; and, laying aside the decrees of popes and the lessons of schoolmen, to maintain nothing but what was founded on divine authority. A keen debate ensued, in which Cranmer and Fox argued strenuously for reform, and Gardiner and Stokesly as strongly against it.

At last a middle course was adopted, and some articles agreed on relative to the sacraments and manner of worship, which was revised by Henry himself, and afterwards published under his authority. By them the scriptures, with the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, were made the standards of faith, and the people were instructed to believe what was contained therein. The epistles and gospels were ordered to be read in English, and it was commanded that a Bible, in the same tongue, should be kept in every parish church, and explained to the congregation. Three sacraments only were admitted as instituted by our Saviour,—baptism, the Lord's supper, and penance; and the direct adoration of saints and images was forbidden; although it

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[•] British Biography, vol. ii., p. 115, &c.; Herbert, p. 185-217.

was added, that saints might be honoured, and even asked to pray for us, provided we do not expect from them what can be obtained only from God. As to images, they were to be permitted to remain in churches as representatives of virtue, yet people were to be dissuaded from the genuflexions and superstitions formerly practised before them. Purgatory, by the same articles, was declared uncertain upon any scriptural grounds; but its abuses being abolished, permission was still given to pray for departed souls. These advances towards a reformation were gratifying to all who longed to see the church established on the simple and solid foundation of scripture; the corporeal presence in the eucharist, and the necessity of auricular confession, were indeed still received as articles of faith; but important points had been gained, and the rest they trusted would follow.

The abolition of the papal supremacy was probably, to a majority of the people of England, a matter of satisfaction, as it relieved them from the burden of many exactions by which they had been so long oppressed; but that universal suppression of the monasteries, which was carried through by Cromwell with considerable rigour and occasional injustice, proved by no means so popular a measure. Men were attached to these ancient institutions by long habit; their splendid edifices, their liberal, though often misdirected alms, their pompous processions, their sacred relics, the concourse of rich pilgrims which they occasioned, their frequent holidays and religious fêtes, were all calculated to make an impression upon the imagination; and although no one, rightly informed upon the subject, will be disposed to deny the evils which they occasioned, or to question that their abolition was attended with the best effects to the cause of truth, still some minor advantages were sacrificed in their removal. The poor regretted that they no longer experienced the liberal charity of the religious houses; the gentry who used to provide for their younger children and decayed friends in these institutions, and to be themselves sumptuously entertained at the abbot's tables; the substantial yeomen, or the mercantile travellers, who were there comfortably lodged upon their journeys; all for the moment regretted and were disposed to be unreasonably discontented with the change. The legislative act, indeed, by which they had

been suppressed, obliged the farmers, to whom the sites of convents were leased by the crown, to maintain the accustomed hospitality, and the lands and religious houses were sold at easier rates to enable the purchasers to obey this injunction; but such munificence was at first imperfectly exercised, and soon totally Treatises had been published, which in strong discontinued. colours exposed the vices, indolence, and impostures of the religious orders; but these the great body of the rural inhabitants could not read, and their pity was awakened when innumerable bands of monks were seen wandering from place to place soliciting the charity which they had formerly bestowed. Nor was this all. To prevent the monasteries from being ever re-established, and, perhaps, to counteract that affection in the people which still clung to the beautiful and gorgeous edifices which they had so long venerated, it was thought proper in some places, not only to chase away the birds, but to destroy the nests. Churches and cloisters were thus demolished; bells, shrines, images, and even the monuments of the dead, were pulled down, and their materials sold; a havoc which not only roused the indignation of the simple and devout followers of the ancient catholic faith, but, as it appeared wanton and unnecessary, was viewed with displeasure by the whole community.

These causes of discontent, it may be easily imagined, were exaggerated and inflamed by the representations of the sufferers; and the evil at last getting ahead, broke out into a popular insurrection nearly about the same time in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. To the petition of the insurgents in the former county, Henry immediately directed an answer, which bears indisputable marks of being composed by himself. The rebels had objected to his choice of counsellors, and the king thus reproaches them: "How presumptuous are ye, the rude commons of our shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm, and of least experience, to find fault with your prince for the electing of his counsellors and prelates, and to take upon you, contrary to God's law and man's law, to rule your prince, whom ye are bound by all laws to obey and serve, with both your lives, lands, and goods, and for no worldly cause to withstand." The first rising was, however, easily suppressed; and although the rebels were

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20,000 strong, the military skill and prompt severity of the duke of Suffolk, who was sent against them, speedily induced them to disperse. Their leaders, one Mackrel, a prior, and a person named Melton, who took the name of captain Cobler, were afterwards executed.*

In Yorkshire the rebellion was more formidable; its friends were encouraged by their proximity to Scotland; and under the guidance of a gentleman of some talent and energy, named Aske, a body of 40,000 men was rapidly assembled, and not contemptibly organized. From its religious character, it bore the appearance of a crusade. They styled their march the pilgrimage of grace. Priests advanced before them with crosses in their hands, a crucifix was enwoven on their banners, and every soldier wore embroidered on his sleeve, as a badge of the party, the five wounds of Christ, with the name of Jesus. The objects for which they had taken up arms were enumerated in their oath. Their single aim, they declared, was the defence of the cross and faith of Christ, the restitution of the church, and the suppression of heresy.†

Although by the overruling influence of Cromwell and his creatures the work of reform was left in an imperfect state, there was one redeeming measure, which probably originated with this minister, or, at least, received his full encouragement. This was the resolution to communicate the scriptures to the people; and the subject is so important that I have preferred to bring it under one head, rather than to separate it into details. It is to William Tindal that we owe the first translation of the holy scriptures which appeared after the days of Wycliffe, although this excellent and pious labourer was not suffered to live to complete his task. Educated originally at Oxford, and distinguished early by his classical attainments, Tindal became a canon of Wolsey's newly-founded college. Having imbibed the Lutheran opinions, he removed to Cambridge, where he pursued his theological studies; and coming afterwards to London, acquired

[†] See Robert Aske's Address in the State Papers, published by Government, 463-551, inclusive.



State Papers by Government, vol. i. p. 462—478; Carte, vol. iii. p. 140; Godwin, p. 146, 147.

reputation both as a preacher and a scholar, enjoying the patronage of Sir Henry Guilford, master of the horse to Henry VIII., and the friend of Erasmus. About this time, becoming more awakened to the error of the Romish church, he formed his great design of exhibiting the scriptures in his native idiom; and aware that his own country was not then the most favourable spot to prosecute his labours, he passed over into Saxony, visited Luther, and, after some interval, settled at Antwerp, where the opinions of this great reformer were much favoured by the English merchants.

In that city he commenced his version of the New Testament. which was published in 1526; and fifteen hundred copies being immediately sent home, were rapidly circulated throughout the country. It was received, however, with great indignation by the popish party; and Tonstal, bishop of Durham, having at his own expense bought up the remainder of the impressions, publicly burnt the whole in London—a proceeding as idle as it was bigoted; for it only led to a new and more accurate edition, which came out in 1527. He next translated the five books of Moses; but when proceeding with his labours in giving to the world a version of the remaining parts of the Old Testament, he was seized by the catholics in the Netherlands, having been betrayed into their hands by a villain, named Philips, whom they employed for that purpose; and after languishing some time in prison, he was brought to trial as a heretic, and condemned to be burnt. cruel sentence was executed in the year 1536, at the castle of Vilvorden,-the last words of the martyr being a prayer, "that God would open the eves of the king of England."

Tindal was a man of primitive simplicity of manners and sanctity of life, and his prayer was heard; for Henry, who in 1531 had most strenuously interdicted the reading of the scriptures by the common people without the licence of their superiors, at length was induced to alter his opinion, and agree to the proposal of Cromwell and Cranmer, that the Bible should be communicated to all classes of his subjects. Under the patronage of these two powerful names, Miles Coverdale, afterwards bishop of Exeter, published in 1535, the first English translation of the whole Bible, with a dedication to the king, in which Henry

is compared to a second Josiah, who had commanded that the law of God, hitherto deprest and cast aside, should be read and taught to all men.* Soon afterwards, Cromwell, in directing his injunctions to the clergy, commanded them to provide a copy of the whole Bible, both in English and in Latin, which was to be laid in the choir for the study and spiritual edification of every one who desired to read the word of God.+ So deeply intent was Cranmer on this great subject,—so solicitous to accomplish a perfect translation of the scriptures, that not long after this, he divided into nine parts an old English version of the New Testament, and having caused these parts to be transcribed, distributed them among the most learned bishops and divines, requiring them to correct their respective portions and return them to him. On the 10th of June, 1535, we find Gardiner informing the vicargeneral, that he had finished the revisal of St. Luke and St. John, upon which he had spent great labour. † This project, however, appears to have utterly failed; and, in 1537, Cranmer encouraged Grafton to reprint the translation made by Tindal and Coverdale; employing John Rogers, a learned and pious academician, who afterwards suffered under Mary, to superintend and correct it. It is this work which we find the archbishop recommending to Cromwell in warm terms, praying him to exhibit it to the king, and obtain licence that it may be sold and read by all, until such time as the bishops shall set forth a better translation, "which, I think," says he, "will not be till a day after doomsday." He accordingly obtained his majesty's permission; and it was this joint edition which, in 1537, was commanded to be kept in all parish churches.

In the succeeding year, (1538,) an injunction of the vicargeneral again required the clergy to set up the Bible in English, in a convenient place within their churches, for the use of the parishioners; and this order was followed by a royal declaration, which informed the people that the king had commanded the scriptures, in their mother tongue, to be openly "laid forth" in every parish church, for their perusal. They were cautioned, at

Newcome's Biblical Translations, p. 29. † Ibid, p. 33.
 \$ State Papers, published by Government, p. 490.
 \$ State Papers, published by Government, p. 561. Cranmer to Cromwell.

the same time, not to make them the subject of contention or indecent disputation, but to consult them with reverence.

Upon this occasion the curates, most of whom were still attached to the Romish ritual, exhibited a coldness and indifference which amounted almost to opposition. They read the royal warrant so low and confusedly, that it could not be understood; and some went so far as to exhort their parishioners to neglect it, bidding them live as their fathers had done in times past, "the old fashion being the best."* The people, however, knew and appreciated the value of the boon which had been bestowed. "It was wonderful," says Strype, " to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the more learned and those who were noted lovers of the reformation, but generally all over England, among all the common people; and with what greediness God's word was read, and what resort there was to the place appointed for reading it. Every one that could, bought the book, and busily read it, or heard it read, and many elderly persons learnt to read it on purpose."+

In this year, (1539,) a new edition of the holy scriptures appeared, generally known as Cranmer's Bible; ‡ and the exertions of this excellent person for the more general diffusion of the sacred volume were eminently successful. A copy of it had already been given to the churches; it was now to be more especially communicated to the people at large. In a letter from Cromwell to the prelates and clergy, it was required that the curates should have it openly laid forth in their own houses, so that every man, having free access to it by reading of the same, may both be more apt to understand the declaration of it at the preacher's mouth, and also the more able to teach and instruct his wife, family, and children, at home. The same letter enjoins the preachers and curates to desire their flocks to read the Bible, according to the tenour of an instruction which is sent them; and

[•] Newcome, Bib. Tr. p. 3. † Ibid. p. 39; Life of Cranmer, p. 69.

[‡] See some letters illustrative of this subject in State Papers, published by government, vol. i. p. 575; Coverdale and Grafton to Cromwell, Paris, 23rd June, 1538, p. 578; Coverdale and others to Cromwell, 9th August, 1538, p. 589 Cranmer to Cromwell, 14th November, 1538, p. 591; Grafton to Cromwell, Paris, 1st December, 1538.

turning to this document, we find it breathing a purer spirit than might have been expected in those dark times. It contains a message from the sovereign to his good subjects, informing them that he has permitted the Bible in the English tongue to be published, that by the reading thereof, accompanied by a true explanation of the faith, they might learn their duties to God, to the king, and to each other. It enjoins them to peruse it humbly and reverently, always having in remembrance that all contained in that book is the undoubted will, law, and commandment of Almighty God, the only means to know his goodness, our duty, and the way to serve him according to his will; and it observes that if at any time doubts should arise in the course of reading, as to the meaning of any part of scripture, they should in that case have recourse to such learned men as were authorized to preach and declare the scriptures, and should beware of trusting too much to their own minds, fantasies or opinions.* bearing the signature of Cromwell, then lord privy seal, this letter was, in all probability, the work of Cranmer; and the interest he took in the measure is proved by his simple and interesting expressions of delight when it was carried into effect. "It was a day of rejoicing to me," says he, "greater than if there had been given me a thousand pounds." + The archbishop had good reason to be happy; for the doctrines of the reformation, although gradually progressive at this time, were much impeded by the success and subtlety of the Romish party; and the articles devised by the king, and published in 1536, for the establishment of Christian quietness in the realm, exhibited a singular mixture of popish and protestant tenets. Soon after these, however, another work was brought out under public authority, which, tinctured as it was by the remains of error, had a tendency to promote the reformation. It was entitled, the Institution of a Christian Man, and having been drawn up in 1587 chiefly by the prelates, in consequence of a commission issued by the king, was familiarly termed the Bishop's Book. At this time the Lutheran

Strype, vol. i. pp. 474, 475.

[†] Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 58; Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation, p. 188.

envoys, who had arrived on a mission from the protestant princes of Germany, with the idea of promoting a union with Henry, were still in the country; and the preponderance of the old opinions in this noted performance, convinced them of the vanity of such expectations, and proved the increasing influence of the party now led by Gardiner, and opposed to the improvements of Cranmer. Yet, even in this, many errors were attacked, if not exploded.

I shall close the present lecture with a few observations on the state of ecclesiastical affairs as they stood at the end of the reign of Henry VIII.

It is plain that though the work of reformation may be said to have commenced in England under his reign, yet it advanced but a little way, the king himself being but half a papist. The reformation was then put in embryo; the day only began to dawn; and though all that wished well to the work rejoiced when they saw the foundation laid, yet it is well known that many were so far from being satisfied with these imperfect beginnings, that they contended even unto blood against what was required. It does not appear that the public prayers of the church were generally in English. "The bishops," says Dr. Burnet, "that were appointed to examine the rites and ceremonies of the church, made such inconsiderable and slight alterations, that there was no need of reprinting either the Missals, Breviaries, or other offices; for a few rasures of these collects, in which the pope was prayed for, of Thomas & Becket's office, and the offices of other saints, whose days were by the king's injunctions no longer to be observed, with some other delations made, that the old book did still serve." In fact, such protestants were they in this monarch's reign, that the Bible, the only just standard of reformation, could with difficulty get leave to shew its head. And as to the style of preaching, the same prelate, bishop Burnet, informs us, that "the chief design of the sermons of the reformers was to acquaint the people with the way of salvation according to the gospel, in which there were at that time two dangerous extremes that had divided the world. The greatest part of the ignorant seemed to consider the priests as a sort of people who had such a secret knack in the saving of souls as mountebanks pretended to in curing diseases, and that there was nothing to be done but leave themselves in their hands, and the business could not miscarry. This was the chief basis and support of all that superstition that was so prevalent over the nation. The other extreme was that of certain corrupt professors of the gospel, who thought, if they magnified Christ much, and depended on his merits and intercession, they could not perish, whatever lives they led."*

· History of the Reformation, part ii., p. 27.



LECTURE LXXV.

Progress of the Reformation in England, continued during the reigns of Edward VI. and his sister, queen Mary—Preliminary remarks—Papal encroachments—Supremacy of the pope—Reasons on which it was generally allowed—Opposed to primitive simplicity—Wolsey and Bonner—Retrospect of the labours of Wycliffe—Progress of the Reformation in England—Accession of Edward VI.—His prepossessing character—Articles of religion and Book of Common Prayer—Persecutions which disgraced his short reign—Death of Edward and accession of queen Mary—Animating prospect of her reign—Succeeded by a deadly mildew—The queen's duplicity—Alarms her subjects—Throws herself into the arms of Rome—Resolves to force her subjects to return to the church of Rome—Lights up the fires of Smithfield—Horrible burnings which ensue—Reflections—Deaths of Gardiner, Pole, and Mary. A.D. 1536—1558.

As the sixteenth century revolved, the moral censures of the public judgment became more animated against the vices and abuses of the papal court, and its official administration; and even before Henry VIII. or Luther was born, two of the great points for which the latter afterwards contended had become fixed in the wishes of mankind, though few except Wycliffe stirred to carry them into effectual execution. These were, that the popedom and the catholic hierarchy were in a corrupt and immoral state; and that, for the sake of true Christianity and of the public welfare, a general reformation ought to be commanded and enforced.

But Luther no more originated the desire of the amelioration, than he produced the degeneracy which needed the correction. The evil had been so striking and so universal, that it could not, when the mind was enlarging on every subject of human thought, continue to exist so glaringly and so offensively, without exciting some sensitive and intrepid spirit to be an active public leader in obtaining that reformation which all but the deteriorated and the interested felt to be indispensable.

The encroachments of power, by which the popes, during the middle ages, sought to convert their ancient authority into a paramount and universal domination injurious to good government, and corrupting both themselves and their order, are stated and acknowledged by the intelligent catholics. Their origin was sufficiently iniquitous, for it was based upon fraud and forgery. But the conscientious clergy being ignorant of the deception, and the interested party being too much benefited by it to desire its detection, the assumed powers, however censured or disliked, were submitted to, although their burthensome injustice perpetuated the opposing criticism, till an extensive desire was created for their abolition,—a desire that must have been increased by the extravagant demands that were made for the allowance of its unlimited despotism.*

The SUPREMACY OF THE POPE was a favourite theory of many eminent members of the church during the middle ages. Although, as an innovation unknown to the first period of the church, the assumption of it may be justly called an usurpation; yet it was not so much a power extorted by the possessors of St. Peter's chair, through their own ambition, as a superiority and right conferred upon them by the wishes and opinions of their general hierarchy. That the popes could depose kings and emperors, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance, was not merely

Erasmus tells us, that, in his day, some were teaching, that however wicked and impious a pope might be, he could not be disgraced, and ought not to be blamed—that if the whole church were to decree one thing, and a single pope, even an Alexander VI. were to contradict it, all others would be heretics and schismatics, fit only for Tartarus, while Alexander would go up to the skies.—Erasmi Opera, p. 9, c. 1087.

asserted by the first pontiff who unshrinkingly exercised it.* but was declared by many writers, apparently from their conscientious judgment, down to the death of our queen Elizabeth. The English clergy favoured the idea before the reign of Henry VIII.; and the admissions of the patriotic bishop Grostete, or Greathead, indicate, + that warmly as he attacked the pope for many of his abuses, yet that he strongly favoured the theory of the pontifical superiority. He broadly states, that all power remains with the heads of the church, and that from their power flows to the princes of the world, whatever authority even these possess; though no one opposed the pope when he deemed him wrong, more strenuously as a churchman than he did. This was not peculiar to the English prelates; others, who vigorously denounced the corruptions of Rome and the hierarchy, yet upheld the system of their superiority to all temporal potentates, and the pope's rightful lordship over all Christian people. Such were the delusions of able and well meaning men in behalf of the order to which they belonged. The probability is, that the clergy of the middle ages, in upholding the rightful superiority over all human sovereignty, were actuated by a double motive; the less avowed, and perhaps less self-perceived one, was the fact, that in exalting the popedom to this paramount dignity, all the planets and satellites of the ecclesiastical system would move with it to a higher orbit of social existence, transcending every lay competitor; the public, and more poetical reason was, the seductive fancy that if the world could be made subject to one great religious imperator, and cardinals, prelates, councils, and priests, should become the governors and legislators of mankind, instead of kings, peers, parliaments, and knights, a golden age of piety and virtue would return, and the grand aspirations of mortal hope, and of our impatient speculations, would speedily be realized.

[•] Gregory VII., in his letter to the bishop of Metz, calls it the insaniam—the madness of those who prattle with a "nefando ore," an abusive tongue, to say that the apostolical see could not excommunicate the German emperor, Henry V. Before this, our German missionary, Boniface, in the eighth century, had presched the same doctrine.

[†] See Lecture XXXV., vol., ii. p. 128-127.

But the age of gold was the age of simplicity, not of luxury—of cottages and rural plains, not of palaces and metropolitan citiesof flocks and herds, not of armies, retinues, and states-of honey, milk, and crystal streams, not of crowded tables, scientific cookery, or gorgeous banquets. The members of the existing hierarchy, and their use of the wealth and power they had attained, manifested what they would be if they could monopolize them more largely; and therefore all suppositions that the morality or intellect of the world would prosper under their monarchy, was an unwarranted dream of self-flattering enthusiasm. Wolsey was the last church dignitary, of the ancient system, who exemplified to the dullest mind in England the corruptions and evils of the pope's permitted supremacy. By obtaining the legatine authority, he possessed the full papal power in his own country, and he used it as it was used elsewhere. His oppressions and peculations by it were made leading articles of his impeachment; but he precluded all punishment by two irresistible answers. The king and parliament had consented to his taking the dignity of legate a latere from the pope; and he had not exceeded the papal privileges and exercised rights. His offensive exertion of them against the established church of this country, reconciled its prelates to the abolition of that supremacy which was principally applied to pecuniary extortions. We can hardly take a safer guide to the feelings of the English hierarchy of that day, as to the papal oppressions and usurpations, than the too celebrated Bonner, who became, under Mary, their most remorseless champion. Yet he declared that the pope exercised in England "an atrocious and bitter tyranny, and while he was called a servant of servants, was but a rapacious wolf in the clothing of a sheep." Bonner's phrase is severe, but does not go beyond the declared experience of the mild and cautious Erasmus.* That neither time nor criticism, nor the general reprobation of society, could extinguish the immoralites which disgraced the ancient catholic

[•] He says, he presses me to say, if I ever saw a pirate made a bishop at Rome. I omit what I may have seen. But he will not deny, that sometimes there are promoted to the highest dignities, if not pirates, yet murderers, poisoners, simoniacal persons, and those who are familiar with vices that are not here to be named. Erasmi Opera, t. 9, c. 1180.

clergy, we learn from the state sermons before the council of Trent, in which they are repeatedly alluded to.

Edward I. began a steady system of curtailing the papal power in his dominions, and precluded the church from all additions to its landed property. Larger encroachments were made on the exerted rites and exactions of the pope, and on the assumed privileges of the hierarchy, during the splendid reign of Edward III. England then became distinguished in Europe for the freedom of its opinions, and for the intrepidity of its government against that sacerdotal despotism which at this critical period was extending everywhere its unresisted domination, and seeking to absorb the property and government of the world.

This new spirit in the policy of the crown pervaded the heads of the aristocracy and the more active characters in the metropolis, as the fourteenth century was closing; but it found a peculiar home in the mind of the humble rector of Lutterworth, John Wycliffe. From their contemporary coincidence, we may infer that it was the papal rapacity at the period of his mature age which excited his mind, and obtained from him the patronage and encouragement of competent power, to investigate and oppose the venerated chieftain of his order, and the doctrines and system in which he had been educated or was living.

No man could be more unimportant as an individual, nor less formed to be a leading public character, than a country clergyman with a very moderate preferment. Yet no individual had before that time existed, who had conceived and concentered in his intellectual personality, so many and such formidable objections to the whole structure and practice of the papal church, or who had expressed them with greater sarcasm, variety, and effect. But the visible, new, and daring enormity of the abuses that the popes now sanctioned and exercised, gave point and impunity to his criticisms. It was the spirit of the government and country in the last years of Edward III., which spoke in his voice and animated and protected his exertions. He attacked the conduct, the wealth, the system, and the doctrines, of the Roman hierarchy in a scholastic form, for the conviction of the learned, and in a popular one by his simple and easy expositions, and still more effectually by his English translation of the New Testament,

which always has had, and ever will possess, the effect of inducing and enabling the hearer or reader to compare the practical system with the written authority. An old chronicle tells us, that this vernacular version made the sacred volume more known to illiterate laymen and women, than it was even to the educated clergy. His opinions infected the aristocracy of the land, its parochial clergy, and the University of Oxford, and produced an extensive effect on the public mind; but this was chiefly on detached and scattered individuals; it led to no social combinations, nor occasioned any political concussions on ecclesiastical changes.

The corruptions of the clergy and the sense of the papal misconduct were as strong in England as elsewhere, even in the reign of Henry VIII., and were largely spreading the desire of reformation, which would have become efficiently active, if its prime minister (Wolsey), from 1515 to 1530, had not been a cardinal, raised from social obscurity to his greatness by the very system which he was making more offensive to the public eye, and who aspiring, till he fell, to be pope himself, would not suffer any part of its political machinery to be disturbed. Hence the ancient system rolled awhile heavily on with its creaking wheels, although Wolsey saw such a rising spirit about him, that he pretended to be meditating the reformation that was wished for. The public hope waited in quiescent expectation, and none of the new opinions which arose were connected with any social turbulence. Some of these were the highest feelings of the purest piety; others the calm decisions of rational judgment. Objections against images, pilgrimages, masses, and offerings for the dead, relics, fastings, auricular confessions, penances, transubstantiation, begging friars, saints' days, processions, holy water, consecrated wax tapers, and what may be called the drapery and theatricals of popery, were the alleged offences of the greater number. Denial of the pope's supremacy or power in England, reading the New Testament, the possession of proscribed books, and opinions hostile to monachism and the celibacy of the clergy, caused the persecution of many; while a few censured the property of the church, and fewer objected to tithes. The dislike of the religious worship paid to saints, and the union of their names

with the Divinity, by the close and equalizing association of the immediately connecting particle, dissatisfied more and more the cultivated mind. The apprehended and destroyed persons were mostly priests, and the others were private and obscure individuals; but all were peaceable and unoffending as subjects.

From the accession of Edward IV. to the death of Henry VIII. no reforming spirit attempted to realize its wishes in England by conspiracy, insurrection, or warfare. It was the Roman see and its partisans which made revolt and civil violences their instruments to embarrass and overthrow the governments which resisted its domination, as our own experience has seen its priesthood repeating lately such practices in Portugal, Spain, and elsewhere. Its moral code appears to omit treason from its catalogue of social crimes, whenever it chooses to be in hostility with any sovereign, or with his administration.

Edward VI. was but a pleasing boy in the first portion of his tenth year, when his father's death transferred, more early than had been expected, the crown to his young brow.* Son of Anne Boleyn, the most transient, but most beloved, and almost the loveliest, of Henry's queens, he had been taken from the nursery, about four years before his accession, to be educated by Dr. Cox and Sir John Cheke; and by Sir Anthony Cook to princely manners.

He profited so much from their tuition as to give his watchful parent the gratification of several Latin letters during the ninth year of his age, and to inspire great hopes in all who saw him of becoming a distinguished sovereign. He was attached to his sisters,—both his elders,—till he suffered the persuasions or contrivances of others, in the last year of his reign, to change his fraternal feelings into alienation and injustice. He corresponded with them, both before he became king and afterwards, chiefly in Latin; and also with his father's last queen, in the language of affection and with unassuming ease. He loved his studies, to which Cranmer urged him; and earnestly pursued them. He wrote kindly to his preceptor, Cox; and practised himself in

^{*} Edward was born on the 12th of October, 1537, and ascended the throne, 28th January, 1547.



Latin, English, and French composition. He began and kept a diary of the daily occurrences which interested him; sought the pleasures of literary conversations; and cultivated, from a congenial nature and intellectual preference, all the feelings of an amiable and gentle character. His mind never rose to his father's energy, strength, activity, or decision, nor deviated into his infirmities; but it was studious, industrious, moral, and obliging; it never offended by arrogance or ostentation, but was always sensible, placid, well-meaning, and, for his age, more than usually intelligent. Its greatest defects, partly arising from youth and inexperience, were a facility to the influence of others; the want of that independent spirit and leading capacity which would have avoided their bondage; a feebleness in sustaining good resolutions; and the absence of that discriminating judgment, which, amid many opinions, can discern the right counsel and the ablest counsellor; and promptly select and prefer wisdom and integrity for the constant guide of its public conduct, and for the favourite monitors of its private gratification.

When his father, Henry VIII., was found to have expired, two of his state officers went to Edward, at Hertford, and conducting him respectfully to his sister Elizabeth, at Enfield, there disclosed the event of the royal demise, and saluted him in her presence as their king. Three days afterwards he was publicly brought to the tower of London, as the usual station of his commencing dignity. The first care was directed to inter Henry's corporeal remains with that distinguishing pomp which the exalted rank of his living spirit, and the greatness of the nation he governed, were thought to require. In 1552, the articles of religion were framed, and published as the summary of the doctrines of the church of England at that time; and by an act of parliament in the spring of this year, the book of Common Prayer was ordered to be used everywhere from the ensuing All Saints day; and a Catechism was prepared; but preaching without a licence was forbidden.

The most questionable of the measures pursued in this reign, in promoting the reformation, were the suspensions and imprisonments of those bishops who chose to adhere to their ancient In these deprivations, and in the confinement of **VOL. 111.**

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Bonner, who held the see of London, and of Gardiner, the prelate of Winchester, we see power in arbitrary and illhumoured exertion; creating for these violent men justifying precedents and exasperated motives for retaliating severities on their judges and accusers, when they afterwards acquired the powers of inflicting them. Hethe and Dav, the bishops of Worcester and Chichester, were afterwards, in 1551, imprisoned and deprived; the first for not acquiescing in the new form of ordination, and the latter for not changing the altars of his diocese into tables, and for preaching against the alteration. There was a spirit of unjust intolerance, and a system of oppressive harshness, in the proceedings, which, though borrowed from the ancient system in which all had been educated, we cannot now consider without dislike, surprise, and condemnation. It is extraordinary that men should be so prone to imitate what they feel to be censurable; their only merit was, that these unjust measures were not aggravated by torture and bloodshed; but they fixed vindictive resentments in the minds of the sufferers, which soon led them, in their day of triumph, to use these dreadful extremes. The arrest of Tunstoll, bishop of Durham, in 1552, was more justifiable, as he seems to have been involved in the knowledge or participation of treasonable practices.

While important transactions were passing abroad, the government at home was occupied discreditably with ecclesiastical persecutions. Neither Edward nor his state cabinet can be cleared or defended from the defaming charge of attempting to force the religious conscience, and of punishing its resistance. The utmost which can be alleged in their behalf can only be, that the Roman hierarchy had fixed the habit and the principle so strongly and so generally in the world, that our first reformers were contaminated by the system under which they had been born and educated; and that an entire new generation of reformed spirit was required to arise, before the intellect could feel that to burn a fellow-creature alive was a ghastly act, which lowered human nature below the wildest brute. It was equally horrible, whether done by a Cranmer, a Calvin, or a Bonner; or whether the agonized sufferer was a Jordan Bruno, a Servetus, a Jean Bocher, or a bishop Latimer. The retrospect is unpleasing. Let us hope that the catholic, and every branch of protestantism, now unite in one simultaneous regret that such melancholy deeds should have been perpetrated by either of their predecessors.

The persecutions in the reign of Edward, and under the prelacy of Cranmer, consists of the persons actually burnt,—of the compulsory changes produced on others,—of the conduct towards the bishops Gardiner and Bonner, who in the next reign retorted the scourge under which they had been made to smart,—and of the behaviour of the crown to the princess Mary.

The persons burnt were happily not many, but were enough to show the direful principle in actual operation. The error or absurdity of their opinions rather aggravates than vindicates the crimes of such a punishment, because folly has a natural mortality about it which sooner or later would expire of itself. Their heresy was a misconception of our Saviour's nature, which it was for piety to regret, but not for humanity to punish. violence was more unpardonable, because one was a powerless female, and the other an unprotected foreigner. Joan of Kent thought that the Messiah derived no fleshly substance from his earthly mother, but from some interior energy; and for this distinction, she in one year, and for opinions which are called Arianism, a Dutchman, whom his society in London had excommunicated, in the next, was unpityingly burnt alive. That it is now only necessary to state such facts, in order to produce their immediate execration, evinces a superiority in the present race of Europe to their ancestors, which every class may make their incontestible distinction.

That two priests should be arrested and condemned for keeping relics, which, however useless of themselves, their associations of thought had accustomed them to revere; that antipædobaptists should be taken into custody and examined; and that dissenting congregations, in Kent and Essex, should be broken up, and their teachers and leaders be held to bail, and brought into the ecclesiastical court, chiefly for objecting to the doctrine of predestination; that, not content with these attacks, a royal commission should be issued in the next year to Cranmer, five bishops, the two state secretaries, and above twenty laymen, to

correct and punish those who believed and worshipped in their own way; and that within the last nine months of Edward's reign another commission should be taken and acted upon by Cranmer and other bishops, to make inquiry after heresies. and for the examination and punishment of erroneous opinions, were actions so unworthy of a reign, and of men whose great principle of ecclesiastical activity, and great claim of personal happiness, was the right and liberty of thinking, with unfettered conscience, on religion, as their improved judgment decided, and of emancipating their own faith from all hierarchal tyranny, that it is painful to remark the oppressive inconsistency of those who both counselled and executed such objectionable measures. attacks on Gardiner and Bonner, the imprisonment and deprivation of these bishops, only shew that "mutato nomine de te fabula narratur." Their persecutions proved that they differed from their adversaries more in the verbal faith, and in the external ceremony, than in the spirit, the feeling, and the action. But that dissimilarity cannot be very great which appears only in the arithmetical number of its victims. By burning and persecuting any, the reformers justified the principle of the Romanists' cruelties, and gave them the right and merit of retaliation whenever they could recover the power. Nor were such attacks at all availing on such men as Bonner and Gardiner. These were too firm in purpose, and too fierce and sturdy in temper, not to love the battle which exercised and distinguished them, instead of being intimidated by it. The persecutions which they endured, unsubdued, for their firm adherence to what they chose to support, gave them an intellectual greatness of character, and a distinction of moral fortitude, which justly increased their reputation. privations which they suffered, trained and determined them to be persecutors themselves, with the approbation of their own feelings, as soon as the movement of events placed them in the chair of power. Both were sent to the Fleet in one year, to be set at liberty some months afterwards; to be subjected to repeated examinations, and at last to be imprisoned again,—one in the Marshalsea, and the other in the Tower, while their sees were taken from them. The government gained nothing but defeat by this contest, while the degradation and the danger threw

some portion of a martyr's character around the persevering inflexibility of the resisting, and made them the admiration of their partisans, whom it excited to resentment, imitation, and grateful reverence.

The health of Edward had never been permanent or secure. Soon after his accession, his sister Elizabeth expressed to him her uneasiness about it. At a subsequent time she congratulated him on his recovery from an attack, which, from the strength of her expression, we may infer to have threatened danger. We need not, therefore, recur to any suspicions of poison, because he was unwell in the spring of 1553, or because dangerously ill in the following June.

The decaying king at that time sank irretrievably into the last exhaustion of human life. He was sensible of his state, and a few hours before his last extremity, expressed his feelings and his pain in an interesting prayer. Opening his eyes, he saw his physician,—"Are you there? I had not thought you had been so near. I was making my prayer to God;"—a short pause ensued; when, suddenly uttering—"I faint; Lord! have mercy on me,—receive my soul!"—he instantly expired. The melancholy event was carefully concealed; but the rumour of it soon spread, though on no specific authority, and therefore for some days the public mind was floating amid doubt and denial, and became much agitated, from the uncertainty, by suspicion and mistrust.

His mild disposition, his intelligent mind, his acquisitions of knowledge, his unfeigned piety, his patriotic spirit, and his ambition of doing good, promised a reign of no ordinary individual excellence and political prosperity; but as he had acted little for himself, and when he did so, had not always displayed that judgment and moral firmness without which even virtue will not pass for the intention efficiently into the act, we are not authorized to assert that his maturity, if he had reached it, would have realized the promise, or have diminished the imperfections of his youth. It is not probable that he would have become an Elizabeth; and if he had not, both he and the nation might have sunk in the storms which were excited and directed against her. His reign lasted long enough to enable Cranmer and his

auxiliaries to advance the English reformation to that system of doctrine, worship, discipline, and precepts, which, with a few improvements from his sister Elizabeth's reign, constitute the present church of England.

Although the protestant nonconformists had not at this period made a visible appearance, yet the last act of uniformity passed in king Edward's reign, may be considered as the earliest instance of penal legislation pointed against mere dissenters. It commanded all persons to attend public worship under pain of ecclesiastical censures, and of six months' imprisonment for the first offence, twelve for the second, and for the third, confinement for life. Notwithstanding the merciful repeals of Henry's treasons, which opened the new reign with a benignant aspect, it was deemed necessary, before its close, to pass a riot act of great severity against tumultuous assemblies, and to punish those who call the king, or any successor, under the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII., a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper, for the first offence, with forfeiture and imprisonment during pleasure, and for the third, with the penalties of high treason.

The policy adopted in the reign of Edward respecting dissent from the established church, deserves some consideration. The toleration of heresy was deemed, by men of all persuasions, to be as unreasonable as it would now be thought to propose the impunity of murder. The open exercise of any worship, except that established by law, was considered as a mutinous disregard of lawful authority, in which perseverance was accounted a very culpable contumacy. In considering the harsh proceedings against these prelates who refused to give the security required by law, of their attachment to the protestant church, it must be allowed that the legislature, which had the power to change the civil establishment of religion, is justified in employing moderate means of securing the church, of which the exclusion of Roman catholics from the dignities of the protestant church cannot be denied to be in itself unexceptionable. A competent and liberal allowance, however, towards those who lose their station without any fault, by a mere change of belief in their rulers, is even in this case an indispensable part of equitable policy. The simple deprivation, especially if attended with fair compensation, of

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Bonner and Gardiner, does not appear to be blamable. Gardiner, a man of extraordinary abilities, learning, and resolution, had been a pliant tool in Henry's negotiations for divorce. attempts were made to compel him to conform to the new system. Imprisonment, with very unwarrantable aggravations, was chiefly trusted to for subduing his haughty spirit. But he defended himself with spirit and address. It was easy to gain a personal advantage over some of his opponents, by quoting, in justification of his own opinions, their language in the time of the late king, on the subject of the communion. The creed of the more reformed church, on the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, was couched in cloudy language, which the bishop could represent as favourable to his opinion. Some of the most zealous protestants had already controverted the Roman-catholic system with a warmth which gave specious pretexts for assailing them. as Zuinglians and Sacramentaries; heretics, whom the body of orthodox protestants, whether Lutherans, Calvinists, or Anglicans, held in special abhorrence. Notwithstanding what his enemies called contumacy, they still shrunk from a conflict with a man of so much courage and resource. It was thought fit to make the first experiment on a meaner subject; Bonner, bishop of London, a canonist of note, believed to be of a fierce temper and prone to cruelty—a belief well justified by his subsequent deeds. A commission issued for the examination of the complaints against this prelate. The commissioners assembled at Lambeth on the 10th of September, 1549. He deported himself insolently, manifesting that he was one of those inferior spirits who need coarseness to whet the edge of their courage. He complained that he was not deprived by a tribunal proceeding according to the canon law. This jurisdiction, however, seemed to have fallen with the ancient church. It was answered with great force, as far as related to Bonner, that he had waived such objections when he consented to receive his bishopric from the king by letters patent. Sentence of deprivation was pronounced against him on the 4th of October, and on the bad ground of his indecorum at the trial, he was sent to the Marshalsea, where he continued a prisoner till the king's death. Gardiner was brought to trial before the commissioners on the 14th of December, 1550.

He made so many concessions, that in what remained he seems to have rather consulted pride than conscience; unless we may suspect that he was influenced by a desire not to take a decisive part on the contested points, until he could better foresee the issue of very uncertain revolutions. He, too, suffered a very rigorous imprisonment—an aggravation which cannot be too much condemned in a case which was extenuated by the partial influence, or even the specious colour, of conscience.

The treatment of the princess Mary was still more odious, if it be considered as the conduct of a brother toward a sister, or if it be tried by the standard of religious liberty in modern times. But the first would be a false point of view, the second too severe a test. Somerset and Northumberland, who were the successive masters of the king and kingdom, saw the immense advantage to accrue to the protestant cause from the conversion of the presumptive heir to the throne. The feeble infancy of Edward was the only protection of the reformation against a princess already suspected of bigotry, and who had grievous wrongs to revenge. Her conversion, therefore, was the highest object of policy. Justice requires this circumstance to be borne in mind in a case where every generous feeling rises up in arms against the mere politician, and prompts us warmly to applaud the steady resistance of the wronged princess.

There is no known instance in family history, in which a brother and his two sisters appeared to be doomed to be each other's enemies, by a destiny inseparable from their birth, so extraordinary as that of Edward and the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth. The legitimacy of Mary necessarily rendered Elizabeth illegitimate. The innocence of Anne Boleyn threw a deep shade over the nuptials of which Edward was the sole offspring. One statute had declared Mary to be illegitimate, for the sake of setting the crown on Elizabeth. The latter princess was condemned to the same brand, to open the door for the nuptials with Edward's mother—both were afterwards illegitimatized, as it might seem, to exalt the lawful superiority of their brother Edward. At his accession, Mary was in the thirty-second year of her age, Elizabeth in her fourteenth, and Edward in his ninth year. Mary was of an age to remember with bitterness the

wrongs done to her innocent mother. Her few though faithful followers were adherents of the ancient religion; to which honour and affection, as well as their instruction and example, bound her. The friends, the teachers, the companions of Edward were, in many instances, bound to the reformation by conscience. Many others had built their character and their greatness upon its establishment. The pretensions of young Elizabeth were somewhat more remote; but the daughter of Anne Boleyn was still dear to those zealous protestants who considered Anne (whether inviolably faithful to Henry or not) as having died for her favour to the protestant cause. The guardians of the young king deserve commendation for the decorum which they caused him to observe towards both his sisters, though he did not conceal his affection for Elizabeth, whom he used fondly to call "sweet sister Temperance." His mild and gentle nature made the task of the guardians, as far as regarded him, easy. Neither of the ladies were likely to give equal help to those who laboured to keep peace between them.

When the injunctions of 1549 had directed the discontinuance of the mass, and commanded the liturgy to be used in its stead, the emperor's ambassador had interposed to procure an exemption by letters patent for the lady Mary from this rigorous prohibition.* She probably experienced some connivance, though this formal licence was refused. But in the autumn following, intelligence was received of designs formed by the English exiles to carry her to the Netherlands; in consequence of which, she was desired to repair to her brother's court. She declined coming nearer to London than Hunsdon; reasonably enough disliking the close observation and malicious scrutiny of her enemies. the 15th of December, Dr. Mallet, her principal chaplain, was committed to the Tower for solemnizing mass at her residence when she was absent, and before some who were not members of her household.+ The mention of these circumstances seems to shew that in practice, though not by law, a connivance with her family worship had arisen from an understanding with the impe-

Edward's Journ., 19th April, 1549, in Burnet.
 † Ibid, 13th July, and 14th August.

rial ministers. The most ungracious act of the government was to employ the tongue and pen of her brother in attacks on her religious opinions.*

On the 18th of March,+ 1551, she had an interview with the council, in the presence of Edward. She was told that "the king had long suffered her mass, in hope of her reconciliation: and there being now no hope, which he perceived by her letters, except he saw some speedy amendment he could not bear it." She answered well, that "her soul was God's; and her faith she would not change nor dissemble." She was answered somewhat evasively, "The king does not constrain your faith; but willed you, not as a king to rule, but as a subject to obey." The emperor's ministers hinted at war, if his master's cousin was thus treated with discourtesy. Cranmer and his friends allowed "that it was a sin to licence sin; but they thought that to wink at it for a time might be borne, if haste were used to get rid of it." Edward thought this casuistry lax, and on their principles he was right. Soon after, twenty-four privy-counsellors, who were assembled at Richmond to consider the case, determined that it was not meet to suffer the practices of the lady Mary any longer. It should seem, however, from the instructions to Wotton, the minister at the imperial court, that there was a disposition in the administration to spare Mary, though they could not avowedly dispense with the laws. In that temper they probably continued; but with a fluctuation between the politicians who dreaded a rupture with the emperor, and the protestant zealots who still more dreaded a toleration of the Roman-catholic worship; a state of things very mortifying and precarious; which exposed the princess to be frequently vexed and harassed on points where she required the most secure quiet.

But on the whole, the reign of Edward VI. was the most pure from religious persecution of any administration of the same length in any great country of Europe, since Christendom was divided between catholics and protestants. "Edward," says a catholic writer, "did not shed blood on that account. No san-

+ Dod, i. 360.

Edward's Journ., 15th December.
 Ibid, 18th March.

guinary, but only penal laws were executed on those who stood off." As long as both parties considered it their duty to convert or exterminate their antagonists, a peace between them was impossible. Whatever glimpses of insecure truce occurred were due to the humanity or policy of individual sovereigns, or of their ministers. In the present case, the suspension of arms may be attributed to the humane temper of Cranmer, in a greater measure than to any other circumstance. It is praise enough for voung Edward, that his gentleness, as well as his docility, disposed him not to shed blood. The fact, however, that the blood of no Roman catholic was spilt on account of religion, in Edward's reign, is indisputable. The protestant church of England did not strike the first blow. If this proceeded from the virtue of the counsellors of Edward, we must allow it to outweigh their faults. If it followed from their fortune, they ought to have been envied by their antagonists. This great commendation, however, must be restricted to the war between the two bodies which shared Europe. Other small and obscure communities, holding opinions equally obnoxious to the great communions, were excluded from the truce. A distinction was devised between the essential and unessential parts of Christianity, by means of which all the supposed errors comprehended under the first denomination might be treated with the severity of the ancient laws against heresy. No statute or canon had established this distinction, yet it slowly grew out of opinion and usage. It was then a great advance towards religious liberty; for it withdrew the greater number of Christians from the reach of the persecutor's sword. At a far later period, persecutors, when driven from their strong holds, have sometimes fallen back on the same distinction as a tenable port, where, if they could not maintain themselves permanently, their retreat would be, at least, covered. In Edward's reign, the doctrine that only the denial of the essentials of Christianity could lawfully be punished with death, was a station in the retreat from more wide-wasting evil. A century later it became a position, from which the advance towards good might be impeded and retarded.*

^{*} Mackintosh, vol. ii., ann. 1552.

But it is high time that I put an end to these strictures on the spirit that regulated the councils of Edward VI. during his short reign, and proceed to notice that of his successor.

Mary was called to fill the vacant throne on the demise of her brother Edward, and with that view made her triumphal entry into London on the 3rd of August, 1553. Her predilection for popery was generally known, or understood, and she was not long in making it manifest. All the deprived catholic bishops, Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstoll, Day, and Hethe, were immediately restored to their sees—the deprivation being pronounced to be uncanonical. The protestant bishops, in the eyes of their Romancatholic judges, had incurred deprivation by marriage, or more extreme penalties by preaching heresy. The gentle and kind, but timid and pliant Cranmer, was committed to the Tower on the 2nd of September, and on the 13th he was followed by Latimer, a man in all respects but religion, directly opposite to the primate,—brave, sincere, honest, inflexible; not distinguished as a writer or a scholar, but exercising his power over men's minds by a fervid eloquence, flowing from the deep conviction which animated his plain, pithy, and free-spoken sermons. As he passed through Smithfield on his way to the Tower, he said-"Smithfield has long groaned for me." The liberty of speech, for which he resigned his bishopric under Henry VIII., was now treated by the council as "insolence," and alleged in their books to be the ground of his committal.

The pope and the emperor Charles V. lost no time in setting negotiations on foot to provide the young queen with a husband to their mind; and such a one was found in Don Philip, the heir of the Spanish, Italian, and Burgundian dominions of the house of Austria. Philip landed at Southampton on the 19th of July, 1554, and the marriage was solemnized on the 25th of the same month, by Gardiner, in his cathedral of Winchester. Philip was at that time in the twenty-ninth year of his age—Mary in her thirty-eighth year. The countenance and form of the prince were in his youth not void of symmetry, and began to shew marks of his firm and sagacious mind; but the stately reserve of the Spanish manners did not lessen the repugnance of the English people to the marriage. No English lord remained at court but

Gardiner. When the king and queen removed to Hamptoncourt, the hall door was continually shut, so that no man might enter unless his errand were first known, which seemed strange to Englishmen. In September, a proclamation, enjoining all vagabonds and servants out of place to quit London in five days, bore marks of the like gloomy distrust.

The year 1555 opened under the saddest and darkest auguries for the now devoted protestants. A solemn embassy was sent from Rome, to lay at the feet of his holiness the penitential homage of his erring children in England. On the 23rd of January, the bishop went to Lambeth to receive cardinal Pole's blessing. He advised them to treat their flocks with gentleness. On the the 25th, Bonner, with eight bishops, and a hundred and sixty priests, made a procession throughout London, to return thanks to beaven for the recovery of the kingdom. In the midst of these joyful thanksgivings, effectual preparations were made for scenes of another kind. As soon as the solemnities of reconciliation were completed, at the earliest moment that the nation could be regarded as once more a member of the catholic church, a sanguinary persecution was, not threatened or prepared, but inflicted, on the prelates, ministers, and members of the reformed communion. It was the first measure of the restored church of Rome. On the 28th of January, a commission, at the head of which was Gardiner, lord chancellor and bishop of Winchester, sat in the church of St. Mary Overies, in Southwark, for the trial of protestants. His great abilities, his commanding character. and the station which he was now chosen to fill, do not allow us to doubt that he, at least, in the beginning, was the main author of these bloody councils, although perhaps he did not mean that the persecution should extend beyond the eminent ecclesiastics, whom he called the ringleaders of the sacrilegious rebellion. This is at least agreeable to the maxim said to have been uttered by him against mercy to the princess Elizabeth, which, if he ever used it, must have been pronounced when the imperial ambassadors urged a similar advice, "that it was in vain to cut away the leaves and branches, if the root and trunk of rebellion were spared."

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, an ardent, austere, and scrupu-

lous protestant, inclined to some of the opinions afterwards called puritanical, and Rogers, a clergyman of Essex, were the first martyrs in this persecution. "Did you not pray against the pope for twenty years?" "I was forced by cruelty," answered Gardiner. "Will you," replied Rogers, "use cruelty to others?" After his condemnation, he besought his judges to grant him an interview with his wife, a helpless foreign woman, who had born to him ten children. So much had the sophistries of a canonist silenced the feeling of nature in the breast of Gardiner, that he had the brutality to aggravate his refusal at such a moment by saying, "She is not your wife." On his way to Smithfield, on the 4th of February, 1555, he met his faithful and beloved wife with her ten children, one of whom she was suckling. He was unshaken by that sad scene, and he breathed his last triumphantly in the midst of suffocating flames.*

Hooper was sent to die in his episcopal city. He, too, was vainly tempted by a pardon held out at the edge of the pyre which was about to be kindled to consume him. The green wood burnt weakly. He called upon the people to bring more fire, for the flames burnt his limbs without reaching his vitals. He was three-quarters of an hour dying. One of his hands dropped off before his death. But he died with feelings of triumphant piety. To pursue the particulars of these cruelties more minutely is beside the purpose of such an undertaking as the present. They excited general horror, aggravated, doubtless, by the consideration that they were not acts of retaliation for like cruelties suffered by catholics. Gardiner, disappointed by so firm a resistance, withdrew from a share in vain bloodshed. Even Philip was compelled to cause one of the most celebrated of his Spanish divines to preach against these odious proceedings. Many of the catholic prelates are recorded, by protestant writers,

[&]quot;The married clergy were observed to suffer with most alacrity. They were bearing testimony to the validity and sanctity of their marriage; the honour of their wives and children were at stake; the desire of leaving them an unsullied name, and a virtuous example, combined with a sense of religious duty; and thus the heart derived strength from the very ties which, in other circumstances, might have weakened it." These are the just and beautiful reflections of a fine writer, who should have transplanted into his writings more of the benevolence of his nature and of his life.—Southey, Book of the Church, ii. 151.

to have exercised effectual and perhaps hazardous humanity. Tunstoll, bishop of Durham, appears to have sometimes spoken to the accused with a violence foreign to the general tenour of It has been suggested that, according to a practice of which there are remarkable instances in other seasons of tyranny and terror, he submitted thus far to wear the disguise of cruelty in order that he might be better able to screen more victims from destruction. The task of continuing the system of blood devolved on Bonner, bishop of London, a man who seems to have been of so detestable a nature, that if there had been no persecution he must have sought other means of venting his cruelty. Petitions against the proceedings of government were transmitted to the queen from the protestant exiles who took refuge abroad, and who too transiently and scantily imbibed somewhat of the spirit of religious liberty in the severe school of beggary and banishment.

Every reader of this part of history will desire somewhat more information respecting the fate of Cranmer, the first patriarch of the protestant church of England,—a man who, with all his infirmity, would have been blameless in an age so calm as to require no other virtues than goodness and benignity. He was committed to the Tower for treason in September, 1553. October he was convicted of high treason for his share in the lady Jane's proclamation. In the next year he obtained a pardon, the government purposing to convict him of heresy, which from them he considered as no reproach, though he had earnestly solicited a pardon for a breach of allegiance. The Tower was for a time so crowded that Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were thrust together into one chamber. In the month of April of the succeeding year, Cranmer, Ridley, and "old father Latimer," were removed from the Tower to Oxford, for the purpose of a disputation. The demeanour of Cranmer was acknowledged by his opponents to be grave and modest; Latimer declared that by reason of his old age, his infirmities, and the weakness of his memory, he could not bear a debate. Weston the prolocutor, the enemy of Cranmer, commended his modesty and gentleness, as well as his learning and skill as a disputant. He was permitted to survive his colleagues for many months. A new commission was obtained from Rome, in order that the more rigorous adherence to the forms of law might be perfectly evident in the case of this eminent primate. Unhappily for his reputation, he made some of those repeated applications to Mary for pardon by which he had before escaped out of extraordinary peril. It is true that in his successive letters to her he reasoned and expostulated with her upon her own administration; but his enemies saw his infirmities through the disguise of apparent boldness and liberty. He was entertained, if we may entirely trust protestant writers, by the catholic dean of Christ Church, where he was treated with much courtesy and hospitality, while his hopes and his fears were practised on by men of whom some might have really wished to save his life; in an evil hour he signed his recantation. It has been plausibly conjectured by Burnet, that the writ for putting him to death was sent down to Oxford early in the long period between the date and the execution, to be shewn to him, in order to work more effectually on the fears incident to feeble age. Whether he could have been persuaded to adhere to that disgraceful act for the miserable sake of a few years of decrepitude, is a question which the unrelenting temper of Mary renders it impossible for us to enswer.

On Saturday, the 22nd of March, 1556, he was, without warning, though not without expectation, brought forth to be burnt in front of Baliol-college, after a sermon, preached in St. Mary's, before the University, by Cole, provost of Eton College, who was sent by the queen to Oxford to preach on that dire occasion. After the sermon, the demeanour of the archbishop cannot be so well described as it is in the letter of an eve-witness, a humane catholic, who condemned the error of Cranmer, but was touched by his gentle virtues, and could pity his infirmities. "I shall not need to describe his behaviour for the time of the sermon, his sorrowful countenance, his face bedewed with tears, sometimes lifting his eyes to heaven in hope, sometimes casting them down to earth for shame, an image of sorrow, but retaining ever a quiet and grave behaviour, which so increased the pity in men's hearts that they unfeignedly loved him; hoping that it had been his repentance for his transgressions and errors." Cranmer, in his address to the audience, undeceived them con-

cerning the cause of his contrition, and the object of his regret. "No," said he, "I am come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did in my life, and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which here now I renounce and refuse as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death, and to save my life if might be, and that is all such papers as I have written or signed since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand, when I come to the fire, shall first be burned." He added some terms of needless insult against the pope, which he perhaps thought necessary as a pledge of his sincerity; whereupon, "admonished of his recantations and dissembling," he said, " Alas, my lord, I have all my life loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth, which I am most sorry for;" and here he was suffered to speak no more. Then he was carried away. Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, he put off his garments with haste, and stood upright in his shirt. He declared that he repented of his recantation right sore; whereupon the lord William cried, Make short! make short! Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any part of his body, where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, "This hand hath offended." His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it had been for the glory of God, the weal of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, I could worthily have commended the example, and marked it with the fame of any father of ancient time. His death much grieved every man; his friends for love, his enemies for pity; strangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we are bound one to another." To add anything to this equally authentic and picturesque narration from the hand of a generous enemy, which is perhaps the most beautiful specimen of ancient English, would be an unskilful act of presumption. The language of Cranmer speaks his sincerity, and demonstrates that the love of truth still prevailed in his inmost heart. It gushed forth at the sight of VOL. III. K K

death, full of healing power, which engendered a purifying and ennobling patience, and restored the mind to its own esteem after a departure from the onward path of sincerity. Courage survived a public avowal of dishonour, the hardest test to which that virtue can be exposed; and if he once fatally failed in fortitude, he in his last moments atoned for his failure by a magnanimity equal to his transgression. Let those who require unbending virtue in the most tempestuous times, condemn the amiable and faulty primate; others, who are not so certain of their own steadiness, will consider his fate as perhaps the most memorable example in history, of a soul which, though debased, is not depraved by an act of weakness, and preserved a heroic courage after the forfeiture of honour, its natural spur, and in general its inseparable companion.

The firm endurance of sufferings by the martyrs of conscience, if it be rightly contemplated, is the most consolatory spectacle in the clouded life of man, far more ennobling and sublime than the outward victories of virtue, which must be partly won by weapons not her own, and are often the lot of her fouled foes. Magnanimity in enduring pain for the sake of conscience is not, indeed, an unerring mark of rectitude; but it is, of all other destinies, that which most exalts the sect or party whom it visits, and bestows on their story an undying command over the hearts of their fellow-men.

The path of honour, of comfort, and of national peace and prosperity, was never more straight and perceptible; never more easy and certain to any sovereign, than that which opened to Mary, when she took the throne from her young and brief competitor, and which invited her safe and pleasant progress. She had only to believe and worship as she pleased herself; to let the nation continue in the changes and improvements which had been established within it; and to ensure to every one a mild and impartial toleration in the religious forms and tenets which each should prefer; and she would have been popular and beloved, and her subjects would have been happy. Her spirit was so eminently patriotic, her affection for her people was as real, and her good qualities so numerous, that nothing was wanting to make her reign distinguishing to herself and beneficial

to her country, but to avoid all sacerdotal bigotry and violence: to continue the national independence on a foreign pontiff; and to interfere with no one's religious faith and practice. It was the simplest of all rules which she had to follow-to let the nation be as it was, and to take a pleasure herself in being the gentle and common mother of all her grateful people. to re-establish popery had become her ruling inclination, the perverting feature of her darkening mind; and to gratify this propensity, which could only be an evil feeling, because it could not be gratified without violence, bloodshed, cruelty, and much misery, she saddened and shortened her own life, and afflicted a nation, to whose generous enthusiasm she owed all her power of oppressing it. That she conciliated the minds of the people in her first hour of peril, by assurances which either expressed or were meant and understood to imply that no compulsory alterations should be attempted by her power, has been already noticed; but before a month had elapsed from Edward's death. rumours spread, that she wished such a modified recession as to bring back church affairs to the state in which her father had left them. Her own determined taste was publicly shewn, by having a high mass for the dead solemnized for her brother's soul, which caused many to murmur; but in a few days after she had dismissed all her great supporters to their country mansions, she so manifestly indicated an inclination to restore the deposed system, that a priest ventured to sing mass in a chapel near the French ambassador's. This excited a great emotion, and the lord mayor made a formal complaint to the queen, of the offensive action. About the same time, a canon at St. Paul's not only prayed for departed souls, but in his sermon so panegyrised the conduct of Bonner, that the audience became tumultuous to pull him from the pulpit, and some one hurled a dagger at his head. the alarm which these precipitate experiments had excited, the queen, as soon as the disturbances became known, expressed to the lord mayor and recorder, at the Tower, her solemn assurance that "albeit her grace's conscience is stayed in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compel and constrain other men's consciences, otherwise than God shall put in their hearts a

persuasion of the truth that she is in, through the opening of his word unto them by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers."

This royal assurance of a free and wise toleration, the ministerial cabinet, on the next day, ordered the mayor and aldermen to repeat, in a common council which they were to call, "in the best words the mayor and recorder can devise." We may justly take this to be, as the state counsellor named it, "the queen's determination and pleasure;" and we may consider the flagrant and merciless violation of it, which soon distinguished this reign, as the unfeeling act of her ecclesiastical instigators. Her public proclamation followed, in which she declared, as she had a right to do, that she could not "hide that religion which she bath ever professed from her infancy hitherto, and is minded to observe and maintain for herself." She added, what was no specific harm to any one, that she "much desired, and would be glad, if the same were, of all her subjects, quietly and charitably entertained;" and she expressly declared-" her highness mindeth not to compel any of her subjects thereunto, until such time as further order, by common assent, may be taken therein." This moderate conduct would have satisfied the nation, if the promise had been fairly and fully kept. She left all future changes to the decision of the parliament; and the parliament had, in all the reigns of her predecessors, been the legislative sovereign of the nation.

But a commanding actor, more impatient and more determined, had now taken the field, and was moving his most active engines to operate on a mind which had still goodness enough to hesitate about enforcing on others her own prepossessions, as she clearly saw that the most painful compulsions must be exerted to effectuate her secret wishes.

The news of Edward's death, of Jane's failure, and of Mary's rapid establishment, had been transmitted from France to the pope. It was so unexpected, and so complete, and promised such personal benefit to himself and to his see, that he burst into tears of joy. He was too much excited, and too gratified, to be inactive; and with a natural eagerness to profit immediately from the favouring event, and to promote its good results, he dispatched his own chamberlain instantaneously to England,

with great secrecy, to see, and learn, and do whatever, at that moment, was most advantageous and practicable. That Commendone introduced himself to the ecclesiastical prime minister we may readily infer; but he gained the more satisfying point of a private interview with Mary herself, unknown to her court and people. In this secret and dangerous conference, she confessed to him her attachment to the old system, and a particular point to be communicated only to the pontiff; but she earnestly entreated him to act with every caution and dexterity, and not to betray any sign of her having the least negotiation with the Roman see, or any external connexion, in order that she might not, in the beginning of her reign, be deprived of the power of pursuing what she knew ought to be done for the salvation of her people's souls.

To detail minutely the measures by which the compulsory reestablishment of popery in England was effected is unnecessary here, because they form the usual portion of our ecclesiastical history, and have been frequently narrated by those who have appropriated their works to that separate subject. A glance at the most marking and characteristic features of the transaction will be sufficient for the object of the present lecture; and especially as the forced mutation was as transient as all that is iniquitously projected and done deserves, and is repeatedly experienced, to be. Neither the deed nor its chief producers long survived its accom-It lasted scarcely four years, and within that time its great authors, Julius III., Gardiner, Mary, Cardinal Pole, and Charles V., successively departed, without even enjoying their triumph at the success of their achievements; for each lived during the short interval, and died with the companionship of much personal misery from sickness, lost reputation, hostilities, and disappointment.

The attachment of Mary to her religious system was unquestionably sincere and fervent, and would have been unimpeachable if it had not been extended into tyranny over others. She might have also pleased herself with any private personal ceremony or Romish formula, for the satisfaction of her own scruples, whether reasonable or not, before she took the crown, as she confidentially confessed she had done, provided she had resolved to act towards

her people in the full spirit and meaning of the words of the obligation, which she publicly expressed, and according to the subsisting laws under which she was enthroned; but to make any mental reservation for the express purpose of acting upon what she concealed, instead of that which she audibly uttered, was to commit one of the most dangerous frauds, and in a sovereign, one of the most criminal misdemeanors, which social beings, who must judge of each other so much by their external sensations, can commit towards those whose welfare rests upon their sincerity. The peril of the disingenuity, however, did not occur to her, though its evils fell heavily upon her subjects, because Wyatt's rebellion gave the crown new strength, and enabled it, after the suppression of that treasonable movement, to confound all just opposition with legal criminality. Thus empowered to be violent by the defeated violence of others, she and her new husband proceeded to make the nation feel that she had been an hypocrite at her coronation, and would now be a persecutor and a tyrant. The unpopularity which she had begun to create, and her own unhappiness, increased from the hour in which she commenced this change of conduct, till after living a very short period without honour, she died unlamented, without fame, though greatly qualified to have secured the enjoyment of both.

The coming of cardinal Pole had been announced by a proclamation. He entered the kingdom a few days after the parliament met, with a bull from the pope, giving him full authority to act on the church lands as he should think fit. He made an oration to the two houses, exhorting them to return to the Romish faith, hinting at extermination, and yet solemnly declaring that he would use no compulsion; and he absolved the kingdom from the papal The house of commons had been prevailed on to petition for the suppression and destruction of all heretical books; the revival of the cruel persecuting statutes; and for the restoration of all the authority of the ancient church; and Pole was enabled to announce to the pontiff the return of the English kingdom to its subjection to his see-an act which was preceded by a theatrical attempt to make the nation believe that Mary would present them with a future sovereign. To quiet the possessors of church property, who had made this sacrifice of con-

science to secure their acquisitions, Pole, as legate, issued his dispensation, declaring that they should not be molested. The clergy, in convocation, had agreed to an address to the same effect, avowedly because they deemed the restoration impossible; and because it would endanger the new re-union of the church; and also because they saw without regret the demolition of the monastic affluence. The statutes then passed, which both established the laity in their church possessions and also repealed the acts which had abolished the papal supremacy. The restoration of this renewed all the powers and abuses of the popedom. Some prisoners were released; and Mary, Pole, Gardiner, and Bonner, proceeded to those persecutions that have assimilated the reign of this infatuated queen with those reprobated names of antiquity, which none more severely and more justly brand with all the punishment that lettered diction, in its admonitory displeasure, can inflict, than the historians of the Roman church, who, keensighted on the evils which that church in its infancy endured, are entirely blind and insensible to its subsequent imitation of all which they most zealously condemn.

The milder severities that were enforced on those who chose to remain in their reformed belief and worship, would leave a gloomy shade on the remembrance of the sovereign and government which directed or allowed their imposition; but at variance as they are with all that is now deemed humane or rational, they pass from our attention amid the more painful emotions which arise, on finding that in the four years of the Marian persecution, Two hundred and eighty-eight fellow-creatures were burnt alive,* in the different counties in England,—not at once—not by a single act of precipitate fury—not in one of those paroxysms

[•] Lord Burghley took the trouble to enumerate distinctly those who were burnt by Mary and her cabinet in the different counties of England, in every month, and has left a MS. of the detail and amount. His final summary is,—

						Tota	1	288
1558	3	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	40
155	7	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	88
1556	3	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	89
In 155	5	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	71

An average of seventy-two a year! so that had the reign been as long as that of Elizabeth, the whole amount would have exceeded THERE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED!

of passion which, from their absence of wilful design, convert murder into manslaughter, and divest crime of its contriving and purposed malignity—but deliberately, gradually, and successively, month after month, with unsatiated and unrelenting repetition and perseverance! It is this which astonishes the mind in the Romish warfare against protestants, and in its autos-da-fe. To see men of rank, education, the sacred office, and well-informed intellect, calmly resolving, and unhesitatingly exerting themselves. to consign thousands of their fellow-creatures, of moral habits, worthy characters, and of highly-cultivated understandings, to poverty, dungeons, torture, and the agonizing stake, for no other fault than a refusal to believe and practise the religious system which the papel hierarchy (often much against the intellectual convictions of its own members, or at least many of them) has decided to support—to perceive such determined and merciles resolutions undeviatingly put into actual and dreadful execution from generation to generation, and in most countries of Europeat such a spectacle, which history for several centuries has exhibited in modern Europe, what can the most forbearing spirit, not trained to these perversions, feel or think on this melancholy subject? What is this mysterious mutability within us, which in the true Christian, in the philanthropist of all ages, and in the female bosom of all climes, can be so benevolent, so generous, and so kind; and yet, when it has become a catholic priest or jesuit, should thus change in so many to be the unfeeling, the remorseless, the systematic, and the unpitying persecutor? It is an enigma which philosophy cannot solve. We can only refer it to some terrible inspiration from the most revolting quarter. To these afflicting executions Mary gave her previous official and written sanction. Cranmer's catastrophe both she and her husband specially commanded. Gardiner, while he lived, was active in almost all the arrests, examinations, and punishments, and, as the prime minister and chancellor, is responsible for the whole of the atrocities that were done in the very short period during which he lived after their commencement. Bonner was a more unfeeling and prominent actor; yet cardinal Pole, the humanest of the persecuting band, authorized, encouraged, and commanded them; and, what presses still more

his memory, for three years after Gardiner's death, which left him the predominant counsellor of the queen, wilfully continued them. And all this was done under the sanction, or by the desire, of their pontifical head. The victims began in February, 1555, and continued to be sacrificed in the last year of Mary's reign; when Pole, so far from evincing a desire to end them, published new edicts for their repetition, and only a short time before his own death, consigned three men and two women to perish by this terrible death. The fiery vengeance was even extended to the bones of the dead, whose living sensibility was beyond the reach of the persecutors. Great numbers of the most learned and respectable persons of the country emigrated abroad, as no alternative remained, if they adhered to their conscientious convictions, but destructive rebellion, or the miserable death of the slow consuming stake.

But in pursuing this system of burning, the papal clergy forgot the lessons of their Aristotle—that there are two sources of emotion within us; not terror only, but terror and pity. The executions by conflagration always excited both; and of these, the compassionate was the most lasting and the most distressing feeling. Few could enjoy, without compunction, the horrors they inflicted. Hence, their much-loved stake always counteracted its appointed effect, and disappointed their wishes. roused more indignant sympathy than it spread intimidating fear. The terror was obliterated by the pity, which soon became aversion and enmity to the merciless punishers. Nor can we wonder at this result, when we perceive how reflecting minds contrasted what the reformers had abolished with what the Romish hierarchy unchangingly retained.*

· Melanothon has shewn this difference in the following enumeration of the practices which had been superseded :- "There was horrible darkness in the church. Human traditions were the destruction of pious minds, and the ceremonies of worship were exceedingly vicious; foolish prayers, indulgences, images, saint-worship, manifest idolatry, a great similitude to pagan rites. The true doctrine of penitence for the remission of sins was unknown. What faith in Christ consists of; justification by faith, the difference between the law and the gospel; the true use of the sacrament—these were all untaught. The keys were perverted into the foundation of a pontifical tyranny. Human ceremonies were preferred to all civil duties. To these was added most profligate habits of life, from the celibacy of the clergy." Melaneth. Op , v. 4., p. 837.

The misfortunes and misery of Mary's life began from the period of her lamentable measures to force back her subjects unto the papal subjection and superstitions. Without these, her people would have been reconciled to her Spanish match. But after it became obvious to all that she and her husband had resolved to leave no alternative between the apostacy of their conscience and a merciless persecution, the confidence between the throne and the people was broken up. All personal attachment and loyalty ceased. The submissions and calculations of resentful fear alone kept the general surface tranquil; and such a tranquillity could be but a temporary and alarming truce. Oppression produced its usual effect of wretchedness to the oppressor as well as to the oppressed. Gardiner, who was her first chief counsellor in this unrighteous career, died soon after the cruelties began, wretchedly and reluctantly clinging vainly to life and state to his last gasp. Mary persevered in the unnatural and unavailing abominations, only to increase the aversion of her subjects, and to live in continual terror of their exploding resentment. She saw that she was hated, and felt and mourned her personal insecurity. The disaffected even sought aid from France: verifying the prophetic declaration, that the minds of those who have become evil characters will be "like the troubled sea, and have no rest," she was living every day in a state of angry and suspicious irritability; passionate, gloomy, and selftormented. Time brought no mitigation or change, either in her public cruelties or in her personal misery. She increased the severities to others, which brought down the arrows of vengeance on her own heart, without lessening the joylessness and hopelessness of her mind and condition. Neither Tiberius, Dionysius, nor Damocles, were more striking examples of the personal wretchedness of the tyrant, the cruel, or the oppressing, than this misguided queen, whom her subjects had at first been so disposed to love and honour. She could trust neither her cabinet nor her court; and Philip, or his observing counsellors, were too dissatisfied with the prospect for him to remain in a country where his personal safety could never be assured. The only good act he did which at all gratified the people, was to preserve Elizabeth from the death to which Mary's jealousy and vexation would have doomed her. No life of any human being has ever hung

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on a more slender thread, during all this reign, than this "Sorella," this princely sister, to whom the expressive intimation of the Vatican had so early and so emphatically directed the attention of the queen, whom it governed, flattered, and misled.

Mary had forfeited the affections of her kingdom, and plunged into the worst of crimes, the destruction of some of the best of her fellow-creatures, for unoffendingly retaining their religious and natural right of private conscience, in order to please and aggrandize a popedom, that was now both insulting her and degrading the counsellor by whose exertions and contrivance the unpopular revolution had been violently effected. As personal misery was thus pursuing both the queen and the cardinal, the illnesses of each increased; and when Pole drew near to that new scene of existence, in which he would have to account for his conduct before a tribunal, at which no political machinations of religion are of any estimation or avail, some unexplained but important feelings or mutations arose in his mind; for on his deathbed, and when his expressions imply he thought he was so, he sent his chaplain to Elizabeth, with some secret communication which he desired her to believe, and which would make all persons, and her more especially, satisfied of him. What was thus imparted has not been disclosed. Soon afterwards, death claimed his victims, and intercepted all further repentance. The queen died 17th November, 1558, and the cardinal on the following day-two events, which gave England a freedom and a felicity in mind and conscience, of which the kingdom has never since been deprived.

LECTURE LXXVI.

The Reformation in England, continued, under the reign of quentelizabeth—Auspicious commencement—Interference of French politics—Persecuting spirit of Francis I.—Papal bull for destroying the protestants—French intrigues in behalf of Mary queen of Scots—House of Guyse—England alarmed at the massacre of the Huguenots in France—Elizabeth lends her aid to the Huguenots—The popes of Rome determine on the destruction of the queen of England—Retrospective glance at the pontificates of Paul III., Paul IV., Pius IV., Pius V. A.D. 1550—1570.

THE reign of Elizabeth for the first eleven years—a space of time equal to that of both her brother and her sister, was distinguished for its internal tranquillity, and for the prosperity and happiness of her people; affording in these respects a contrast so striking to the crimes, commotions, and miseries which, from the time of her mother's death to her own accession, had successively afflicted England, that we are led to ascribe the difference to the superior judgment, benignity, and rectitude, of this intelligent This period embraces the prime of her maturity, from the twenty-fifth to the six and thirtieth year of her life; and exhibited her, as it evolved, in general intellect, conduct, and temper, a model which was interesting to the contemplation of her subjects, and was really worthy of their study and imitation. eye was upon her, and the hearts of most admired and applanded That nations tend to resemble the sovereigns whom they esteem, we perceive both from history and experience.

leading classes, who best know their prince, are the first to be affected by his example; but the assimilating propensity spreads gradually and imperceptibly from them to all the other connected orders of the social community; and it was thus that the prevailing characters of Elizabeth's mind and actions became the standard and guides of her gratified people. A spirit vigorous yet moderate; firmness, without obstinacy; prudence, without pusillanimity; a calm vigilance and a consistent integrity; foresight without alarm; activity in all the business and duties of her station, yet ever mingling its industry with a constant love of literature, and never superseding the proper intervals for intellectual cultivation;—these mental qualities, tempered with habitual amenity, and animated by the sincere and grateful feelings of an intelligent piety, distinguished their queen in the perception and belief of her people. What they liked, they imitated, till the general character of the nation was in harmony with her own: while the resulting social comfort, content, and widely-spreading individual prosperity, which were so visible all around, became the praise of England in the hearts and speech of her continental neighbours, and the foundation of a new strength and stability to its government. It was this public condition which kept her throne safe and unshaken, amid the many future storms and secret dangers by which it was pertinaciously assailed, after the period which we have marked as the first æra and duration of its halcyon state.

Nor would the succeeding thirty-four years of her reign have been any limitation of its national serenity, if external agencies had not operated to produce the interruption. But we live in a world of moving circumstances, and of other beings as active or as restless as ourselves; and we cannot avoid being frequently affected by the events and effects of co-existing things. Elizabeth soon felt this common condition of all humanity; and found, for some time, the exterior perturbations to arise to her principally out of France, and from the crimes and agitations which the determined hostility of its government to the diffusing spirit of reformation was persistingly acting to occasion.

By the spring of the year 1533, Francis I. (king of France) had settled his mind into the dreadful purpose of extirpating the

Lutheran opinions in France, and not only so, but also of preventing them from flourishing in any other part of Europe-a resolution which put the French government into the attitude of a latent mortal hostility against every other nation which chose to secode from the papal yoke and its concomitant tenets. Two months after the declaration of this determination by Francis, the pope signed his exterminating bull, corresponding with the king's wishes and object; and in the November following, Francis and Clement, with congenial spirits on this melancholy subject, met at Marseilles. The king there completed the nuptials between his own son and the pontiff's niece, and made that secret compact with him, which being pursued and adopted by other princes in his own country and elsewhere, and against other states and kingdoms which cherished the protestant improvements, filled the most enlightened part of Europe with terror, blood, flames, commotions, and misery, for above a century, till all the reformers who could be subdued were extinguished; and until those who proved too strong to be overwhelmed, had dearly purchased their safety by persevering exertion, by the greatest sacrifices, and amid continually renewing difficulties and ever-impending danger. The pope, while with Francis at this meeting, issued his mandate to increase the facilities of the intended persecution. The prime minister of France soon depreciated himself by stimulating the parliament to assume a kindred degradation; and two days afterwards, Francis directed to this respected body of the most cultivated men in his kingdom, a mandate worthy of the emperor Nero, which was soon followed by a Neronian conduct, if burning fellow-creatures alive for their religious profession be as defaming a cruelty in the sixteenth century in France, as every human being has concurred in feeling it to have been in the first age of the Christian æra in Imperial Rome. The assimilating picture is not diminished by our recollection, that at this very juncture the two sisters of Francis, one his particular favourite, and some of the highest blood of the kingdom, and many of his most faithful friends, including several illustrious females, were known to have adopted the reformed opinions. This direction of the king's mind is the more extraordinary, because before this time he had talked of curtailing the papal power in his dominions, and even

of receding from it, and had for some time permitted his beloved sister and her religious friends to enjoy and diffuse their opinions. But from the time in which his ambitious, alarmed, vindictive, or interested policy, decided to blend himself with the papacy, when Henry VIII. was abandoning it, his conduct evinced that lamentable change of mind and feeling which made his country for several generations a region of mourning, battle, and death. He listened to the false statements of the sedition and morals of the protestants; he chose to believe or say that their doctrine would be the fountain of sedition and rebellion; and in 1540, he proved the complete depravation of his new preceptors, in sanctioning and promoting the dreadful executions of Merindol and Cabrieres in the south of France,* within three years of his own death. Their reformed opinions, the inheritance of their Vandois ancestors, were the acknowledged causes of the horrors there perpetrated, although later apologists wish to impute them to seditious machinations. But the military executions are as indisputable as the participation of this extolled sovereign. The jesnit Maimbourg admits that three thousand persons were killed, and six hundred condemned to the galleys, while twenty-four villages and nine hundred houses were sacked and burnt by the soldiery employed on the occasion. Francis enjoys the dismal distinction of being the first sovereign who committed protestants to the flames. He has been vindicated, by the abduction of these atrocities, from the supposition or doubt that he had at first favoured the opinions of Calvin; and it is a memorable instance of the profligacy of mind on this awful theme, both of him and of his son Henry, that while they burnt the reformers in France, they supported them in Switzerland and in Germany-evincing by this incongruity, that their persecuting barbarities had no connexion with that honest bigotry which sometimes lessens the criminality of the heart by the imbecility of the understanding.

Francis was in too much dread of the sword of Henry VIII., and had too great an affection for his person, to enter ostensibly or actively into cardinal Pole's conspiracies for the reduction of England into subjection to the popedom. His tender mercies to

[•] See Lecture l., vol. ii., p. 487.

protestantism were therefore confined to his own subjects; and even among these they experienced an unwelcome limitation in the superior ranks, for his third son, the duke of Orleans, became a friend of the reformation, and avowed to the protestant princes of Germany his desire to see it disseminated in France.

The son and successor of Francis adopted for his rule of government the same extinguishing system; Lutherans and their books were therefore burnt, under Henry II., and their property confiscated and given to their enemies; a truly satanic temptation to others, to denounce and to destroy. At first, all the clergy of France, the largest portion of the nobility, and the common people, adhered to the Romish church; but the reformation rapidly spread among the princes of the blood, the great lords, the parliamentary counsellors, and the most enlightened men, and from them descended to the inferior classes.

One of the first acts of the French sovereign, after he had secured a pacification which released him from the dread and danger of the combined hostilities of England and Spain against them, and in which he had obtained better terms than he had expected, was to begin those measures for the destruction of the reformation, and of its adherents in other countries, on which Francis I. had resolved. Hence the very person appointed to swear to the peace for the king of France in Scotland, was instructed to urge its regent-queen to coincide with the French court in its nefarious exertions for this purpose, though such purposes would be a wilful and direct violation of the oath at the very time of taking it. The cardinal of Lorraine had been active in making this confederation against heretics a secret article of this treaty of apparent peace.

In pursuance of these projects, Henry II. determined to put forward and to support the title of his son's wife, Mary, the queen of Scotland, to be the queen of England instead of the heretical Elizabeth, assuming that her competition against Elizabeth would be supported by the catholics in the island, and by the papal hierarchy of Europe. With these views, he caused Mary and his son to use the arms and title of the English crown. As his death raised Mary and her husband to be the actual king and queen of both France and Scotland, this union of these two

crowns, for the first time in human history, added to the facility of invading England from the French coasts while the Scotch advanced from the north, suddenly placed Elizabeth in a situation of great peril. The alliance between France and Spain daily becoming more confidential from their contracted marriages; the cordial concurrence of Philip's bigotry would expose the eastern English counties to be assailed also by a Spanish and German army from Flanders. The passions and politics of the house of Guyse-one brother an ambitious statesman and an interested cardinal, and the four others military nobles—their relationship to Mary; the family aggrandizement which would ensue, if they could procure for her the English crown; and their possession and direction of the cabinet administration of France, occasioned great danger to Elizabeth in the first years of her reign, and furnished an assurance to all expectant enmity, that she would be vigorously attacked, as soon as the assailing means could be brought confidentially and efficiently together. To the contemplation of that policy which looks only to human means and agency, her situation was sufficiently alarming. But this sagacious queen did not wholly confine her intellectual perspicuity to this narrow horizon; she knew that there was a superior government of things, to which all earthly plans and potentates are subordinate, and by which they are pre-eminently superintended, and according to the wisest rules and principles, are, when necessary, irresistibly checked, averted, or overruled. On this protecting circumspection she is said to have fixed her mind, from the hour she took the sceptre into her hands, and she never found herself disappointed or deserted by it. The tyrannical plans of others made her life a continued war for its last thirty-five years, with the popedom, the papal hierarchy, and its popish tenets, schools, and practices; and the history of her reign is the history of their ever-reviving attacks. But each assault experienced, in the due time, its signal discomfiture; though the plans of battle, and their instruments, were perpetually varied with the most persevering ingenuity of vivacious, desperate, and obstinate hostility.

The new French cabinet of Francis II. and Mary, being under the full influence of the Guyses, determined, in continua-

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tion of the late king's schemes, and for the eventual aggrandizement of their national power, that their young sovereign in his official title should write himself king of England, but defer awhile the publication of the pretension; and the English ambassador found himself so little liked by the Guyse family, by the courtly circle, and by Mary, who had become an active politician, that he desired his recal. The catastrophe of Henry II. did not abate the severities which he had begun. In the same month in which he died, a great number of protestants were arrested. New edicts were published, forbidding, on pain of death, all secret meetings, because the reformers assembled in private houses for their worship, and half of all their confiscated property was promised to informers. Yet a cotemporary and catholic historian says, that the more the punishments were inflicted, the more the heretics increased, -so powerful are the generous sympathies of human nature against the cruelties of oppression, and against the attempts to suppress conscience by intimidating violence! It is a happy law of our moral nature, that persecution spreads the persecuted belief, and multiplies its adherents, though it may largely destroy them, and eventually disperse many to take root and flourish elsewhere. But the melancholy system went on, till the conscientious found that they had now no alternative between destruction and insurrectionary combinations; and the result was, that in twelve or fifteen years afterwards a million of human beings fell in France, the victims to the vindictive and cruel resolution of its crown and hierarchy, and of the resistance by arms to its unjust persecutions.*

It is with a melancholy truth that Mr. Gibbon has so emphatically remarked—"The church of Rome defended by violence the empire which she had acquired by fraud; a system of peace and benevolence was soon disgraced by proscriptions, wars, massacres, and the institutions of the holy office (the inquisition.) In the Netherlands alone, more than one humber program of the subjects of Charles V. see said to have suffered by the hands of the executioner" (for the sole crime of heretical pravity—that is, for thinking differently from that church.)—Decline and Fall, ch. 16. If we add to this number those who were put to death for their religious secession from the Roman church in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Ireland, and other parts of Europe, these wilful, wicked, and systematic destructions of our fellow-creatures, accumulate to an amount which may well astonish and dismay the enumerating mind, which sees no security against their repetition but the absence of the political power. Individual catholics, from their own good feeling, now censure them; but

The sentence of extirpation which had been pronounced at Rome against the protestant reformation, and the concurring determination of the French and Spanish governments to execute it in their own dominions and elsewhere, brought Elizabeth reluctantly into a union with the Huguenots in France as afterwards with the Netherlands; because it became impossible that they should be extinguished, and that her nation and her throne could then be secure. From this inveterate determination of the papacy, the queen of England was living in perpetual jeopardy from its increasing machinations. Paul IV. had exhibited his resolution to urge this warfare against all the dignitaries of civil society, and to make the inquisition its interior instrument in the same year in which Elizabeth acceded; and his successor, Pius IV., two years afterwards, not only sent his solicitations to the king of Poland to repress the heretical pestilence, but fixed pontifical anathemas on all the reformers of all descriptions and in every country, as the last and lasting article of the catholic profession of faith; which therefore must be still a part of it, unless they no longer believe that the pope acting and speaking officially, ex cathedra, is infallible. The popedom having settled in the mind and faith of the Roman-catholic church, and of its great princes, this irreconcilable and perpetual hostility against all protestant systems, governments, and nations, compelled thereby every state which preferred the reformed religion, to feel that they were existing, like the ancient Christians, under general ban of intended extermination; and therefore to seek and form those alliances with each other which their common danger should, whenever it more actively pressed and threatened them, make expedient or indispensable. On this principle alone began, and for their mutual conservation only were continued, the intercourse and aids of Elizabeth to the denounced Huguenots of France, as soon as these were forced or fell into the position of maintaining, by their defensive sword, their religious belief and their persecuted lives.

so did many others at the time of their perpetration; and yet their ruling powers maintained and executed the system, and have never since disavowed or annulled it for the future. Such persecutions still remain the unrepealed constitutional law of the Roman hierarchy.

The accession of Charles IX., in his tenth year, occasioned the government to be in the hands of Catharine, and of her friends. These were principally of the reforming party, to which she then inclined herself, and this had become more numerous than had been known or anticipated. The first edicts had a peaceful and neutralizing tendency, and a conference was held on the disputed points. With the new year the royal permission was granted for the exercise of the protestant religion, and a peaceful interval for the fair progress of whatever should be right and reasonable was quietly gliding to the mutual improvement of all; but the French hierarchy were most deeply and personally interested to disturb this social harmony from its increasing results to themselves. Unfortunate violences at Vassy began a tempest of evils which shook France, and involved other kingdoms in Europe in quarrel, danger, and suffering. The reformed party would not believe it to have been accidental; and as the king of Navarre had been allured to desert them, and to unite with the Guyses and the constable, they dreaded the effect of such a menacing coalition, and treasonably surprised and occupied the city of Orleans. On this intemperate violence an immediate persecution was too eagerly began in Paris against them, and they unwisely resolved to have recourse to arms; a massacre of their friends by some soldiers at Sens completed their excitement, and the court revoked the edict in their favour, and calling out the gendarmerie, they burst into insurrection and possessed themselves of many places, astonishing the government by their numbers, power, and success. The papal nuicio pressed for their extermination before they became stronger; reconciliation became every day less practicable, and the civil war raged with alternate success. The king of Navarre fell in besieging Rouen for the catholic party; but the battle of Dreux, though producing the balancing advantage of the commanders-in-chief of both forces being taken prisoners by their opponents, yet giving by that event the supreme command of the catholic forces to the abler duke of Guyse, occasioned them to derive from it all the fruits and effects of an inspiriting and strengthening victory.

But as the Huguenots suffered, the English government became more alarmed for its national safety. Its wishes for a paci-

fication between the contending parties; its anxiety for its own security; and the probable consequence of inflaming all Christendom. if councils of violence and the "extraordinary exaltation of the house of Guyse" to enforce them, should be confirmed in France. were calmly stated to the French envoy. But as no conciliating interferences of the English cabinet produced any mitigation of the evil, the queen resolved to grant to the endangered Huguenots the aid they asked. She made a frank and unambiguous statement of her fair objects in this measure to the Spanish court, avowing that she meant to take possession of those harbours in Normandy from which England could be invaded by the papal party, but declaring her intentions not to retain them beyond the period of danger and the re-delivery of Calais, according to the covenanted stipulation. She limited her defensive movements strictly to these protecting purposes; and pledged herself to recal her forces when peace was restored in France, and the town of Calais should be restored as the treaty specified. On these principles she published a declaration of her political motives, and sent a naval armament to Havre de Grace, then called Newhaven, under the earl of Warwick, when the Huguenot chiefs delivered it, as they had agreed, peaceably into their possession. This aid to the protestant party was the more important, as Spanish forces were assisting their more powerful opponents. Attempts for reconciliation failed; and the duke of Guyse, pursuing his success, besieged Orleans, with every probability of taking it, till he was basely assassinated by a young man from Lyons, as he was riding from the camp to the place he lodged at. This revolting catastrophe, and the presence of English forces in France in support of the reformers, brought on that peace which had before been unattainable. The protestant party obtained, on the 19th March, an edict of pacification highly favourable to their cause; and the forces of the kingdom were then directed to expel the English from Havre, without the restitution of Calais. place was not found to be long defensible, and was at length surrendered to the French government, and peace was again restored between the two countries. Elizabeth had fully gained her real object. She had saved the Huguenots, and averted the danger from her own country and its adopted faith. For these

points only she had armed, and both Havre and Calais were but minor and subordinate considerations.

The determination of the popedom, and of the leaders of the hierarchy, to exterminate those opposing opinions which it termed heresies, and those professors and promoters of the diffusing reformation, whom it branded as heretics, descended unabated from pontiff to pontiff during the sixteenth century. The successor of Leo, Adrian VI., in 1522, called upon the electors and princes of Germany, if Luther would not return to the right way, to visit him with the rod of severity. He reminded them, that cancerous ulcers were to be cured by fiery cauteries, and alienated limbs to be entirely cut off from the body. To prevent the supposition that he spoke only in the metaphors of rhetoric, he assured them that two Greek emperors had taken off heretics by the sword; and as their own ancestors had put Huss and Jerome to a due death, he did not doubt that, if requisite, they "would imitate these holy and illustrious deeds." He desired his authorized agent to mention to the German potentates that some of their ancestors had even "with their own hands led Huss to the fire" which destroyed him. He entreated the Bambergers to consider Luther's doctrines to be "diabolical;" to have the same horror of them and of their authors as of hell; and to treat the book which stated them, as poisoned things, which were neither to be read nor listened to. The language of the next pontiff, Clement VII., two years afterwards, to the emperor, is as decided. It stigmatized Luther as a lost and wicked wretch, and averred it to be of great moment that his heresy should be extirpated.

The next pope, Paul III., exhibited the same feelings in his attempt to depose Henry VIII. for his heresy, in his congratulatory letter to Charles V. on his capturing the duke of Saxony, and in sending to the emperor a military force, under his legate and brother, to act with his army against the protestants, which proved a very seasonable assistance in defeating them, to the great delight of the pope. The wars in Italy and Germany, between France and the Emperor, prevented Julius III. from uniting these two great princes in any league to destroy the Reformation, to which both, after all their vacillations, ultimately inclined; and the accession of Mary in England opened an easier way to its

suppression in that country whose defection had most shaken the papal sec. But Paul IV., whose severe and cruel mind led him to procure for Rome the misery of the inquisition in that city. roused and supported the English queen to exterminate heresy and heretics in her kingdom, by the burnings and persecutions which she obediently enforced. He left imprisoned at his death, in his own capital, many persons of consequence, on the suspicion of heresy, whom he had greviously afflicted; and whom his successor, Pius IV., (chosen four months afterwards,) with less acrimonious feelings in their individual case, or disbelieving the imputation, had the liberality to release. But this pope soon rebuilt that dreaded inquisitorial mansion which the Roman people had rushed to destroy as soon as they knew that Paul IV. had expired; and made the anathema of Luther, and of all the reformers, and of all that they taught, a part of his required profession of faith. From papers and verbal phrases he proceeded to actual hostilities against them. When the king of France, on preparing to take the field against his subjects who claimed liberty of conscience, solicited the pontiff's pecuniary aid, Pius required the revocation of all his edicts on religion, because they shewed some favour to the Huguenots, and that others should be made according to his mind; and he declared that he would contribute to no wars, except those for religion and against heretics. He was displeased that the French sovereign should invite Elizabeth and the protestant princes to send their representatives to the council of Trent, because they might influence it in favour of the reformation; and we find the important fact, that he was supplying various catholic states with money, in order to enable them to withstand the protestant spirit which was rising up in so many parts of Europe. So he authorized both the French and Spanish kings to take part of the ecclesiastical property, for the purpose of applying it to crush the multiplying reformers.

This Pius IV. fed the wars that were making for the destruction of those whose reformed opinions were acknowledged, even by their persecutors at that very time, to have arisen from the corruptions of the existing catholic church; and who were so numerous in France, that the king felt he could not proceed to take them off by force, without putting his own crown in peril.

This pontiff had his eye so fixed on military violence, that he sent his auditor into Spain, to persuade Philip to assist the attack on the Huguenots, and to form a league with the papacy against those who dissented from it. The expressed feeling at that time, of both the French and Spanish governments, was, that a good and thorough reformation of manners in the church, and especially of the abuses of the Roman court, ought to be the first thing attended to; but every effort of moral reformation, or of independence or impartiality in the council, is stated to have been nugatory. Nothing was done but what the popedom dictated, and chose to have adopted. In the meantime, although the reformation of himself and his court was on all sides pressed upon him, Pius IV., deaf to all such entreaties, directed his chief care to procure money and also troops, both horse and foot, to send against the French reformers. He smiled justly at some of those who lectured him on his personal retrenchments, and yet never meant to diminish their own superfluities. He was charged, however, with wishing the continuation of the civil wars in France, because he perceived that the military exertions of its governments against the Huguenots, and the alarms and pecuniary necessities thence arising, prevented the council of Trent from adopting any measures, and from taking any steps, to abridge his authority.

It was Pius IV. who decided the fate of Europe as to its future ecclesiastical state. It was he who re-assembled the council of Trent and procured its concluding decrees; and it was in his power to have benefited the world by those religious meliorations of discipline, system and doctrine, which would have been most congenial with scriptural truth, with the progression of the human intellect, and with the virtues and happiness of individual life. The path was still open to the improvements which every one felt to be desirable, and which no one would have resisted if they had not clashed with their worldly interest and emoluments; for although the kings of Portugal and Spain talked the language of bigotry, yet they and the other powers were so sensible that some reformation of their church system was indispensable, that each power presented and urged to the council of Trent its own plans and propositions for effecting it. If the instructions sent by the French government for its consideration, in 1562, by the cardinal

of Lorraine, which comprised substantially most of the corrections which the protestants desired, had been adopted, the basis of a fair and permanent conciliation would have been laid, which the wise and good might have made a band of sacred brotherhood and peace for all Christendom; but the pope, instead of welcoming him as an harmonizing ambassador, set episcopal spies upon him, and endeavoured to find out his weaknesses or master passion, to learn how to govern him to his wishes. At this moment some of the Guyses were friendly to the reformation; and the cardinal so far partook the feelings of this part of his family, and of national independence, that he insisted, at Trent, on several ecclesiastical alterations, and on the retrenchment of the papal power as to the French church establishment; and to his private confidant he did not hesitate to declare his personal disbelief even of the pontiff's vicarial dignity and supreme episcopal authority, though he chose to force others afterwards to admit it or perish, and became the chief instigator of all the catholic hostilities against the Huguenots, his fellow-countrymen, and against the Scotch reformers, whom he incited his niece Mary, to her own ruin, to oppose.

Having formed, in November, 1562, a secret league of evil against the protestants, Pius IV. soon turned his attention to Elizabeth and her dominions. His first notice of her was by a mild official letter, about four months after his consecration, inviting her to cast off all evil persuaders, and to obey his councils, for which her great reward would be, that if she did so he would confirm her regal elevation—a boon, whose value was more known to himself than to her. This temporary moderation may have arisen from the hope that she would be gratified by his sanction, and dread the mischief of his enmity; or it may have been one of those actions of expediency which the practice of St. Peter's has so often displayed; for at this particular juncture the emperor Ferdinand was not a bigot, though some strove to make him so; and his eldest son was becoming a Lutheran, though every precaution of education and marriage had been taken to preserve him from the contaminating melioration; and Ferdinand anxiously explained to the pope how the unexpected and undesired alteration had occurred. As this solicitation was found to be ineffective on the queen, who saw more security in her

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people's attachment than in a papal bull, he sent a special nuncio as his legate, to persuade her, if she was susceptible of such persussion, or to conspire against her, if she was deaf to his allurements: but as soon as she heard of his advance, she ordered him not to land, and would not permit him to approach her. On another attempt to attract her, the state council, after a solemn deliberation, agreed to refuse him an entrance; nor was the emperor's interposition more availing, though he prevented the council of Trent from excommunicating her as a heretic. But the pontiff took advantage of the amplitude of the ocean, to send two of the primitive jesuits into Ireland as his legates, to promote his cause and interest there, besides those whom the general ordered to that island. The missionaries acted with all their young enthusiasm and habitual ability to excite insurrections in the island, till their exertions became dangerous to those whom they had attached to their cause.

The same pope selected and dispatched another jesuit to Scotland, for the important purpose of secretly advising and encouraging its queen, Mary, to resist the reformation, which was continuing to spread from its capital to the Highland mountains and its Western Isles, and to preserve the kingdom from the "English conflagration." He was also to induce her to send to the council of Trent the bishops whom the pontiff wished and recommended. Two Scots of noble families accompanied him, Edmund Hay and William Critton, who greatly assisted him in the fulfilment of his legation; but the incautious zeal of a catholic discovered the secret missionary as soon as he had reached Leith; and the cabinet being informed that a jesuit legate had arrived to corrupt the queen, and overturn the new system, endeavoured to discover and apprehend him. He procured admission in disguise to Mary, in a secret hour, who received him with delight, and was animated by him to persist in her ancient tenets. But of the bishops mentioned in the pontiff's letters, none would venture to trust themselves with his legate but the prelate of Dunkeld. He admitted him in the garb of an Italian merchant, and read with tears the papal epistle; they held the "secret conclave" till the researches of government made his further stay perilous, when, having accomplished the object of his mission, he was conducted by Hay and Critton, with the aid of a

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French sailor, who had been taken up and put to the torture on a supposition of being himself the person, into a boat, and escaped safely to the coast of Flanders, where he landed, and joined his seminary at Louvain. Thus the resistance of Mary to the reformation in Scotland was stimulated and perpetuated by the secret operation of Pius IV. and his new political missionaries.

Having closed the council of Trent in December, 1563. Pius IV. died in the same month, two years afterwards, when the tiara was placed, in the following January, on the head of Pius V., who soon became the most active and dangerous enemy that Elizabeth, the Huguenots, and the protestant reformation, had hitherto encountered. No pope ever shewed more painfully what the papacy could resolve, and would attempt to perpetrate; nor the danger which such implacable and persevering animosity could effect, even in the period of its abated and suspected, though still politically supported, power. The popedom was then upheld by its friends, as the eastern crescent is now, not for its moral deserts or religious character, but for its worldly convenience and utilities to those who applied their temporal sword to maintain its despotism over the heart, the reason, and the conscience, as long as that despotism promoted their interests. This reciprocity of benefit is every day diminishing in the present state of feelings and relations of Europe; and therefore the popedom will ere long be left to its pleasing dreams of past magnificence-in the insulated inferiority of unlamented decay.

The papacy of Pius V., though short in its chronological length, became unusually extensive and destructive in its operations from the lamentable principle to which we have adverted. Among these he distinguished himself by commencing, and acrimoniously pursuing, a personal and deadly warfare against the only maiden queen that had then swayed the English sceptre. Elizabeth was no Amazon, and was as inoffensive to this particular pope as one individual could be to any contemporary member of European society; and yet, from his intellectual bigotry and pontifical hostility, Pius V. has the distinguishing notoriety of assailing this illustrious female, who was shedding more lustre on her throne than most of her male predecessors, since the death of Alfred, had imparted to it,—with the combined mischiefs of personal conspiracy, of interior rebellion, and of external invasion. Yet Pius V. might allege, that he only put into more strong and unlimited action the ancient principles of his see, which many of his predecessors had exemplified or inculcated when he began that career of violence and homicide which blends his memory so inseparably with the reign and biography of the endangered Elizabeth.

The pride and passion of his mature life was to be a Roman inquisitor. If experience had not proved that it is possible to be this dreaded and dreadful description of human character, without any visible marks of atrocious disposition, we might have inferred from his taste for it, that he was of a fierce and merciless nature. But having so perverted his judgment, and deadened his moral sensibilities, as to select it as his pleasure and as his merit, he exercised this cruel office effectually against those who wished reformation at Como, even though of episcopal dignity; and pursuing it afterwards at Pergamo, he was at length chosen by Paul IV., with the preference and discernment of a congenial spirit, as the person most adapted to be appointed commissary of the inquisition at Rome. In that station he so fulfilled his patron's wishes as to become, to his then satisfaction, but to his present disgrace with every honourable and cultivated mind, the "sommo inquisitore." On the death of Pius IV. he was perceived, by the cardinal consistory, to be the character who would most resolutely enforce the violent plans which had been resolved on against the reformation; and was chosen suddenly, and almost unanimously, the new pope,-by inspiration, in the opinion of his friends; and the claim may be allowed, if the nature of the influence be named from the character of the actions which he most zealously promoted. For these he has received the highest exaltation which his successors and church could confer. He has been made a saint. One day in every year is devoted to the religious celebration of his memory; and the prayer appointed to be used for this purpose, in all the catholic churches and chapels in the world, aptly expresses the merits for which the celestial elevation has been granted. His exertions to exterminate heretics and heresies procured the canonizing boon. That his zeal was as honest as it was wrongly directed, and that he persecuted the

Lutherans with as much sincerity of heart as Luther withstood the popedom, there is no just reason to doubt. But he had adopted the great stain of the catholic church—the firm opinion, that heretics, however virtuous, estimable, pious, learned, or intelligent, were detestable and pernicious reptiles, and were to be crushed as such for the common good; and that all ideas were heresies, and all persons heretics, whom any pope pronounced such; and having interwoven this deranged sentiment with his whole mind and feelings, Pius V. acted upon it with inflexible energy, and to the full stretch of his vast and indefinite influence and powers. He burnt men of talent in his own dominions; and devoted himself, with a persevering combination of prejudice and principle, to destroy all who did not think,—we cannot say as he thought, for we know not his secret mind,—but as he and the final decrees of Trent commanded that men should think, or should unvaryingly appear to think, on the doctrines and practice of the papal church. Five great objects occupied his strong and active mind:—to reform his corrupted court and city, his most laudable purpose; to repress and weaken the Turkish power, a patriotic project, because the aggressions of its arrogant fanaticism were perilous; to destroy the Huguenots in France, and Elizabeth in England; and to subvert the protestant reformation, and annihilate its adherents in every part of Europe. He succeeded, to a great degree, in all these schemes, but the two last. sturdily enforced the long-wanted and much-resisted correction of the profligacy immediately around him; and he annihilated, through Don John, of Austria, and the fleet which he at last got together under his command, the Ottoman navy, in the celebrated battle in the bay of Lepanto. His exertions in France and England, his own letters and panegyrical biographers sufficiently display.

In the autumn of 1567, we find him urging the king of Spain to send his forces into France against the Huguenots, promising the French king to send him money and soldiers, though he had no abundance at his disposal; and entreated the doge of Venice to add also his succours, because if the protestants should conquer, their tenets would soon enter Italy. On the same ground he solicited the duke of Savoy to employ his sword against these

impious men, these rebels to God and their king, because his states lay the nearest to the contagion of their opinions; and in the summer of 1568, he congratulated the duke of Alva that he had obtained a victory in Belgium, for the catholic faith, against the revolting hereties. He repeats, four months afterwards, his exulting compliments and excitations for his achievements, in defence of the holy see and the catholic truth; and promises to remunerate him for his zealous efforts, by granting the pecuniary benefit he solicited; though it was an unusual grace. plores the cardinal of Bourbon, at the beginning of the new year, to enforce the measures most proper for "the destruction" of these enemies; and as eagerly entreats the cardinal of Lorraine to prepare, with extreme diligence, whatever is necessary for their attack and defeat. He is astonished that the nefarious prince of Orange should be retained in the kingdom; and expresses the pain he feels that the king had not confiscated the property of the heretics, as that would retain the doubting in his faith, and deter others from joining their infamous society. commends his own delegate for doing this at Avignon, and directs that the estates shall not, when thus forfeited, be given to, or in any way come to the relations of, the heretic, even though they should be good catholics, that the intimidating lesson may be completed.

In the spring of 1569, the pope sent his troops, under Sforza. into France, to punish, by every infliction of severity, the heretics and their leaders. That the prince of Condé, "the chief of the heretical army," had been killed at the battle of Jarnac, is the subject of his thanksgivings to heaven; and he exhorts Charles IX. to profit by his victory, so as utterly to root out the remains of these enemies; for unless they were radically extirpated, the evil would reappear. He urges him to have no respect for any persons or things, to induce him to spare those whom he calls the adversaries of God. He tells the king, that he can appearse Heaven only by the severest punishment of such wretches; and that if he does not thus destroy them, he will perish by divine vengeance. The same topics, with the most unqualified and most unshrinking mercilessness, he urges to Catharine de Medicis, the king's mother. He insists upon her not sparing, for any reasons, these enemies of Heaven. They must be exterminated. He dares

even to add, with all the insanity of his self-deluding bigotry, that he prays for it every day.*

He repeats the same exhortations in his subsequent letters. He directs them to every accessible and powerful quarter; he desires the king's brother to interfere, to prevent the royal mercy from being extended to any who should implore it, and to shew himself inexorable to all. With an infatuation that would almost be incredible if his own words were not before us, he asserts to the too-willing ear of the cardinal of Lorraine, and desires him to convince the king that he cannot satisfy his Redeemer (!) without this inexorability to all who shall petition him in their behalf; a combination of ideas so incongruous, that it drives us into the supposition that the New Testament was a book, which, if not unknown to Pius V., had at least been either unread or

4 It surprises us at first to read, in the Roman-eatholic sermons and compositions of this period, and in so many since, such bitter and indiscriminate abuse of the protestants of all sects, under the general name of heretics and infidels. They are classed repeatedly with Turks, ATHEISTS, and unbelievers, without any other separation than the typographical comma, as if they were considered by the writers, and meant to be represented by them to the reader, as no other and no better. The papal author, be it in a history, sermon, edict, bull, or controversial treatise, continually masses together, and assails with undistinguishing invectives, as well the infidel who disbelieves all Christianity, and even the existence of the Deity, with the reformers who most sincerely accredit and revere divine revelation. We see them continually spoken of with the most invidious epithets and damnatory reprobation, as one losthsome mass of impiety and detestation. It seems such irrational and violent and wilful prejudice to class together, intentionally and deliberately, the Atheist and the protestant, and to load them alike with such inveterate and rancorous epithets of reproach and vilification, that we can scarcely understand how any persons of cultivated intellect, of the catholic church, could have so pertinaciously and so universally pursued this practice. Our most illustrious names in science or literature, and especially if clergymen, are seldom noticed without some depreciating adjunct. For some time this surprised myself, and I could not account for it to my own satisfaction; until, at last, I discovered that it was done upon a premeditated system of their hierarchical policy. The ingenious chieftains of the papel church, after the first ardent conflicts, in which they gained no victories and made no intellectual conquests, observed, that to discuss the points of difference between themselves and the protestants was to make the opinions of the latter more known; to subject their own tenets to investigation, discussion, and the consequential decisions of human judgment, and to take the chance of the varying talents of their own defenders: and to be so often defeated, and so strenuously opposed, as to make it morally certain that if they resorted to human reasoning, and rested on the mind's unbiassed conviction, their excluding system would be overthrown; and their papal and traditional

wholly forgotten by him, amid the more pleasing duties of his beloved inquisition. Yet how natural were such sentiments to the sainted head of an institution which existed solely on such principles! How congenial to a system which interprets the scriptures by its convenient traditions, and not the traditions by the unalterable, and, therefore, less expedient scriptures. No human sympathies seem to have reigned in this pontiff's soul. He solicited the French sovereign to listen neither to the claims of blood or friendship; and repeats his solicitation, not to forgive those who should petition for his mercy to such offenders. "Sin not by indulgence" was the lesson; and to diminish any necessity for doing so, he sent to the French monarch all the cavalry and infantry which he could provide, and regrets that his treasury did not enable him to do more. He inveighs against the time-ho-

Christianity would be improved and enlightened into what was really scriptural, apostolic, and divine. To prevent this evil, and to maintain their despotism unshaken, and their artificial compacted system unbroken and entire, they felt it more prudent to withdraw from discussion, and to dissuade such preaching. Where the government was catholic, their safety lay most surely in resting upon the arms of power while it was disposed to befriend them; and in teaching their dogmes and rites as positive injunctions and authoritative institutions, commanded by the pope as the voice of their church, as their only qualified and rightful judge, and therefore indisputably placed, by the adoption and decision of the popedom, beyond the province, the right, and the power, of human reason. We are led to this inference, not from speculations and guesses of our own imagination, but from the express instructions of the cardinal Valiero, the friend of Sir Charles Borromeo, who, in his Rheerica Ecclesiastica, thus recommends the papal clergy to shape their public preaching. His words are: 'Admonishing the clergy when they address a sermon to the people, not to start a disputation against heretics; not to mention their arguments, lest they fall into the suspicion of vanity, and throw scruples into the minds of the simple. Let them say, generally, that all heretics are wretched persons, &c.' But I should deem it more useful that ecclesiastical orators should pass over in silence their pernicious opinions, as confuted and exploded by the most learned men for many ages."-Sharon Turner, in his History of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

These remarks of an amiable man and excellent writer, reflect great credit upon him; but his surprise would have been spared had be happened to recollect that the conduct to which he refers is in strict keeping with what is said of a certain power which was to arise under the Christian name or form, "making war with the saints, and overcoming them—having power given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations, so that all that dwell upon the earth should worship him—causing all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads, and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark or the name of the beast." Rev. xiii. 7, 8, 16, 17.

noured and long-respected admiral of France, De Coligny, as the most execrable of all men, even doubting if he was a human being, because the ablest supporter of the Huguenot cause; and he also discloses the great, the horrible principle, on which he urged his incentives and vituperations; it is, that other catholic princes will be guided and stimulated by the example of Charles IX. to act in the same manner towards the heretics in their dominions. Thus the spirit and aims of Pius V. extended to the gigantic effect of exterminating, as soon as possible, all the protestants in Europe. It was a natural emanation of personal habit, and its connected character, that he should exhort the king to place inquisitors of heresy in every one of his towns. It was an act of consistency that he should intreat the queen-mother to inflame her son's mind to the execution of the cruelties he commanded, and that he should express the highest indignation and alarm at the idea that the French government meant to grant a peace to its protestant subjects, and should implore the cardinals in France to defeat its accomplishment.

To state of any man, that he is the advocate or author of murder, is to ascribe to him such a lamentable exemplification of human depravity in its most revolting sense, that the mind dislikes, on any evidence, to express and even to conceive the imputation; and yet the preceding facts press the judgment towards that conclusion; nor is their effect abated when we observe the direction and wishes of Pius V. as to the French general D'Assier. The pope's conduct on his capture seems to furnish an additional illustration of what is possible in men of the highest station, when mercy, pity, charity, forgiveness, and benevolence, are superseded by a misconception of sacerdotal duty, which, separating itself from the moral obligations of life. and extinguishing all human sympathies, seeks to acquire a supposed merit by its unsocial and desolating intolerance. Wonderful perversion of a religion whose benevolence is, above all others, adapted to make mankind an affectionate family of gentle and generous brothers! Strange contradiction to its clearest and most indissoluble precepts! But the doctrine of preferring the tradition to the record admits of the holiest laws being deformed by the most nullifying anomalies—by the most superseding contradictions. The will of the sovereign becomes

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then subjected to the convenience of the viceroy. The vicar, whenever he pleases, may thus displace his master. The worldly benefit of this device has occasioned it to be used in all systems and in all ages.

As there was no hypocrisy in Pius V., we may anticipate that his transactions as to Elizabeth were in congruity with his dealings in France. He sent money to assist Mary in Scotland against her protestant subjects, and despatched his secret priestly envoy to England, in 1569, to declare privately from him to certain of the nobility, that, as a heretic, Elizabeth had forfeited all right to her crown, and that they should obey her no longer. He seconded this by his bull in the ensuing February, in which, asserting his power to overthrow and to destroy, and declaring this princess to be the slave of wickedness, and but a pretended queen, he denounces an anathema against her, deprives her of her kingdom, absolves all her subjects from their obedience; forbids every one from daring to obey her commands or laws, and declares that all who should act contrary to these injunctions should be involved in the same excommunicating severities.

Happily for the world, the greatest instigator of the catholic mind to the extirpation of the protestants in every country. Pius V., died at this time, though not till he had effectually excited that spirit in the ruling powers of both the church and state at the Louvre which produced that day at Paris which human memory will never forget, nor ever recollect but with one common and irrepressible sentiment—the massacre of St. Bartholomew, of which I have given some account in a preceding lecture. His death, and the indignant horror which the St. Bartholomew massacre spread into all bosoms, except those of the Vatican, and of its assimilating supporters, arrested the progress of the conspiracies which he was promoting in England, and gave to Elizabeth an interval of peace and security for some years; until the Jesuits resumed what this excommunicating pope had begun; and under the next, and their peculiarly favouring pontiff, Gregory XIII., commenced and prosecuted a new series of more artful, pertinacious, and dangerous hostilities, which never ceased as long as Mary queen of Scots' existence gave them a hope of seating a catholic successor upon the English throne.

LECTURE LXXVII.

'The Reformation continued under the reign of Elizabeth—Rise of the Puritans—Ridicule bestowed on them—Public preaching restricted—Persecution of the Antipædo-baptists—Christendom divided into three communions, Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Catholic—Elizabeth assists the Huguenots—Glance at the civil wars in France—Intolerant spirit of Elizabeth's reign—Archbishop Whitgift—The Queen asserts her supremacy—The puritans have recourse to the press—Elizabeth's resentment—Death and character of the Queen. A. D. 1590—1603.

HAD the government of Elizabeth kept the promise of its earlier years, her reign would have been a period of unclouded glory. But, unhappily, as she grew powerful in Europe, and secure on her throne, her pretensions became despotic, and her policy intolerant; she rudely trampled on the privileges and personal liberty of the commons; she claimed for her proclamations the authority of law in matters spiritual and temporal; she sharpened the edge of penal enactments and persecution against puritans and catholics; she inflicted the slow torture of an iniquitous captivity of nineteen years upon a suppliant, a kinswoman, and a queen; and she shed the blood of her victim, with a mixture of barbarity and dissimulation which renders her character as a sovereign, hateful; as a woman, monstrous. It is true that both her throne and her life were menaced abroad and at home; but the increasing hostility of foreign powers was a homage to her increasing strength; and the secret plots against her person were мм2

generated by her persecutions and proscriptions. Had she tolerated the religious worship of the Roman catholics, her life would have been more safe. The worship of God is an object so paramount with the people, that they will have it at any cost; and to subject their indulgence of it to the peril of life or fortune, was to breed fanaticism and vengeance. When she made the exercise of his functions by a Roman-catholic priest a service of life or death, she held out England as a tempting and exclusive theatre to the missionary zeal of desperadoes and fanatics. If the Romancatholic laity received and sheltered, as spiritual directors, priests whose tenets and practices were dangerous to the safety of the state and life of the sovereign, it was because they could have no other. Persecution was never yet employed by a government without recoiling upon its authors in the very evil which it was intended to prevent. Had Elizabeth neither proscribed the religion, nor imprisoned the person, of Mary Queen of Scots, Babington would not have conspired. Persecution and the inquisition lost Philip of Spain the Low Countries.*

The Puritans, hitherto only a powerful and zealous party within the pale of the church, now meditated a separation from the religious establishment. The disputes continued to hinge on the vestments, and on other usages supposed to be superstitious, which formed a part of the established worship. The eminent divines of this party, at the head of whom was Cartwright, professor of theology at Cambridge, seemed to have been content with a connivance at their conscientious non-compliance with the directions of the liturgy; and though they considered a parity among pastors to be more purely apostolic than the rank and power of prelates, they were not unwilling to wait in peace for the progress of a more perfect reformation. They were more especially ready to subscribe all the doctrinal articles of the church, praying exemption from those only which related to discipline. Perhaps men so ardent, and of so much conscious honesty as the puritans, would not long have contained themselves within those boundaries of moderation which were likely, in time, to be looked on with an evil eye, as compromises of con-

Mackintosh's History of England, vol. iii.

science with convenience. The experiment of lenity was, however, not made. Cartwright was deprived of his professorship.

An act was passed, subjecting all clergymen, not having received orders according to the formularies of Edward or Elizabeth, to deprivation, unless they subscribed all the articles, and read publicly in their parish churches the certificate of a bishop, bearing testimony that they had fulfilled that condition, without regard to a possession of perhaps thirteen years, and with no small disrespect towards the protestant churches, from whom the greatest part of the incumbents thus expelled, by a law substantially retrospective, had received holy orders.

From the beginning of 1567, puritan congregations had been dispersed, and their members apprehended, on the ground that they were unlawful assemblies. It appears to have been the immediate consequences of the laws of the session of 1571, and of the spirit in which they were now administered, that a formal separation from the episcopal church was deemed necessary to the puritans. The order or presbytery of Handsworth, comprehending a small number of neighbouring ministers, were secretly assembled, shunning the animadversions of the law, and formed on the republican equality of the Calvinistic churches, in preference to the limited and impoverished episcopacy which many of them had seen among the Lutherans of Germany and Scandinavia.

^{*} It was in contending with the Romanists, the common adversary, that Cartwright employed the closing years of his troubled life. This distinguished puritan possessed learning and capacity which fitted him for any station in the church, but he exposed himself through nearly half a century to poverty, exile, and complicated suffering, in defence of what he regarded as the cause of divine truth. All men. and especially men whose ardent temperament fits them to become leaders, have their imperfections; but the above is the only rational view to be entertained respecting the conduct of Cartwright. That he repented on his death bed of the course he had pursued is an unauthenticated rumour, to which the facts of his life are opposed. He was accosted as an "aged" man by the commissioners in 1591; he was then found to be anything but wavering. His subsequent silence arose more from hopelessness of success than from change of principle; for he had learned that to conquer from the press was not to succeed with the personage who occupied the throne of ecclesiastical supremacy. Had his mantle fallen on a second, at the queen's death, it is not easy to say what the effect would have been.—See Fuller's Hist. book x., p. 3; Strype's Whitgift, p. 554. Beza affirmed of Cartwright that "the sun shone not on a more learned man."



The zealous protestants, who in the beginning of the reformation were called gospellers, in derision of their throwing open the New Testament to the ignorant, were now variously called puritons or precisians, in ridicule of their affectation of purity in belief and The reformers everywhere diffused the practice of constant preaching,—one of the means of conversion which they had most successfully employed. Elizabeth was disposed to bring back the liberty of preaching within boundaries more near those to which it was confined in catholic times. She caused a book of homilies to be composed, in order that it might be substituted by the clergy for compositions of their own. She considered the clergy as divided into two classes: the one consisted of those who had been hastily admitted to orders in a moment of need, and whom the catholics contemptuously called the "ignorant mess Johns of Elizabeth;" the other was composed of learned zealots, many of whom were puritanically affected. Elizabeth thought that the indiscretion of the latter, and the ignorance of the former, rendered them equally unfit to be trusted with the formidable power of frequently addressing mixed multitudes from a place of authority on subjects calculated to stir up the strongest emotions of which a multitude is susceptible. The expedients which were resorted to in order to supply the defects of inexperience and unskilfulness in the preachers, however they might answer their purpose, did not abate the jealousy with which a watchful government eyed the multiplication of opportunities of popular address.

It had become a practice for the ministers of a district to hold meetings in the church of a large town, which received the name of lectures, from being often expositions of passages of scripture—of prophesyings, in the original sense of that word, in which it denoted speaking in public,—exercises, because they gave the young preachers the habit of speaking with ease, clearness and order. Hence, also, they were obliged to prepare themselves, by adequate study, for the discussion of the meaning of different passages in the presence of very numerous audiences. In no long time, laymen began to take a part; the hierarchy was questioned, and doctrines deemed heretical were heard. Confusion often prevailed, and the assembly proceeded from wrangling to violence.

The puritans were not so lukewarm as to be deterred by petty and worldly inconveniences, which they flattered themselves that they should in the end conquer. They became the leaders of these religious associations, which added strength to the queen's apprehensions of the power of popular orators over numerous meetings.

The severities against puritans seem to have partly arisen from the affectation of impartiality, which led the government to balance the rigour against catholics, rendered necessary to the public safety, by the punishment of the opposite class of offenders against the ecclesiastical laws. It happened, also, that the appearances of danger from the continental catholics recruited the number, and inflamed the zeal, of the party most hostile to Rome. and stimulated them to a stronger opposition against the English church, which had, in their opinion, retained so much of the pretensions of the common enemy. The puritans were neither daunted by authority nor deterred by examples of severity. Cartwright supported them with great power of logic and composition; while Johnson, the chaplain of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Brown, the founder of the sect afterwards called independents, brought them an accession which indicated their progress among the higher classes. Lord Leicester, whether instigated by ambitious hopes, which disposed him to pay court to the Dutch Calvinists, or considering the English catholics as particularly hostile to him, patronized the parties of extreme protestants, certainly with no inducement from pure manners or religious enthusiasm. Elizabeth was mortified by the apparent success of the exulting prophecies of the catholics, who had foretold that the breach in the unity of the church would lead to universal anarchy, as well as incensed at the mutiny of so large a portion of her followers; and she believed, like all her contemporaries, that the formation of new bodies in the church without her permission was as flagrant a rebellion as the establishment of courts and officers of justice unauthorized by her would be. The excesses of the continental catholics, which were generally followed by hostility against their brethren, sometimes led to measures of rigour against the ultrareformers, in order to check the scandal of protestant disunion; and sometimes to considerable relaxation, from the necessity of a coalition with the most zealous anti-catholics, to save the common cause of the reformation from imminent danger.

The English nation was now divided into three theological and political parties,—the churchmen, who considered the ecclesiastical revolution as already sufficient; the puritans, who sought a more perfect reformation by agitating the minds of the people; and the catholics, who, supported by all the great powers of the continent, did not despair of re-establishing the ancient popish church by another revolution. These sects constituted the parties of Elizabeth's reign. The whole nation were classed under these subdivisions. A considerable body of the ancient church adhered to the catholic religion; a still larger proportion favoured the catholics. The strength of the puritans lay in great towns, the scenes of bold discussion, and the favourite dwelling of prevalent innovations. The queen's preference for the churchmen was inevitable. She disfavoured the puritans, not only for disputing her authority, but as, in her judgment, distracting the protestant party. season for open war against the catholics was fast approaching.

The members of these three distinct sections, or parties, or communions, agreed in their mutual dislike or abhorrence of the anabaptists, as they were termed, under which name were then confounded the frantic rabble who revolted in Saxony, in 1521, the sanguinary banditti who reigned at Munster, in 1533, and of whom I have furnished copious details in a preceding lecture, (see lect. lxxii., p. 373-402, ante,) with many others who were opposed to the practice of infant sprinkling under the name of baptism. For as Dr. Mosheim has very justly observed, (see p. 380,) and his remark will bear repeating,-" Before the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed, in almost all the countries of Europe, many persons who adhered tenaciously to the principles of the Vaudois, or Waldenses. Persecuted in every foreign country, some of these ancient witnesses for the truth sought an asylum in England, and at this time became the victims of an intolerant government and popular fury."

On Easter-day, 1575, a congregation of Mennonites, or Dutch anabaptists, were surprised at Aldgate, of whom twenty-seven were committed to prison. On the 27th of April, a commission was granted to the bishop of London, assisted by civilians and

judges, "to confer with the accused, and to proceed judicially if the case so required." * Four of them having recanted their doctrines, were released, after bearing lighted fagots in their hands. From the matter which they were required to abjure,-44 that Christ had not taken flesh of the Virgin Mary, that infants ought not to be baptized, that a Christian ought neither to be a magistrate, nor to bear the sword, nor to take an oath,"-it should seem that though the intelligible part of their doctrines were unreasonable and inconvenient, yet they were not tainted with the worst errors of their kindred sects. Two men (at least) and ten women were convicted, of whom one woman was persuaded to forsake her opinions, eight were banished, two were condemned to be burnt, and probably in the greater part of the remaining cases the court was content with the infliction of corporal punishment. Two men, more conscientious, or more courageous, than their brethren, refused to buy their lives by uttering a solemn lie. For this crime they were condemned to be burnt alive in Smithfield. It would not have promoted the purposes of any party to encumber themselves with the defence of miserable men, doomed to destruction alike by the prejudices of the vulgar and by the policy of the powerful, whom the queen was taught to consider as indispensable victims, lest she might be reproached with sparing rebels against God, while she punished traitors against her own earthly and perishable crown.

One man alone, happily above the suspicion that his tolerant spirit arose from religious lukewarmness, had the courageous humanity to embrace the cause of a weak and odious band, full of foreign and obscure heretics, whose gross errors he himself regarded perhaps with more than reasonable abhorrence. This man, worthy to be holden in everlasting remembrance for one of the most rare acts of human virtue, was John Fox, a puritan, the historian of the English martyrs, whom Elizabeth, in spite of his nonconformity, was wont to call by the affectionate and reverential appellation of "My Father Fox." The only trial of his influence over her which he made was a letter to her, dis-

Privy Council Books, April 27th, May 20th, June 26th, 1575.

tinguished by the classical Latinity of which he was no mean master, on behalf of these anabaptists, in which, after bewailing the necessity of breaking the silence which he had hitherto observed towards her,* and declaring his abhorrence of the impious and destructive errors of these sectaries, he implores her, in the name of Christ, not to rekindle the flames of Smithfield, which, under her happy administration, had for seventeen years been cold.

"I have no favour for heretics," said Fox, "but I am a man, and would spare the life of man. To roast the living bodies of unhappy men, erring rather from blindness of judgment than from the impulse of will, in fire and flames, of which the fierceness is fed by the pitch and brimstone poured over them, is a Romish abomination, which, if it had not been introduced in a barbarous age, by the usurping and dictatorial Innocent III., never could have crept into any communion professing the meek and merciful religion of the Prince of Peace. There are many degrees of inferior punishment; but, for the love of God, spare their lives. If that cannot be, (but what should restrain the exercise of your mercy?) at least grant a long respite, in which we may reclaim them from their monstrous errors."

He is said to have poignantly felt the infliction of such punishment in a place consecrated by the ashes of protestant martyrs. All his topics are not, indeed, consistent with the true principles of religious liberty. But they were more likely to soften the antipathy of his contemporaries, and to win the assent of his sovereign, than bolder propositions; they form a wide step towards liberty of conscience. Had the excellent writer possessed the power of shewing mercy, and once tasted the sweetness of exercising it towards deluded fanatics, he must doubtless have been attracted to the practice of unbounded toleration. He gained for them only a respite.

The writ de hæretico comburendo was issued for the first time under Elizabeth. John Wheelmaker and Henry Toorwoort, the two anabaptists, were burnt at Smithfield on the 23rd of July,

^{*} Heylin, b. ix., 104, where the original was probably first printed.

"dying," says the chronicler, "with great horror, crying and roaring." * This murder, as far as the multitude thought of it, met with their applause. It was considered by others as the ordinary course. But it was the first blood spilt by Elizabeth for religious forms-in the eye of posterity, a dark spot upon a government hitherto distinguished beyond that of any other European community by a religious administration, which, if not unstained, was at least bloodless.

The first movement of the human mind in the sixteenth century. which may be called Lutheran, was very distinguishable from the religious convulsions which afterwards ensued. The German reformation was effected by princes, in form, subordinate,-in fact, independent. As soon as the revolt of the boors was suppressed, the new religion coalesced with the established government as perfectly as the ancient faith had before done. All changes were introduced by legal authority, and the same power restrained them within their original limits. If some German states had not adopted a Calvinistic system, which gave rise to the distinction between "Evangelicals and Reformed," there would have been no inlet left for toleration among the rigid doctors of the Saxon reform. But after a time, being most reluctantly compelled to make common cause against the church of Rome, they very slowly learned the necessity of extending the boundaries of toleration beyond those of common belief. The principle of the Lutherans was, the right of the civil rulers to reform religion, and to maintain it as it was reformed. Laws had established Lutheranism; it had been the object of negotiation, and consequently liable to some compromise. Treaties had secured the religion of each separate state. At the point where we now pause, the face of Germany was calm, and its general quiet was for many years after undisturbed.

The second religious movement, called Calvinistic, was of more popular origin, and rose in defiance of the authorities of the world. In France and in the Low Countries, its principal seat, it had to struggle with bigoted sovereigns and cruel laws. Reformation was, indeed, everywhere connected with civil liberty.

^{*} Stowe, 680. Heylin, 105.

But among the Lutherans, the connexion was long invisible, and the fruits of it very slowly ripened. Among the French and Belgic Calvinists, who were obliged to resist the civil as well as the ecclesiastical superiors, the connexion of civil and religious liberty was no longer indirect. It forced itself on the eyes and hearts of all protestants. It had long before been foretold that a revolt against the ancient authority of the church would shake the absolute power of monarchs to its foundation. But it was not till princes became religious persecutors, that persecuted subjects inquired into the source and boundaries of political power. The Calvinists resisted their monarch in order to defend themselves. The wars, whether we call them foreign or civil, were fiercer and more bloody, but especially more disorderly, lawless, and irreconcileable, than those which had distracted Germany in the reign of Charles V. National attachments were more nearly dissolved. Agreement in religion grew to be the prevalent principle of union; and dissension on that subject became an incentive to hatred, over which the ties of country and kindred were often unable to prevail. The protestants of France, Britain, and Belgium, forgot their national jealousies amidst the fervour of religious attachment. The inquisitors of Spain embraced the leaguers of France as their brethren, by a dearer tie than that of a common country. A civil war between the catholic and protestant factions spread over a considerable portion of Europe. Germany was restrained by the circumstances which have been mentioned. Italy was enslaved by Spain. Elizabeth, after she had suppressed all hostility in Great Britain, brought the whole of the united strength of her people to the aid of the continental protestants.

Her first exertions, conformably to the maxims of her policy at that time, were limited and guarded. Something has already been said of the proscriptive edicts of Henry II. against the protestants, who were termed Huguenots in France, and, as some say, from a German word used in Switzerland, which signifies, bound to each other by oaths. The house of Bourbon led the Huguenots, the house of Lorraine was at the head of the catholics. In the spring of 1560, the protestants, with other chiefs who were weary of the domination of the princes of Lorraine, were

detected in a plan to revolt, for taking the infant king out of the hands of the Guyses, and for expelling that foreign family from the administration of France, which their opponents punished as a conspiracy to establish Calvinism on the ruins of the catholic religion, and to substitute for monarchy a republican confederacy like that of the Helvetic body. Hence arose the executions, or, as the sufferers with reason called it, the massacre of Amboise. one of those daring and atrocious measures from which sanguine hopes were entertained by furious partisans, but of which the sequel is generally most crowded with difficulties, and the event often most disastrous. In this instance, the revenge of the victors was particularly barbarous. A few strokes of the description of it will suffice to characterize the opening of these unhappy wars. Orders were issued to put to death every man taken on the high roads in arms. As few then journeyed without arms, most of the travelling traders were robbed and murdered. Of those who were hurried through some forms of trial, some were hanged, by night, to the pinnacles of the castle; others, bound hand and foot, were thrown into the river, which, as it passed the town, seemed to be swelled by blood. "The roads," says the historian, "struck the eye with horror by the forest of gibbets through which they appeared to pass." Villemongey, a protestant, as he was about to die, dipping his hands in the blood of his friends who perished before him, lifted them up to heaven, and exclaimed-"This, O God! is the innocent blood of thy martyrs, for which thou wilt visit their destroyers." * It is a terrible feature of savage manners, that the ladies of the court carried on their accustomed gaieties amidst these scenes of horror.

Some time afterwards, the slaughter of Vassy, one of the accidental meetings of parties resolved on each other's destruction, foreboded more surely the approach of civil war. Guyse, on his march at the head of a great armed retinue, had stopped at Vassy, a small town on the borders of Champagne, where a considerable congregation of the reformers were assembled for the purpose of worship. The insolent and bigoted followers of the

^{*} Thuani Hist. sui temporis, tom. i. 830.

prince appear to have taken fire at the Calvinistic worship. An armed scuffle ensued, which terminated in a cruel slaughter of the undisciplined and ill-armed Huguenots; and which all French protestants, with an exaggeration inevitable in a moment of such violence, considered as an assault on their worship, and a fore-taste of the doom which awaited themselves.

In the summer of 1562, the first civil war burst forth. protestants were most formidable in the opulent and maritime province of Normandy, where the new opinions had struck a deep root. As a revolt against a regent, though directed against the royal authority, could hardly be aimed at the royal person, it became easy to represent this war, in which both parties called themselves royalists, as a contest between the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Guyse. Hence arose the plausibility of Elizabeth's interference in support of her fellow-religionists. By this treaty, which professed to be for the defence of the faithful subjects of the King of France against the Guysian faction, Havre was surrendered to Elizabeth, who was to garrison it with 3000 men, and to supply 3000 for the defence of Rouen and Dieppe. The war was short. It was closed, in March, 1563, by a convention at Amboise, which left the Huguenot party in a worse condition than that in which they had been under the former edicts.

Familiar as the people of England were with cruelty, and relentless as adverse religionists were to each other, the extent to which the use of the rack was carried, even when the objects were jesuits and popish priests, shocked the natural humanity of the nation. Burleigh was put upon his defence before the public. His vindication mainly consisted in alleging that Campion was tortured so mildly as to be able soon after to walk and sign his confession. The genius of the reign of Elizabeth and of the age is exhibited by a single trait, and a fearful glimpse, in this association of the rack with mildness. Elizabeth, to render her ministers more odious by the contrast of her own clemency, proclaimed that torture should be discontinued; and after the false glory thus gained by her, shut her eyes to the resumed or continued use of the horrid engine, with renewed activity, by her ministers. To her eternal honour, however, she ordered seventy

popish priests, either under sentence of death or awaiting it, to be released from prison, the rack, and the scaffold.*

Had the catholics frankly acknowledged the validity of Elizabeth's title, she would have been easily reconciled to them. Had they disclaimed the deposing power of the pope, she would have freely tolerated, as she perhaps shared, the tenets of transubstantiation and the invocation of saints,—those bugbears which faction and hypocrisy, bigotry and credulity, have invested with vain terror and ridiculous importance down to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In reference to the puritans, her antipathies were more numerous and her aversion stronger. The blood of sectaries, it has been observed in the preceding pages, was shed; but the victims were many of them eccentric unrecognised fanatics, not members of the great puritan community.

The puritans were too highly patronized, powerful, and independent,—they had too many favourers in the House of Commons, and even at court, to be proscribed, tortured, and hanged, like the Roman catholics; but she lost no opportunity to search their consciences, restrict their liberty, and cause their deprivation of benefices which they would have gladly and unscrupulously retained under a church which they pronounced unscriptural. Archbishop Grindall died-blind, old, and in disgrace with Elizabeth-in 1582. Whether from the want of energy, or a leaning to the puritans, he tolerated prophesyings and preachings in private houses; he allowed an absolute schism in the church. In a letter to Burleigh, he vehemently repudiates being a favourer of the puritans; his toleration, therefore, may be imputed to imbecility. The queen, to restore unity in the church, appointed as his successor Whitgift, a stern inquisitor, irritated by previous controversy, and placed in his hands a commission, comparable only to that celebrated tribunal which, in England, has been regarded the most odious in the world. She placed at the disposal of the new archbishop forty-four commissioners, of whom twelve were ecclesiastics, with a jurisdiction over the kingdom, and authority to reform all heresies, schims, errors, vices, sins, misbehaviours, in short, all acts and opinions, by fine and imprisonment,

^{*} Cam. Ann. Somers' Tracts, 209.

at their discretion. The ecclesiastical commission had the power of demanding the subscription of the clergy to new articles, and of scrutinizing the conscience of a suspected person by administering an oath. Proceedings so tyrannical excited general indignation; but Elizabeth and the archbishop did not the less succeed in restoring unity in the church. The commons offered a gentle suggestion of their disapproval. Elizabeth rebuked them in a tone of spiritual supremacy not exceeded by the pope. She said, that by censuring the church they slandered her, whom God had appointed supreme ruler over it; that nothing was exempt from abuse; that the prelates must be vigilant in correcting and preventing abuse and error, or she would deprive them of their office: that she was deeply read in religious science, for which she had more leisure than most other persons; that she would not tolerate the licentiousness and presumption with which many people, she perceived, canvassed scripture, and started innovations; that she was resolved to guide her people by God's rule in the mean between Romish corruption and sectarian licentiousness; that the papists were enemies of her person, but the sectaries were hostile to all kingly government, and, under colour of preaching the word of God, presumed to exercise their private judgments, and to censure the act of the prince. The only legal ground for this monstrous tribunal, in a country pretending to law or liberty, was a clause in the act of supremacy of the first year of Elizabeth. If such power were conferred by it, the sovereign was absolute; if it was not conferred, Elizabeth set herself above the laws. Sir Edward Coke pronounces the commission against law, and says, that from a secret distrust or consciousness of its illegality, it was not enrolled in chancery as other commissions, to prevent its validity from being questioned. This appears to be the decision of a stunted lawyer, who identified substance with formality. The commissioners were exercising their jurisdiction by fines and imprisonments, ransacking the houses of the people by their pursuivants, and their consciences by administering oaths. This, assuredly, was a more likely mode of challenging the question of its legality than the recording of it on the chancery roll. At a subsequent period, indeed, when Elizabeth re-issued a similar commission, a man slew a pursuivant, who, with a warrant

from the commissioners, entered and searched his house, and the man was discharged from the bar by the judges of assize, on the ground that the warrant was illegal.*

But whilst the queen was thus strenuous in asserting her supremacy without bounds, the puritans became more jealous of the right of private judgment and extemporaneous prayer,—the commons, of the exercise of their privileges. An attempt was made. at the close of 1584, in the house of commons, by Doctor Turner. a puritan, to introduce a book of common prayer, drawn up by the ministers of that sect, and containing a summary of their discipline.+ The book would appear to bind to a specific form of prayer, but there was a rule in the rubric allowing the minister. at his discretion, to use the form set down, or pray "as God should move him." It was rejected; but the puritans succeeded in wringing from Archbishop Whitgift, chiefly through the power of Leicester, a conference at Lambeth, to argue the question between them and the church. Sparke and Travers were deputed to vindicate the tenets of the puritans, and more particularly their objections to the book of common prayer. They made five objections; to the reading of the apocryphal writings, to the manner of baptism, to private communion, to the apparel, and to the allowing of an inefficient ministry, non-residence, and pluralities. The assessors of the privy council were, Leicester, Grey, and Walsingham. The two champions of puritanism maintained a four hours' disputation: in the opinion of Leicester, they had the advantage; according to the ecclesiastical historians of the adverse party, they were confuted and convinced; in point of fact, they continued nonconformists to their death. The probability is, that the conference ended leaving the convictions of both parties as it found them, or rooted more firmly. Private meditation may enlighten,—in a public dispute the object is, not truth, but victory.

The puritans, in spite of precautions and penalties, employed the forbidden power of the press. A series of pamphlets, written with all the violence of religious dispute, and all the coarseness of theological raillery, issued, under the title of "Martin Marpre-

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[•] Fourth Inst. 42 Elizabeth. † Collier's Eccles. Hist.

† Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. i.

late," from a clandestine press, which, by frequent change of place, long eluded discovery.* The 23rd of Elizabeth, an inhuman statute, enacted originally with some colour of justification against Roman catholics, who denied the legitimacy of the queen's birth and title, was now directed against the puritans. Barrow, Greenwood, Penry-men of enthusiastic temperament, heated by persecution; Udall, a clergyman of more moderation; Hacket, a wretched maniac, who called himself King Jesus, and would depose the queen-a fit subject only for a lunatic asylum; -these, after a course of criminal procedure, an exact counterpart of the inquisition, were condemned, and with one exception, executed. Udall died in prison while under a reprieve and soliciting a pardon on the condition of transporting himself to the factories of the Turkey Company in Africa. Archbishop Whitgift, with his ecclesiastical commission, bishops' courts, and the countenance of Elizabeth, enforced conformity by deprivations, fines, and imprisonments. These severities tended only to increase the numbers. the confidence, and organization of that persecuted sect. When did persecution ever operate otherwise? There was a party in the queen's council which made a politic show of protecting them. Leicester and Walsingham were of this party, and Burleigh affected to give them countenance. A proposition was made to him that all persons should be compelled to make a declaration that episcopacy was "lawful by the word of God." He replied, with a smile,—" Lawful by a positive law, I grant you, but by the word of God, that is another matter." Morrice, attorney of the court of Wards, a zealous but enlightened puritan, already distinguished by his writings against the ecclesiastical commission courts, moved the house "touching the hard courses of bishops and ordinaries, and other ecclesiastical judges in their courts, used towards sundry learned and godly ministers and preachers of this realm, by way of inquisition, subscription, and binding, absolutely contrary to the honour of God, the regality of her majesty, the laws of this realm, and the liberty of the subjects; compelled them, upon their oaths, to accuse themselves in their own private actions, words, and thoughts, if they shall take such

[·] State Trials; information against Knightly in the Star Chamber.



oaths, because they know not to what questions they shall answer till after the time they be sworn; and also after such examination proceed against them by deprivation, degradation, or suppression, upon such their own accusation of themselves; and if they refused to take such oaths, they commit them to prison, and there keep and detain them at their own pleasure, not absolving or releasing them until they shall have taken an oath of canonical obedience to their ordinaries." Such are the words of this true protestant. He concluded by offering the speaker two bills, one concerning the inquisitions, subscriptions, and forced oaths; the other concerning the penalties of refusal. His motion appears to have been supported by, among other members, Sir Francis Knolles, who stood high in the queen's favour, and was her kinsman. But the courtiers, the court lawyers, and doctors of the civil law, on the other side, urged the queen's expressed prohibition to touch on matters concerning reformation in church and state-her certain displeasure at what they argued was an invasion of her prerogative; and the speaker (Sir Edward Coke) requested that the bills should be allowed to remain in his hands for his perusal. Elizabeth set no bounds to her resentment; she sent for the speaker, charged him to tell the commons that parliaments were the creatures of her will, to summon or dissolve them, to nullify or give effect to their proceedings; that she was indignant at their presumption; that she forbade once more the exhibition of any bills touching the reformation of matters of state or ecclesiastical; that, in fine, she commanded him, on his allegiance, if such were exhibited, not to read them. To prove that these were not idle words, a sergeant-at-arms, by her warrant, arrested Morrice in the house, and conveyed him to Tilbury Castle.*

Elizabeth, having thus chastised the commons, sent them a bill "for keeping her majesty's subjects in their due obedience." This bill but gave a new and keener edge to the statutes of conformity already in force; it proved that any person above the age of sixteen, who refused, during the space of one month, to attend the established public worship, should be imprisoned; that such person so condemned and persisting in the offence

Journals of D'Ewes and Townsend, in Parl. Hist. I.
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during three months, should abjure the realm; and in case of refusal, or return from banishment, should be punished with death. The bill, repudiated, doubtless, by the conscience of a large majority of the commons, was yet but feebly opposed: such was their fear of the queen's displeasure and authority.*

The royal coffers having become drained (1597), the queen found herself under the necessity of applying to parliament for aid. Sir Thomas Egerton, who then filled the office of lord keeper, stated the purpose for which the parliament was called together. The duty, he said, of guarding the queen's dominions and life against the malice of "the pope, the devil, and the Spanish tyrant," and the expenses incurred by her in France, in the Netherlands, and in Ireland, obliged her majesty most reluctantly to demand supplies. The commons, without a dissentient voice, voted three subsidies, and six fifteenths and tenths, but desired that this vote might not become a precedent. The same reservation, made on other occasions, was so little attended to as to become an idle form. Such was the good temper in which Elizabeth met the commons, that it was not ruffled by their touching upon the topic of monopolies. She only begged her faithful and loving subjects not to take away her prerogative, "the chiefest flower in her garden, and head-pearl in her diadem, but rather leave her to her disposition." The clergy, in convocation, voted a subsidy of four shillings in the pound, and passed several acts

• In 1597, the exhaustion of the queen's exchequer obliged her to summon a parliament on the 24th of October. The commons elected for their speaker, Yelverton, a lawyer, who modestly requested to be excused. His request was a matter of usage and mere form; but some of his reasons were curious. "Nor from my ability," saith he, " doth this your choice proceed; for well known it is to a great number in this place now assembled, that my estate is nothing correspondent for the maintenance of this dignity; for my father, dying, left me a younger brother, and nothing to me but my bare annuity. Then growing to man's estate, and some small practice of the law, I took a wife, by whom I have had many children, the keeping of us all being a great impoverishment to my estate, and the daily living of us all nothing but my daily industry. Neither from my person nor nature doth this choice arise; for he that supplieth this place ought to be a man big and comely, stately and well-spoken; his voice great, his courage majestical, his nature haughty, and his purse plentiful and heavy; but, contrarily, the stature of my body is small, myself not so well-spoken, my voice low, my carriage lawyer-like, and of the common fashion, my nature soft and bashful, my purse thin, light, and never yet plentiful."-Parliament. Hist. i. 808.



or constitutions for the reform of abuses in the church,—more especially relating to the admission of fit persons to orders, the fees of ecclesiastical courts, and pluralities. The passing of these reforms—for there is no trace of their execution—was forced upon the convocation by the boldness with which ecclesiastical abuses were exposed by the puritans, the fear of another denunciation like that of Morrice in the House of Commons, and Elizabeth's known reluctance to execute against mere nonconformists in religion, whether puritan or papist, the sanguinary statute of the twenty-third of her reign. She regretted the execution of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, on being informed of their political loyalty; and Cartwright and several others were rescued from archbishop Whitgift and the scaffold.*

Elizabeth's reign was prolonged to the 25th of March, 1603, when she died at Richmond, in Surrey, from whence her remains were removed to Whitehall, on the 28th of April, and deposited in Henry the Seventh's chapel. Her personal character has been very variously drawn. By the writers of one party, she has been represented as eminently devout, imbued with the spirit, and influenced, both in her private and public conduct, by the principles, of religion; while their opponents have described her as a compound of dissimulation, cruelty, and lust. A medium course between these conflicting representations will be found most accordant with the facts of her history, and the known temper of her mind. No doubt can be entertained of her distinguished talents. They were of a masculine order, and were better fitted to inspire awe, and to secure obedience, than to command regard. They were more suited to the sovereign than to the female, and were shewn in the skilful selection of her counsellors, and in her steady adherence to that line of policy which her own judgment and their suggestions alike approved. She knew what was due to the dignity of her crown as well as any sovereign in Europe, and could for the most part command even her weaknesses and attachments when this was concerned. Her religion was, like that of most princes, a thing of policy and form. Protestant in name, but papist in spirit, she attended to

^{*} See Neal's History of the Puritans.

the ceremonial parts of worship, but was utterly destitute of that reverence for the Deity, without which external services cannot be pleasing in his sight. The part which Elizabeth acted in restoring the protestant church of England, has caused her to be ranked as a religious woman. Her virtues have been exaggerated, and her defects cautiously concealed, by the advocates of that church, so that her religious character has been totally misapprehended. She has received credit for principles of which she was totally destitute; and has been exhibited as a pattern of virtues, no one of which appeared in her deportment. She was strongly attached to some of the most obnoxious dogmas and rites of the Romish church; and, on more than one occasion, threatened her bishops with a reinstatement of the ancient faith. Warmly opposed to an increase of preaching ministers, she contended, with singular inconsistency, that it was good for the church to have but few, and that three or four were enough for a county: Her own attendance on their sermons was infrequent, being chiefly, if not entirely, confined to the season of Lent. She was frequently in the use of profane oaths, and sometimes treated her bishops with an insulting asperity. The bishop of London having on one occasion, when preaching before her, reflected on the vanity displayed by many persons in their apparel, she told her attendants that if he "held more discourse on such matters, she would fit him for heaven, but he should walk thither without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him." Such was the personal character of the queen, of whom the church of England boasts as her restorer and ornament.

The ecclesiastical government of Elizabeth grew naturally out

[•] Nugse, i. 170. Cox, the bishop of Ely, having refused to alienate some of the possessions of his see, for the benefit of the lord-keeper Hatton, Elizabeth wrote to him the following laconic epistle:

[&]quot; Proud prelate,

[&]quot;You know what you were before I made you what you are: if you do not immediately comply with my request, by G.— I will unfrock you.

⁻Const. Hist. i. 304. "Elizabeth."

On another occasion, she commanded Fletcher, the bishop of London, to be suspended, because he, being a widower, "married a fine lady and widow;" which arbitrary sentence was immediately executed by the obsequious Whitgift.—Strype's Whitgift, ii. 215.

of her temper and principles. Her arbitrary disposition led her to suspect and strongly to oppose the bold spirit of inquiry on which puritanism was engrafted, while her hatred of spiritual religion prompted her to discountenance and punish its most zealous advocates. The vital form which piety assumed in the ministrations of the puritans, could not fail to be offensive to a sovereign so ignorant of its nature. Her ecclesiastical administration was based on an unchristian and mischievous principle. It employed force instead of persuasion, and substituted temporal rewards for the blessings of the gospel dispensation. Her supremacy over the church was an assumption which no laws can justify, and which brought with it a thousand elements of secularity and corruption. It regarded religion as a matter of state policy, and the church as a creature of parliamentary statutes. The diffusion of the one, and the stability of the other, were sought to be advanced by the same agency as was employed in mere political affairs. Wealth and rank were conferred on the ministers of a favoured sect, who repaid the patronage which they received by vesting their appointment in the crown. The splendour of the hierarchy was thus heightened, but its piety was enfeebled. What it gained in temporal dignity it lost in moral strength. The tide of corruption set in strongly; and though its course was for a season arrested, it ultimately carried away every obstruction, and forced its noxious waters through a thousand channels.

The treatment which the puritans received from the government of Elizabeth was progressively severe. In the early part of her reign, many of the bishops were friendly to their cause, but their views were modified by the collisions which ensued. "Then," says Lord Bacon, "were they content mildly to acknowledge many imperfections in the church, as tares came up amongst the corn, which yet, according to the wisdom taught by the Saviour, were not with strife to be pulled up, lest it might spoil and supplant the good corn, but to grow on together till the harvest. After, they grew to a more absolute defence and maintenance of all the orders of the church, and stiffly to hold that nothing was to be innovated, partly because it needed not, partly because it would make a breach upon the rest. Hence, exasperated through contentions, they are fallen to a direct con-

demnation of the contrary part, as of a sect. Yea, and some indiscreet persons have been told in open preaching to use dishonourable and derogatory speech and censure of the churches abroad; and that so far, as some of our men as I have heard, ordained in foreign parts, have been pronounced to be no lawful ministers." This growing violence of opinion was accompanied with a proportionable rigour and severity. The administration of archbishop Parker, at all times of a sombre character, deepened as it advanced. It became increasingly intolerant and arbitrary; but in its worst stage it was moderate, and almost paternal, as compared with that of Whitgift. The queen seldom acted but with the concurrence, and on the advice, of the latter prelate. Many of her counsellors were averse from his proceedings, and would gladly have disarmed him of his authority. But she rebuked their interference, and gave her open countenance to his most oppressive and unconstitutional measures. herself to the counsels of an intolerant and bigoted ecclesiastic, she attempted to coerce the conscience of her subjects, and to perpetuate the system of her sister under the protestant name. But her design utterly failed. Though the puritan clergy were ejected from their benefices, were fined, imprisoned, and, in some cases, were put to death; though the press was restrained, and the privileges of parliament were invaded; though the high commission court and the star-chamber were rigorously employed to destroy the last relic of English freedom,—yet, at the queen's decease, the party disaffected to the hierarchy was more numerous, more decided in hostility to the church, and more confident of ultimate success, than at any former period of her reign.

The sufferings of the puritans during the primacy of Whitgist are not to be paralleled in the history of protestant intolerance, unless, perhaps, an exception may be made of the times of the second Charles. The number of deprivations and imprisonments which took place must have involved a mass of misery, at which humanity may well weep, and the infliction of which it becomes the virtuous of every party to reprobate. That the puritans were immaculate it would be folly to pretend. Their faults were numerous, and some of them glaring. But they were loyal subjects of the queen, and as such were entitled to the equal protec-

tion of her laws. The most envenomed hostility could not fasten upon them the charge of disaffection to her civil government, yet they were given over to the tender mercies of intolerant priests, who have ever been foremost in the career of persecution and in the shedding of human blood. The capital error of the puritans was, their imperfect acquaintance with the nature of religious liberty. Indistinct approaches to the truth are discoverable in some of their writings; but it is too evident to admit of doubt, that they were wholly unprepared to grant to others the freedom which they asked for themselves. This gave an inconsistency to their proceedings, and involved their successors in coercive measures which cannot be too severely condemned.

It is needless to recapitulate the sweeping maxims and guarded acts of despotism which have suggested this view of the character and reign of Elizabeth; but there was in it one great pervading defect, resulting from the selfishness of her character, which seems to have escaped observation. Where she was most studious to govern well, and to promote the interests of the people, she thought only of her own generation determined by her life; she checked and cut down the growth of abuses, but she rooted up no one of them; she reformed no one political institution of the country. The administration of penal justice is a disgrace to her government; the tribunals were arbitrary; the procedure, upon imperfect and impure testimony, and the confession of the accused under torture, was barbarous. She would have left the nation exposed, in its independence and religion, to all the disorders and hazards of a disputed succession. It was a thoroughly selfish expression in her last sickness, "that she knew nothing in the world worthy to trouble her." "Me peveunto peveat mundus," said one of the most selfish and odious of the Roman emperors.

LECTURE LXXVIII.

Ecclesiastical state of England during the reign of James I .-Educated a Presbyterian—His panegyric upon the Scottish kirk-Receives petitions from the Puritan clergy-Hampton Court conference-Adulation of the English clergy-James's predilection for scholastic theology-Condemns Vorstius-Commits Legatt and Wightman to the flames for heresy -Intermeddles between the French king and his protestant subjects-Negotiates a marriage between his son Charles and a catholic princess-Corresponds with the pope—Gives indulgence to the papiets— Synod of Dort-James's death and character-Is succeeded by Charles I .- His elevation and marriage -- Pecuniary embarrassments-Union of church and state-The clergy preach high prerogative doctrine-Montague, Mainwaring, and Sibthorpe-Land and Abbot-Star chamber and high-commission-court-Growth of popery, and rapid increase of Arminianism-Church government of Laud-Leighton's philippic against the clergy-Laud's merciless treatment of him-Book of sports-Prynne's "Histriomastix"-Sanguinary treatment of the author-John Lilburne prosecuted—Emigrations to America. A.D. 1600—1640.

On the demise of queen Elizabeth, the crown of England descended to her cousin, James VI., then king of Scotland, who claimed the English sceptre on the ground of hereditary right; and his first parliament had important reasons for confirming a pretension which it would have been easy to dispute. He was an imbecile monarch, and his reign is accounted the basest and most barren in English history. Peace abroad was but national

ignominy. At home, courtiers, lawyers, and the clergy, expounded the subject's duty of allegiance into a gross and servile worship, the more revolting that the person who was its object was also an object of contempt and ridicule to Europe—of contempt and disgust to those who were near enough to see his life and character, which was but little understood at the time of his ascending the throne of England.

Having been educated in the bosom of a presbyterian church, the puritans fondly anticipated his royal favour, and looked forward to a period of repose under his patronage. His professions of attachment to the church of Scotland would seem to warrant this expectation. In 1590, addressing the general assembly of the church of Scotland, he encouraged the clergy to prosecute the work of reformation; after which, to please the assembly, "he thanked God that he was born in the time of the light of the gospel, to such a place as to be king of such a kirk, the sincerest kirk in the world. The kirk of Geneva," said he. "keep pasche and yule," (Easter and Christmas,) "what have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English;they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same."

James, during his progress to London, had received several petitions from the puritan clergy—a class of men whose manners he did not much relish. Their peculiarities had often obtruded on him in his native country, as if in contempt of his own fondness of parade and indulgence; and in their popular modes of teaching and of government, he saw, or thought he saw, the nursery of that stern independence which had already imposed so many restraints on his wayward inclinations.

In his "Basilicon Doron," he tells his son to "take heed of such puritans, very pests to the church and commonweal. I protest," he continues, "before the great God,—and since I am here as upon my testament, it is no place for me to lie in,—that ye shall never find, with any highland or border thieves,

greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these fanatic spirits; and suffer not the principal of them to brook your land if ye like to sit at rest, except ye would keep them from trying your patience, as Socrates did an evil wife." James, puffed up with his abstract notions of divine right, and called continually to account, with provoking arrogance, by the Scotch preachers, must have regarded the kirk with a secret aversion more deep-rooted and sincere than his dislike of popery. A king of more force of character and capacity would have felt like him.

The puritans now presented what was called their millenary petition, from the intention, not the fact, of its being signed by a thousand ministers, "for reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses in the church," and for a conference. The king unexpectedly granted the conference, either supposing it would promote his secret views of imposing episcopacy upon the Scotch, or from the mere vanity of displaying his erudition and capacity. It took place during three alternate days, at Hampton Court, in the beginning of January, 1604. Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, Bancroft, bishop of London, with several prelates and other dignitaries, appeared on behalf of the high church; doctors Reynolds and Sparke, professors of divinity at Oxford, Chadderton and Knewstubs, of Cambridge, maintained, or rather would maintain, had they been allowed, the cause of puritanism. King James sat upon his polemic throne as "moderator." The spectators were the lords of the council, who sometimes interfered as amici curiæ. The points in dispute were not all of mere ceremonial, and some were far from being so frivolous as they are sometimes represented. Among them were the following:-That in baptism, interrogatories should not be ministered to infants; that the canonical scriptures should only be read; that

The publication of such language by James in the face of the kirk, and in Scotland, before he became king of England, has been very naturally thought strange, and accounted for by various efforts of ingenuity. The simple fact and solution seem to be, that the book was printed, not published, (See Brodie's British Empire, and Calderwood's Church History,) only a few copies being privately struck off, and as privately confided to chosen friends. The scarcity of the Scotch impression is alone proof of this.



the book of common prayer should be revised; that none but good and sufficient men be admitted to the ministry; that nonresidence, pluralities, and bishops' commendams, be abolished: that the enormous abuses of excommunication, of oaths ex officio, and of suits in the ecclesiastical courts, be corrected; that subscription to articles be less rigorously exacted. The use of the cope, the surplice, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, bowing at certain places and times, were treated, pari passu, with the foregoing questions; and the king's conduct would have given an air of ridicule to matters the most serious. It would be inconsistent in this place to enter into the dispute; suffice it to say, that the moderator, James, became a vehement, and as usual in such disputes, a scurrilous partisan. After interrupting and silencing the puritans, he asked Dr. Reynolds, "Well, doctor, have you anything more to say?" The doctor replied, "No; please your majesty;" upon which his majesty, by his own account, told a man who was among the most conversant of his time with divinity and logic, that had they thus disputed in a college, and he (the king) been moderator, he would have them "fetched up and the rod applied;" that he would have them conform, or he would hurry them out of the land,—in short, that he would have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion, in substance and ceremony; that he found the puritans aiming at the Scotch presbytery, which agreed with monarchy as God and the devil; that Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick, would be censuring, at their pleasure, him and his council; that if seven years hence he became pursy and fat, with his wind-pipe stuffed, he might hearken to the puritans, whose government would keep him in breath. Then turning to the bishops, he touched his hat, and said, "My lords, if you were once out, and they in your place, I know what would become of my supremacy; for no bishop, no king." Bancroft, who had before thrown himself on his knees, and implored his majesty "to stop the mouth of a schismatic," was again on his knees, protesting "his heart melted for joy that Almighty God had, in his singular mercy, given them such a king as had not been seen since Christ's time." The chancellor Egerton said, "he had never seen the king and priest so fully united in one person;" and archbishop Whitgift cried

out, "that his majesty spoke by the Spirit of God." The result, or one of the results, was, that the king caused the common prayer book to be reprinted with some amendments, and a proclamation ordering conformity prefixed; thus altering, by his single act and authority, a form of worship established by act of parliament. Whitgift soon died, it was said of grief for the slight amendments, and was succeeded by Bancroft.

It should be added, that the puritans who sought relief were at that time scarcely less intolerant and unreasonable than the bishops. The bishops would impose upon reluctant consciences the cope, surplice, cross, and ring; the puritans would withhold them from those who felt it a point of conscience to employ them; whilst the king, in his supremacy over both, claimed the right to dictate the religion of the people, in the plenitude of his wisdom and prerogative. The puritans were as dissatisfied as might be expected; the bishops were alarmed at the king's altering the book of common prayer without reference to the clergy in convocation; and a third party of political puritans were justly incensed by the king's assumption of a despotic power in all matters, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

James, who trembled at the sight, if not at the idea, of a drawn sword, was ever ready to rush with inconsiderate valour into the congenial war of scholastic theology. The celebrated Arminius was succeeded in his professorship at Leyden by Conrad Vorstius. The more rigid Calvinists accused the latter of heterodoxy; he vindicated himself publicly before the states-general at the Hague; and the matter was supposed at rest. But the king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, thought himself called upon to interfere, as defender of the faith and the greatest of theologians. He insisted that Vorstius should be deprived of his professorship; informed the states that he had already caused the obnoxious books of Vorstius to be burned by the hands of the common hangman of England; insisted that they should receive the same treatment in Holland; hinted broadly, that no injustice would be done by committing the author also to the flames; and, in fine. declared that "he would not write, but fight, rather than Vorstins should rest in Leyden." The points in dispute were,-the infinity, immensity, ubiquity, incorporeity, immutability, eternity,

of Christ. Without touching upon these points, it may be safely assumed that the cause of Vorstius was that of justice and reason. On his side were, Barneveldt, Grotius, the states-general; against him, king James, prince Maurice, zealot preachers, and the ignorant populace. Winwood, then minister at the Hague, lent himself with such servile and hollow violence to the absurdities of his master, that James himself became somewhat sensible of his folly, rebuked the sycophant, and the states compromised the affair by a partial injustice. They consented to the removal of Vorstius pending a final judgment, to be pronounced by the reformed churches of France, Geneva, Switzerland, and the Palatinate,

Carte, without giving his authority, charges archbishop Abbot with having persuaded the king to meddle in the affairs of Vorstius. The archbishop, supposing the fact to be so, was guilty only of abetting a person already well disposed to make himself ridiculous. But the hierarchy are responsible, beyond all question, as his advisers and accomplices in a transaction of the same kind, and of deeper guilt, which places him in the annals of persecution by the side of Mary, and protestant episcopacy by the side of the inquisition. A person named Bartholomew Legatt professed Arian opinions,—that is, rejected the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, with much scripture erudition and fanatical zeal. The king sent for him several times, and tried to argue him out of his errors. This was well. The royal schoolman, dexterously pursuing the Socratic method, asked him whether he prayed to Christ, intending to deduce from the affirmative an admission of Christ's identity with the Godhead. Legatt replied "that he had prayed, indeed, to Christ in the days of his ignorance, but not for the last seven years." "Away!" said the king, in choler, spurning him with his foot, "it shall never be said that one stayed in my presence who never prayed to our Saviour for seven years together!" The king was naturally shocked, and his conduct can scarcely be condemned. But the unbappy Arian was now taken in hands by the bishop of London, who, in the consistory of St. Paul's, adjudged him a contumacious and incorrigible heretic, and in the abominable cant of persecution, handed him over to the secular power. The king issued his writ de hæretice

comburendo, and the sheriff of London saw Legatt burned "to ashes" in Smithfield. Another Arian, named Edward Wightman, handed over in the same way by the bishop of Coventry to his majesty's writ and the sheriff of Warwickshire, was burned at Lichfield.

(1611.) The multitude beheld the Smithfield fire with compassionate horror; but Fuller, the church historian and divine, could muster no more charity than to exclaim, " Oh that he (the sufferer) might be the last to deserve it;" whilst Stowe, the chronicler, without even the scanty humanity of this bigot prayer, coolly records that "Edward Wightman, another obstinate heretic and baptist, was burned at Lichfield." The impression made by these executions upon the multitude, suggested to the bishops and to the king, or to the king alone, some doubts whether such examples, however orthodox, were politic and salutary. king accordingly," says Fuller, "preferred that heretics hereafter should silently and privately waste themselves away in prison." Persecution, indeed, put out her torch of death in England; but though men no longer burned, they vexed, harassed, and tormented, and they continue to hate each other to this day for religion. It is strange that religious intolerance, a factitious, not an innate passion, unknown to paganism, should take such root. The reason may possibly be found in its amalgamation with worldly interests.

James had no other intercourse with France than his meddling, and, under the circumstances, impertinent interference between Louis XIII. and his protestant subjects. The French ministers desired, in return, that he would cease to persecute his own subjects of the church of Rome; and, if they did not reduce him to silence, deprived him of all right to speak. It is, indeed, a standing anomaly in English history and character, that whilst the English commons were urging James to alleviate, by his influence and authority, the pressure of intolerant government upon their protestant brethren abroad, they urged him no less engerly to persecute papists at home; thus at once violating that principle which should be, to Christians, "the law and the propheti"—to do as they would be done by; and defeating with one hand the object which they sought with the other. Such is intolerance:

it knows neither justice, prudence, nor humanity. foreign relations were centered in one object—the marriage of his son with the princess of Spain, sister of Philip IV. In this were involved the filling of his treasury, and the restoration of his son-in-law. Digby, created earl of Bristol, was accredited to Spain, as special envoy, to negotiate it, and sent home favourable accounts of his progress: the chief difficulty was the difference, or rather opposition, of religion. Philip could not give his sister in marriage to a protestant prince, without a papal dispensation; and both Philip and the pope were not merely desirous, but determined, to secure terms of indulgence and security for the English Roman catholics. James took the hazardous step of writing to the pope, but with the utmost secrecy.* In his letter, he desired that the pope should withdraw the jesuits out of England-with the design, probably, of removing one great cause of jealousy to his subjects; whilst, in execution of his pledges to the pope and King of Spain, he was giving new cause of alarm by relaxing the penal laws against Roman catholics. These relaxations were already begun by him. He ordered a suspension of all proceedings against recusants, and discharged those who were in prison. The Spanish match was still not only a mystery of state, upon which none were to speak or write, but a secret which was only suspected. James, to quiet the jealousy of his subjects, and mask his proceedings, gave out that his lenity to papists was to afford him a ground for demanding more tolerant usage of their protestant brethren in other countries. This pretence did not impose upon the excusable jealousy of one part of his protestant subjects; still less did it satisfy the ardent zeal of those numerous protestants who regarded popery as idolatry—that is, a monstrous offence to God, which it was a Christian duty to exterminate by fire and sword. Papists, on the other hand, viewed heresy in the same light. Thus one half of Christendom was bound in conscience to persecute, even unto death, the other for the honour of God! This is a dark but a true view of human life. It is a sad reality.

The indulgence granted to papists excited a ferment, especially

^{*} Hardwick's State Papers, i., 458-469.

among the puritans. A young clergyman of Oxford, named Knight, preaching at St. Peter's, maintained that "inferior magistrates had the right to order and direct the king if he did amiss;" quoting, in support of this principle, the speech of Trajan on delivering a sword to the chief of his guard: " Use this in my defence, if I govern the empire well; against me, if I govern ill." The vice-chancellor called for the sermon, and having read it, sent the preacher to answer for himself in person before the king. The royal theologian asked him where he had learned such doctrines? He declared that he had imbibed them from the works of Parœus, a Calvinist divine, of Heidelberg; had the prudence to make the necessary excuses; and was dismissed by the king with his notions re-adjusted. The king, however, thought it necessary to check opinions so heterodox and dangerous: he began by causing the works of Parceus to be burned by both Universities. Oxford, for its better justification, condemned several specific opinions of Parœus, as false, seditious, impious, and heretical, and issued the following declaration: - "That according to the canon of holy scripture, it was not lawful for the subject to resist his sovereign by force of arms; or make war against him, either offensive or defensive, whether for the cause of religion, or on any other pretence whatever." All graduates, living within the verge of the University, were further enjoined to subscribe both the censure of Parceus, and the declaration; and all candidates for degrees, to subscribe and swear that they did not, and never would, hold, teach, preach, or maintain, any opinion to the contrary of the said censures and decree. His majesty's instructions of June, 1616, against the preposterous method of learning divinity, were ordered to be hung up in all chapels, halls, and colleges, for the benefit of the students, "who," says Carte, "were thus gradually weaned from the blind deference that used to be paid to the writings of Calvin and his disciples." His majesty's provident care did not rest here: he issued general directions, that "no preacher, under the degree of a bishop or dean, should deviate from the subject of his text into any commonplace not comprehended and warranted in substance, effect, or by natural inference, in some of the articles and homilies of the church of England; nor should presume to preach in any popular

auditory on the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation, or the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's grace; but leave those subjects to be handled by learned men, problematically and modestly, in schools and universities:" "that no preacher should causelessly fall into bitter invectives or indecent railings against the papists or puritans;" with other charges, under pain of suspension, by the bishop of the diocese, for a year and a day. It is obvious that the king, like his grandson, threw his shield over the puritans for the sake of the papists; but there is this difference,—that James I. restrained, but James II. gave, freedom. The effect was such as any man of temperate and clear judgment would have foreseen-a more violent and formidable outcry, not against the growth, but against the designed introduction of popery in the train of the Spanish princess. James yet persevered in the Spanish match. It has been remarked as extraordinary, that with his constitutional timidity, he manifested no fear of the passion either of his parliament or his people. It must have been because he had not sense enough to perceive his danger. He had no more idea of insurrection or resistance among his subjects than among his pack of hounds,the one he thought might be clamorous, like the other, and might be silenced in the same way-by chastisement. His unhappy delusion was confirmed by those criminal or misguided ecclesiastics who encouraged him in the blasphemous infatuation that he was God's vicegerent, and by such canons of spiritual and temporal slavery as the declaration of the University of Oxford. He did not live to feel the disastrous and extreme effects which were seen in the martyrdom of his son, the exile of his grandson, and ruin of his house.

(1618.) King James was at this time invited to take a part in the religious disputes which then raged in the United Provinces. In this congenial field of controversy, he conducted himself with unusual moderation. The dispute in Holland was called, in the jargon of schoolmen, the quinquarticular controversy. The two contending parties were the Arminians and Gomarists. The main question was, whether faith saved as faith, or as faith accompanied with works. The latter opinion was maintained by the Arminians, whilst the Gomarists espoused the

Calvinistic tenets. And now that the once famous controversy is brought before us, I must make a short digression, while I introduce a remark concerning it, which I remember to have met with in the course of my reading; and it is to the following effect. Although there were a number of eminent divines convened at this "synod," it seems there were but few that opposed Arminius on the grounds that Gomarus did. This last-mentioned divine was chiefly concerned about the ground of our acceptance with God, as he understood the doctrine to be affected by that controversy. The greater part of the disputants chose to make the controversy turn upon another hinge, contending about "grace and free-will," and what influence these had in the conversion of a sinner. Now the consequence of this change of the Arminian controversy, from that way in which Gomarus held it, was a great alteration in the strain of preaching, even amongst the most zealous Calvinists. For, in place of free justification by God's grace, through the redemption that there is in the blood of Christ -a doctrine strenuously insisted on by the reformers against the church of Rome, even as it had been before by the apostles against the Jews and Judaizing Christians, they now began to insist much more in their sermons on free, electing grace, but especially on the efficacious power of that grace in the conversion of the elect, working unfeigned faith in them, and turning them to God in a sincere repentance. And when this took the place of the answer of a good conscience towards God by the resurrection of Christ from the dead, as the spring of the Christian religion, it was attended with large descriptions, how a man should feel or find himself under the operation of that free and efficacious grace, calling him effectually, regenerating, and converting him to receive Christ by a true faith and repentance unto life; while the things set forth in these descriptions were not things accompanying salvation, like the work and labour of love, the fruit of faith in the blood of the Son of God, shed for the remission of sins. The effect of this strain of doctrine upon them that hearkened to it was, their seeking peace with God, and rest to their consciences, by what they might feel in themselves, the motions of their hearts, and the exercises of their souls, &c. But to return from this digression, James had already deprived,

silenced, or driven by terror out of the country, the Arminian clergy, and the council was composed only of his partisans. Foreign reformed churches were invited to send deputies, but the invitations were restricted to the Calvinist churches. Maurice, who convoked the synod, remembering the zeal of James against Vorstius, invited him to send representatives; and he accordingly sent five divines, who, in the beginning of November, arrived at Dort. James had discovered his mistake in the affair of Vorstius, in which he, perhaps, was led by the Calvinist archbishop Abbot to support the tenets of the English puritans, whom James abhorred. He found Arminianism more congenial to his cherished episcopacy; and, with singular moderation, said, "both sides of the question were compatible with Christian unity." The Gomarists, who alone constituted the tribunal, and admitted Arminians to appear only as culprits, soon quarrelled among themselves, and tore each other over their defenceless prey. The synod was protracted to the following month of May, and the English divines came away in disgust.

This reformed synod treated the Arminians, though protestants like themselves, with as much rigour and injustice as had ever been employed against heretics by any of the papal councils down to that of Trent. More than a hundred Arminian pastors were expelled from their churches and their country.

But we must dismiss the reign of this pedantic and imbecile monarch, who died on the 27th of March, 1625, at Theobalds; the effect of habitual intemperance, gout, and vexation, which produced what physicians term a tertian fever. With regard to his character, it may seem strange that there should be any conflicting opinions; yet it is a fact that few princes have been more complimented and flattered in their life-time, or more extolled after their death. Archbishop Whitgift declared to his face, that he was "the most excellent monarch that ever sat upon the throne of England." And bishop Laud observes of him, that the sweetness of his nature was scarcely to be paralleled, and little less than a miracle. "Clemency, mercy, justice, and peace," says he, "were all eminent in him, and he was the most learned and religious prince that England ever knew." Such was the adulation of court sycophants, and such the honeyed accents that

flowed sweetly, no doubt, into the ears of the interested minious of the day; but what say the records of history? James was artful without skill; timorous without caution; overbearing, and yet destitute of dignity; self-opinionated, and yet the dupe of favourites; possessing all the pedantry of learning, without its illumination; vain of admiration, and yet possessing nothing that deserved it; ambitious to rule, and yet too indolent to act; voluptuous and profane, and yet anxious to establish his fame for piety; he had the inclinations of a despot, and the imbecility of a child. One of the principal traits in his character was hypocrisy, which he sagely styled kingcraft; but the disguise he assumed was for the most part so awkwardly adjusted, that scarcely an effort was required to perceive his intentions. His notions of prerogative were extravagant, and had his courage been equal to his despetic humour, he would have been the greatest scourge of modern times. His tame submission to the suggestions of his prelates was dishonourable to him as a monarch, and his cruelty to the puritans disgraceful to him as a man. In fine, to use the language of bishop Burnet, "he was the scorn of his age; a mere pedant, without true judgment, courage, or steadiness, his reign being a continued course of mean practices."

The character of his bishops may easily be collected from what has been now said of them. Whitgift was not destitute of estimable qualities, but he was a relentless persecutor. Bancroft exceeded him in cruelty, and was at the same time destitute of his virtues. His zeal against the puritans raised him first to the bishopric of London, and afterwards to the see of Canterbury. His temper was irascible, but meanly submissive to the royal will; haughty to those whom he had in his power; penurious in his habits, and mean in his appearance,—a complete contrast in this respect to Whitgift, who exhibited the grandeur of a sovereign pontiff.

Charles I., born on the 19th of November, at Dunfermline castle, in Scotland, succeeded to the crown of three kingdoms, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, on the 27th of March, 1625. Upon being informed that his father had expired, he made it known that he should indulge his grief for that day. Thus early was he familiar with the art of imposing decorum for morality.

Arrived next morning at Whitehall, from beside his father's remains, at Theobalds, with the attendance only of Dr. Preston, his puritan chaplain, and the duke of Buckingham, his bosom friend, he re-appointed the council and renewed the commissions of the late king. The only change was the nomination of Sir Albertus Moreton, as secretary of state, in the room of Sir George Calvert, disqualified by his avowing himself a Roman catholic, and retired with the title of lord Baltimore.

One of his first public acts was to sign, as king, his marriage contract, which he had already signed, as prince, with Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter of Henry IV., and Mary, of Medicis, queen-mother of France. The ceremony was performed at Paris, on the 1st of May,—the duke of Chevreuse, of the house of Lorraine, representing his kinsman, the bridegroom,—and the duke of Buckingham went upon his gallant embassy to bring over the bride.

Montague, one of the king's chaplains, republished, upon the king's accession, a book which archbishop Abbot had censured in the preceding year. It produced a ferment in the house of commons. Complaint was made that its Arminian tenets tended to produce heresy and anarchy, contravened the articles of religion, and were designed to reconcile the English nation to the church of Rome. The author was taken into custody of the sergeant-at-arms, commanded to appear at the bar of the house of commons, and rescued by the king, who informed the house that it was for him, and not for the commons, to take cognizance of the conduct of his chaplain. The commons asserted their right to take cognizance of the conduct of the chaplain, or any other servant of the king, and required bail in £2000, from Montague before they discharged him.

The three subsidies and six-fifteenths voted by the late parliament were now expended; it was estimated that to defray the charges of war would require £700,000 a year; the king had debts, public or personal, incurred by his father or himself, exceeding £600,000; and to meet these engagements and charges, in the absence of the tonnage and poundage duties, he had only a supply of two subsidies, or about £145,000. Lord Conway, the chief secretary, thanked the commons, in the king's name,

for their supply of two subsidies; reminded them of its inadequacy, stated the king's wants, and requested their further counsels. The speech of the secretary dropped still-born; the ravages of the plague continued to increase in London, and the king adjourned the parliament to the 1st of August, when it should be held at Oxford.

In the following year (1626), the king made individual application to the noblemen of the kingdom for liberal contributions by way of loan. He made a peremptory demand upon the city of London for a loan of £100,000; he further called upon the city to furnish twenty ships for the defence of the kingdom against invasion from Spain or Flanders; similar orders were sent to the sea-port towns. The city of London prayed the council, on the ground of inability, for a reduction, both of the amount of the loan and the quota of ships. The deputy lieutenants of Weymouth, Poole, and Lyme, objected to the order for fitting out ships as unwarrantable, and also petitioned the council; the petitioners in both cases were answered with a rebuke. They were told, "That the precedents of former times were obedience, and not direction, and precedents were not wanting for the punishment of disobedience to the commands of the king." Privy seals were sent to some, a benevolence was proposed to others, and the parties were rated in amount according to the scale of the four subsidies resolved, but not granted, by the late parliament, with a declaration that this was not to be regarded as a subsidy, but as a free contribution from the subject to the sovereign in a crisis of public danger. The holders of crown property were called upon to accept a better tenure upon higher terms, on payment of fines. Commissions were issued to deputy-lieutenants to muster and array troops, and try offences by martial law,—as in the cases of invasion or insurrection. A royal fleet was fitted out and ready at Portsmouth, ostensibly destined against the Barbary pirates.

The king's measures of finance proved as unproductive as they were arbitrary. He found himself reduced to the necessity of a forced loan. Advantage was taken of the recent disaster of the king of Denmark, completely routed by the imperial general, Tilly, on the 27th of August, at Sittern. The council, after

some days deliberation, came to the resolution, "That the urgency of affairs not admitting the way of parliament, the most speedy, equal, and convenient means, were by a general loan from the subject, according as each was assessed in the last subsidy." Charles promised repayment within a year, and gave his assurance that the loan should not be drawn into a precedent.

The clergy preached the loan by royal command. Laud, recently promoted to the see of Bath and Wells, was charged to draw up instructions to that effect in the king's name, to be communicated to the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of the realm. Laud's grand design was a confederacy of the church and state against the laws and liberties of the people. It is expressly avowed, in the opening of these instructions, "We have observed that the church and the state are so nearly united and knit together, that, though they may seem two bodies, yet indeed, in some relation, they may be accounted but as one, inasmuch as they are both made up of the same men, which are differenced only in relation to spiritual or civil ends. This nearness makes the church call in the help of the state to succour and support her, whensoever she is pressed beyond her strength. And the same nearness makes the state call in for the service of the church, both to teach that duty which her members know not, and to exhort them to, and encourage them in, that duty which they know. It is not long since we ordered the state to serve the church, and by a timely proclamation, settled the peace of it; and now the state looks for the like assistance from the church, that she and all her ministers may serve God and us by preaching peace and unity at home, that it may be the better able to resist foreign force, uniting and multiplying against it." This use of the clergy by the king was not without precedent. Elizabeth was accustomed "to tune the pulpits," as she expressed it, for her purposes. But the spirit of the age was no longer the same, and it was the great misfortune of Charles that he could not bring himself to bow to this change and its resistless necessities.

(1627.) Two divines rendered themselves conspicuous by the criminal servility of their sermons. Dr. Mainwaring, one of the royal chaplains, preached two sermons "highly against the

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power of parliament," says Whitelock, "before the king and court at Whitehall."

The king, he said, was not bound by the law concerning the rights of the subject, and his will in imposing taxes without the consent of parliament obliged the subject's conscience, on pain of eternal damnation! Dr. Sibthorpe, vicar of Brackley, in Northamptonshire, preached at Northampton an assize sermon, in which he taught, on the authority of the word of God, that the prince, who is the head of the council, is to direct and make laws; and if the prince command anything which is against the laws of God or of nature, yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment without resisting, railing, or reviling, and to yield a passive obedience when they cannot exhibit an active one. He deduced this doctrine from the following text, "Render therefore to all their dues," and proved it by the following citation: "He doth whatsoever pleaseth him; who may say unto him, what doest thou?" Impiety and blasphemy are words used so frequently for the purposes of imposture, or as mere signs without definite meaning, that they are rarely admissible in the honest search or expression of truth. But if any offence can with propriety be called impious and blasphemous, it surely is this abuse of the name of God in a confederacy of priestcraft with royalty to rob a people of their property and liberty, to debase them to grovelling slaves, not only without liberty or property, but without Sibthorpe was one of those hireling gladiators in the arena of polemics, who recommended themselves for advancement in the church by exaggeration and audacity. He made a fair copy of his sermon, entitled it "Apostolic Obedience," and got a bishop or two, says archbishop Abbot, "to prefer this great service to the duke." Buckingham approved it as an orthodox and apostolic performance, and archbishop Abbot received the king's commands to license it for the press. Abbot, after some preliminary evasions, refused to license it. The bishop of London, more complying, gave his allowance for its being printed, and Abbot was suspended.

It was not one of his ordinary duties to act as licenser, and he distinctly intimates—whilst others expressly assert—that the king's command was the suggestion of Laud, who expected to profit by his disgrace. Laud became, in point of fact, one of the com-

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missioners who exercised the functions of the archbishop. His influence in the commission was doubtless such as to place the archiepiscopal patronage at his disposal. The drawing up of the instructions had already obtained him the deanery of the chapel royal, vacant by the death of bishop Andrews. "This man," (Laud,) says Abbot, "is the only inward counsellor with Buckingham, sitting with him sometimes privately for whole hours, and feeding his humour with malice and spite." Such is the language of one prelate speaking of another, with whom he was joined in spiritual communion for many years! Indiscreet resentment made him throw aside the mask, and reveal to the laity the dangerous secret, that the right reverend fathers of the church were as accessible to spite, malice, worldly intrigue, and rancorous hatred, even against each other, as other men.

Parliament was prorogued from the 20th of October, 1628, to the 20th of January, 1629. The king meanwhile prepared new matter of angry debate. The suppression of Montague's book and Mainwaring's sermons, and the inhibition, at the same time, against "preaching, reading, or making books, pro or contra, in the Arminian controversy," proved to be a stratagem to silence the puritans. The proscribed books were already in circulation beyond the reach of suppression; and the inhibition applied only to the expected replies.

The terrors of the star-chamber and high commission could not keep down the zeal of the puritans, and several offenders against the proclamations, among whom were Burton and Prynne, were now under prosecution in the latter court. Gill, a clergyman, denounced to the star-chamber for expressions in which there was more of careless levity than malice, and spoken in the college cellar, was condemned by that horrible tribunal to be degraded from his degree and ministry, to pay a fine of two thousand pounds, and to lose both his ears, one at Oxford, the other at London.

Religious matters, comprising the growth of popery, and the encouragement of Arminianism, were next taken up. Of the jesuit community, already stated to have been unearthed at Clerkenwell, several were tried capitally at the sessions of the Old Bailey, but only one found guilty. Richardson, the sitting

judge, was accused in the house of commons of criminal partiality to the prisoners, whose guilt he was said to have screened by refusing to hear evidence; and the king, staying the execution of the only convict, was alluded to in the inhuman spirit of fanaticism and persecution, which unhappily characterized the puritan or presbyterian party in that age. There might be some excuse for demanding from the king the execution of laws which were acknowledged essential to the public safety by all but the victims; but there can be none for clamouring for the blood of a single fellow-creature, whose only crime was his being a papist, a jesuit, or a priest. The cry against Arminianism may be thought still more groundlessly fanatical. But when the case is viewed more closely it will appear otherwise. The spurious Arminianism of Laud was not a matter of mere dogma; it was an engine created to give the king, as head of the church, a power like that of the pope over the rights, ceremonies, and faith of the people; it was a barrier to exclude the Calvinistic party, (who were all the most popular and independent divines,) from the rich gifts of the church; and its essence was to maintain the king's absolute power over the liberty and property of the subject, by prostituting the authority of the spiritual character, in wicked denunciations of the wrath of God and eternal perdition upon what they called the impious treason of men, who only resisted the robbery of their estates, and the oppression of their persons. Such was the Arminianism of Montague, Sibthorpe, and Mainwaring, whose pardon and promotion were severely handled by the commons, but without any specific result.

Laud began already to play the high priest, upon being raised to the see of London. He caused a reprint of the Thirty-nine Articles, with the final inhibition already stated against all controversy prefixed.* The printers got up a petition against it, which was stopped on its way to the king. But the pretensions

This preface contains the following curious reasoning upon the Thirty-nine Articles:—"We take comfort in this, that all clergymen within our realm have always most willingly subscribed the articles, which is an argument that they all agree in the true usual literal meaning of them; and that in those curious points in which the present differences lie, men of all sorts take the articles to be for them, which is an argument, again, that none of them intend any desertion of the articles established."



of Laud were severely animadverted on in the house of commons. There is something whimsical in the rhetoric of some of the speakers. "I desire," said Rous, "it may be considered what new paintings have been laid upon the old face of her of Babylon, to make her show more lovely. I desire we may look into the belly and bowels of this Trojan horse, to see if there be not men in it ready to open the gates of Romish tyranny; for an Arminian is the spawn of a papist." Pym laid down the following sweeping apophthegm of parliamentary supremacy and persecution: -- "It belongs to parliament to establish true religion and to punish false." "I remember," said Sir John Elliot. "a character I. have seen in a diary of king Edward VI., where he says of the bishops, that some for age, some for ignorance, some for luxury, and some for popery, were unfit for discipline and government." Oliver Cromwell denounced Neil, bishop of Winchester, for his favours to Arminian divines. Neil was the same bishop who burned the unhappy Arian before his palace gates at Lichfield, in the late reign. The commons, in fine, entered into a protest under the name of avowing the truth of the Articles, in the sense of their establishment, 13 Eliz., and against the sense of Jesuits and Arminians. Laud "laying aside," says Heylin, "the dignity of his place and person, answered the vow of the commons. It was," he said, "against the king's declaration,"that is, his own impugned preface to the articles in the king's name. There are few more glaring instances of the fallacy in reasoning called petitio principii, or begging the question. The following dilemma put by him is more imposing—" Is there by this act," says his lordship, "any interpretation of the Articles or not? If none, to what end is the act? If a sense of interpretation be declared, what authority have laymen to make it; for interpretation of an article belongs to them only that have power to make it."

The church government of Laud did more to irritate and rouse the nation than the impost of ship-money. His high-pre-rogative divinity gave less offence than his innovations, so called, in dogma and ceremonial. Had he confined the Montagues, Sibthorpes, and Mainwarings, to the promulgation of divine right and passive obedience, it would have been endured. But

whilst the puritans maintained that election and reprobation were arbitrary, predestinate, and of necessity, the Laudists propagated the Arminian heresy—that redemption was universal, that God gave free-will and divine grace sufficient for salvation to all mankind, that pagans and even papists might be saved; and their corruptions of the protestant faith became intolerable.

Laud, according to lord Clarendon, (1630,) found many churches in a state of most indecent slovenliness and rain; the building neglected by the people, the chancel by the parson; the communion table in the body of the church desecrated by common uses and the "approach of dogs;" whilst the clergy in some instances affected to disuse the surplice; and puritan preachers, under the name of lecturers, thinned the congregations of the establishment. Abbot tolerated all this with the equivocal indulgence of one whose conscience was Calvinistic, while his love of pomp and revenue was archiepiscopal. The new bishop of London issued instructions in the king's name, extending therefore over the whole kingdom: "catechising" he substituted for "lecturing;" he ordered that the surplice and hood be worn in reading divine service; the gown, not a cloak, in preaching in market towns; that no person not qualified by law should entertain a chaplain; and that no minister "unwilling to take upon him a living with cure of souls" should be admitted a lecturer. caused churches to be repaired, adorned, and re-consecrated. The communion table was removed, and railed in at the eastern end of the chancel, the interior hung with pictures, the windows painted, and the re-consecration, after this process, performed with much pomp and pageantry, and a theatric display of ceremonial observances. Laud, in fine, was reproached with introducing corrupt doctrine and idolatrous worship into the bosom of the church; and the protestant mind, be it religious independence or fanatical zeal, revolted against him.

The three most eminent churchmen of this epoch (1633), Abbot, Laud, and Williams,—seem to have regarded each other with a hatred truly theological. It would seem that the rivalries of ambition and interest in the laity, though more violent, are rarely so envenomed. The two last now concentrated their animosity upon each other.

Laud, upon his first appearing in the king's presence after the vacancy of Lambeth, was welcomed with the title of "My Lord's Grace of Canterbury." The appointment was doubtless a matter tacitly, if not expressly, settled in the minds of both. It was at this crisis of his fortunes that the court of Rome offered Laud to make him a cardinal. The fact would probably be doubted if it were not recorded in his diary, and avowed by him on his trial. He instantly made it known to the king, as it was his duty at the peril of his life. The offer was repeated in a fortnight after, and refused by him as before, with this answer, "that somewhat dwelt within him, which would not suffer him, till Rome was other than it is." This language, recorded by Laud himself, with no witness but his conscience, does not bear out the charge against him on his trial, but conveys a distinct implication, that he was willing to listen to Rome upon terms of compromise. The offer was made indirectly by a foreign ambassador, or by the pope's nuncio, and probably would have been performed. The court of Rome had great hopes of Laud, and, ever vigilant, ever aspiring, still cherished the project of restoring its communion in England.

Laud's proceedings were distinguished by a curious mixture of relapsed discipline, which would now be called liberal and rational, with punishments the most horrible. Leighton, a Scotch divine, and father of the bishop of that name, addressed to the last parliment of Charles, a publication entitled "Sion's Plea against Prelacy." The press, during the sitting of parliament, was employed, not with freedom, but with savage ferocity. This bold and uncompromising minister styled the bishops "men of blood." and called upon the parliament "to smite them under the fifth rib," vouched prelacy to be "unchristian" and "satanical," the canons "nonsense," kneeling at the sacrament "the spawn of the beast," and the queen "an idolatress," "a Canaanite," and "the daughter of the Heth." The star-chamber sentenced him to be whipped, his ears cropped, his nose slit, his cheeks branded, -these barbarities to be protracted and repeated with ingenious cruelty, together with degradation and perpetual imprisonment. Laud is said, perhaps untruly, to have taken off his cap in the

star-chamber, and thanked God for so just a sentence. It was executed with a fidelity to the letter and spirit which excited the compassion and horror of the people. The atrocity of the libel—for it was atrocious—was forgotten.

Two of the judges, Richardson and Denham, on the western circuit, upon complaint made, prohibited "wakes, ales," and other revels on Sunday, which the puritans called the sabbath. Complaints of this prohibition were made to the council. represented to the king that the judges had invaded the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by directing their order to be read in churches without consent of the diocesan; and Richardson having been commanded to attend the council, and rebuked by it, retracted the order. The justices of Somersetshire, with lord Paulet at their head, were about to petition the king against the revocation of the order of the judges, and the impiety of amusements on Sundays, when he anticipated them by issuing his late "sacred majesty's charter of Sunday recreations, set forth in his royal book of sports." Laud, in this, as in some other instances, suffered injustice. He began by writing to the bishop of the diocese for information. The bishop in reply said, that "the feasts and revels" had led to some few excesses and abuses; but that the suppression of them was generally unacceptable; and that they produced among the people mutually benevolent feelings and acts of charity. Laud declared that he would not

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The execution of the sentence is recorded as follows, by Laud, in his diary, (Nov. 1630:)—"Friday, November 16th, part of his sentence was executed upon him in this manner, in the new palace at Westminster, in term time.

[&]quot;1. He was severely whipped before he was put into the pillory.

[&]quot; 2. Being set in the pillory, he had one of his ears cut off.

[&]quot; 3. One side of his nose slit.

^{*4.} Branded on one check with a red-hot iron with the letters S. S., signifying a stirrer up of sadition, and afterwards carried back again prisoner to the Fleet, to be kept in close custody.

[&]quot;And on that day seven-night, his sores upon his back, ear, nose, and face, being not cured, he was whipped again at the pillory is Cheapside, and there had the well mainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of the nose, and branding the other cheek. Leighton was released, after ten years' captivity, by the long parliament. He had lost his sight, hearing, and the use of his limbs."

have the people debarred of their favourite recreations upon any frivolous pretences to gratify "humorists;" and acted accordingly.

Whilst the people were indulging in feasts and revels, the king and queen amused themselves with plays, masques, and dancing at court. Prynne published, at this period, his "Histriomastix," of which few readers of the present day know more than the title. It was a huge volume of learning and scurrility against plays, masques, dances, maypoles, feasts, and perukes, with "occasional" and fierce digressions upon church music and discipline. Among the inculpated parts which admit of citation, were his assertion that "plays were the chief delight of the devil;" that "the devil was honoured in dancing;" that "our shorn and frizzled English ladies had lost their modesty;" that "church-music was not the voice of men, but rather a bleating of brute beasts, the choristers bellowing tenor, oxen, or barking counterpoint as a kennel of dogs, or roaring out treble like bulls, or grunting out a bass as it were a number of hogs." The book was the labour of several years of misanthropic temper and brooding fanaticism. The author had made several attempts, in vain, to get it licensed for the press. He denounced, as particularly heinous, the appearance of males in female characters on the stage. One of the licensers to whom he applied put this question to him: "Suppose, Mr. Prynne, you, as a Christian, were persecuted by pagans, think you not you did well if you disguised yourself in your maid's apparel?" to which the rigid puritan replied, that he "thought himself bound rather to yield to death." A part only was at last read and licensed by Buckner, chaplain to archbishop Abbot, and Prvnne published the whole.

No immediate notice was taken of the "Histriomastix." The queen acted a part in a pastoral at Somerset House in a few weeks after the publication. Laud and some other prelates, with their court instruments, took advantage of the queen's performance to exasperate the king against the author, and the very next day pointed out to him an expression too gross to be cited, which they said was intended for the queen and her pastoral, though the book had been published six weeks before. This statement, made by Whitelock, is scarcely credible. Common

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prudence, no less than respect for truth, would prevent a suggestion so obviously false, and so easy to be exposed. At the same time there is enough to warrant the suspicion that Prynne had in view the queen's known fondness for balls, masques, and other court gaieties. "The king, though thus exasperated," says Whitelock, "would have left the author unpunished, if Laud had not got Heylin, then one of his chaplains, to make garbled extracts from the book, which were submitted by the archbishop to Noy, the attorney-general. Prynne, with Sparkes the publisher, Buckner the licenser, and other persons employed in printing the book, were brought by information into the starchamber. Noy carried on the prosecution with the rancour of a renegade. It is worth remarking, that he disclaimed studiously touching those parts which reflected upon the church and the clergy. He was commanded, he said, to omit them in the information, and he should merely recommend them to the cognizance of the ecclesiastical commission. The command, doubtless, came from Laud, who, like Bangroft, aspired to emancipate the church from temporal jurisdiction. The speeches of the judges are recorded fully, and are well worth perusal. Lord Dorset distinguished himself by his wit and humanity."* The sentence upon Prynne was expulsion from Oxford and the bar, a fine of £5,000, the loss of both his ears, the pillory twice, the burning of

^{*} The following are his words in giving sentence: - " Mr. Prynne, I do declare to be a schism-maker in the church, a sedition sower in the commonwealth, a welf in sheep's clothing, in a word, omnium malorum nequissimus. I shall fine him ten thousand pounds, which is more than he is worth, yet less than he deserveth; I will not set him at liberty, no more than a plagued man or a mad dog, who, though he cannot bite, he will form; he is so far from being a sociable coul, that he is not a rational soul; he is fit to live in dens with such beasts of pray as wolves and tigger like himself; therefore, I do condemn him to perpetual imprisonment, as those monsters that are no longer fit to live among men, nor to see light. I should burn him in the forehead, and slit him in the nose, for I find, that it is confessed of all, that Doctor Leighton's offence was less than Mr. Prynne's, then why should Mr. Prynne have a less punishment? He that was guilty of murder was marked in a place where he might be seen, as Cain was. I should be loth he should escape with his ears, for he may get a perriwig, which he now so much inveighs against, and so hide them, or force his conscience to make use of his unlovely levelocks on both sides. Therefore, I would have him branded on the forebead, slit in the nose, and his cars cropped too."

his books before his face by the common hangman, and imprisonment for life.

The members of the inns of court, by way of repudiating Prynne and his book, entertained the king, queen, and court, with a grand masque, represented at Whitehall.

(1634.) These dreadful severities did not reform Prynne. His ears were stitched on, and growing to his head in the Tower, and in this state, he hazarded them a second time by addressing a sharp letter of remonstrance to Laud. The archbishop placed the letter in the hands of the king, who referred him to Noy, the attorney-general. Noy had Prynne brought before him from the Tower, and asked him whether he had written the letter. Prynne said he must see it before he could answer, and having received it, took advantage of Noy's turning his back to tear it, and throw the fragments out of the window. Proceedings were commenced against him in the star-chamber, but in consequence of the destruction of the letter, were abandoned.

Laud would not only exalt his friends, but ruin his enemies; of these, the most inveterate and dangerous was the arch-intriguer Williams had the skill, even Williams, bishop of Lincoln. whilst in favour at court, to maintain a good understanding with the puritans. His court disgrace, and the hatred of Laud, endeared him to them. He was already, it has been stated, sentenced in the star-chamber to a fine of £10,000, and imprisonment in the Tower. His papers having been ransacked, there were found among them some private letters from Osbaldistone, a schoolmaster, in which Weston and Laud were mentioned, especially Laud, disrespectfully, and by nicknames. Upon this a second prosecution was instituted in the star-chamber, and Williams fined £8,000, of which £3,000 were by way of damages to Laud. Osbaldistone was sentenced to deprivation and the pillory, with his ears nailed to it, before his own school. He secreted himself until the long parliament, after having manifestly forsworn himself by his oath, that he applied the nicknames, not to Weston and Laud, but to judge Richardson and a Dr. Spicer.

The government of the church, however, the regulation of its discipline, and the enforcement of conformity to it, chiefly, if not wholly, occupied Laud. Church power was the great object of

his ambition and his life, and it was more than sufficient for his The puritans, unsubdued by the terrors of the starchamber, (when was religious zeal ever subdued by terror, or by any violence short of extermination?) continued to harass him with secret menaces and libellous defamation. Burton, a clergyman, Bastwick, a physician, and Prynne, still a prisoner in the Tower, were prosecuted in the star-chamber for seditious and schismatical libels upon the hierarchy of the church and upon the government, in Trinity this year. Burton alone could obtain counsel to sign his answer; but the court struck out all except six lines at the beginning, and three or four at the end. He repudiated his answer, thus expurgated to a nullity; the prisoners demanded that their answers should be admitted with their own signatures only; the court insisted upon the signatures of counsel, and they were condemned ex confesso. The hardship, however, has been overstated. Rushworth, an unprejudiced witness, or prejudiced in their favour, suggested that their answers were such as counsel thought it unfit to sign them. It is most probable that answers, drawn up by the parties themselves, and parties so inflamed, were such as no counsel could sign at any time with prudence and propriety; and it appears that they took advantage of their answers to set forth and republish the whole, or most obnoxious parts of the imputed libels. Laud, whose church government was the great object of attack, made an elaborate defence of his conduct, both as to doctrine and discipline, and gave no judgment in the case. They were each sentenced to a fine of £5,000, the loss of their ears, the pillory, branding on the cheeks, and close imprisonment for life. The executioner cut off Prynne's ears, or the remnants of them, with more than ordinary or necessary barbarity; and the three victims were confined to solitary dungeons in the castles of Launceston, Lancaster, and Carnaryon.

These cruelties did not stop. John Lilburne, afterwards more famous, and Wharton, were prosecuted for printing and publishing one of Burton's libels, so called, and condemned, the former to a fine of £500, the latter to the same fine, with whipping and the pillory. Whilst in the pillory, he scattered pamphlets about him, and harangued the mob. The court of star-

chamber, then sitting, and apprized of it, made an order, whichwas immediately executed, that he should be gagged. If these cruelties did not move the indignation of the people, the English nation must have lost its credit for the love of freedom and the feelings of humanity.

There was at the same time a suspicious indulgence shown to catholics, and the puritans became persuaded that Laud's measures were but the first stage of the establishment of popery. The court of Rome never abandoned the hope of restoring its dominion over England. The college of cardinals was formed in general of persons of different nations, of the religious interestsof which they respectively had charge. No Englishman sat in it since the death of Allen, and the spiritual charge of England was given to a foreigner, cardinal Barberini, nephew of the reigning pope, Urban VIII. The regular and secular clergy of the church of Rome, in England, continued their ancient feud. Gregorio Panzani, selected by the cardinal, an enlightened patron of talents and merit, was sent to England under the pretence of settling the quarrel. He was well received by the king and queen, Cottington, and Windebank, and had conferences with them and bishop Montague on the subject of the re-union of the No approach to a re-union was possible, under the circumstances, even without reference to the electic repulsion between the English nation and the creed of Rome. Panzani's commission went no farther than observing and reporting his observations; the king's sole object was to interest the pope in the restoration of the palatinate; and Laud kept aloof, either through prudence or disinclination. The only direct result was the reception of an accredited papal agent to the queen, and her having a representative of her spiritual interest at Rome. The queen's envoy was Hamilton, brother of lord Abercorn; and the papal agents who succeeded Panzani, were Con, a Scotchman, late secretary to cardinal Barberini, and Rosetti, an Italian.

The presence of these agents, and the secret views of the king and Laud, obtained from the Roman catholics indulgences which, according to lord Clarendon and others, they abused; but which assuredly will neither be regretted nor censured at the present day. Were Charles actuated (as he was not) by motives of toleration and humanity, these indulgences, however imprudent, would do honour to his memory. But the progress of proselytism among weak women, and still weaker men, scandalized the consciences, whilst the manifest encouragement, so called, of papists, revived the suspicious fears of the protestants. It is true that the catholics answered the king's arbitrary demands with such eager servility as renders it not unfair to conclude from their passive obedience, that they would as readily become the active instruments of his despotism; but the protestants were actuated by religious intolerance much more than by rational apprehension for their freedom. The catholics, moreover, were placed in a situation which necessarily leagued them with the king's despotism. He was their only shield against persecution in the garb of law.

Conformity at the same time was enforced, by pains and penalties, through the land. It would be out of place here to notice in detail the hardships suffered by persons who would not bow their bodies and their consciences to the prescribed formula in doctrine and ceremonial.

The extent of what was called the Laudean persecution, may be judged by that of emigration. Many thousands of the most industrious of the people of this country determined on leaving it, and transporting themselves to America. The year in which the king's third parliament was dissolved, was that in which the colony of Massachusetts Bay was founded. During the years of disorder in church and state which followed, four thousand persons, possessing sufficient property to become planters, left England, and became resident in that settlement, and in the sister settlements of Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven. Neal, in his history of the puritans, assures us that he was in possession of the names of nearly eighty clergymen, who in the course of the same period accompanied these exiles to the New World. Among these was Dr. Elliot, whose zeal procured him the honourable appellation of the apostle of the Indians, and whose perseverance supplied that people with the sacred scriptures in their own tongue. But men were not left even to the melancholy resource of self-exile. A general proclamation was issued against transporting his majesty's subjects to the American

plantations, and a subsequent order in council enjoined the lord treasurer to stay eight ships bound for America in the river Thames. His majesty condescended to vindicate his royal justice, by declaring that there were among the emigrants "many idle and refractory humours, whose only or principal end was, to live without the reach of authority," and that "the factious disposition of a great part of the people of that plantation (New England) rendered them unworthy of any support or countenance."

The order, if there be any truth in what may be called a common rumour in history, was executed fatally for the king. Among the persons thus prevented from exiling themselves for ever, are said to have been Hampden, Haselrig, and Cromwell. It is strange that this should rest only upon the authority of one or two royalist writers; that it should have escaped the researches of Rushworth, and the knowledge of Whitelock, Hampden's kinsman. Hampden's movements must now have been conspicuous, and observed. The name and virtues of the defendant in the case of ship-money were in the mouths of men. It is strange and derogating, that men, imbued (at least one) eminently with the Roman spirit, should thus easily despair of their country. If the fact really was so, it may be viewed, without presumption, as an exercise of the adjusting providence of God in the moral order. Thus resistless was the career of enforced conformity in England: it encountered more formidable elements of opposition in Scotland.

LECTURE LXXIX.

Retrospect of proceedings in Scotland—Attempt to impose the English liturgy there—Tumultuous proceedings—Charles prepares to march an army towards the North—His proclamation—Raises a subsidy—Suspension of hostilities—Long parliament—Impeachment of Laud—Root and Branch petition—Attack on the bishops—Civilwar—Trial and execution of archbishop Laud—Assembly of divines at Westminster—Conflict between the Independents and Presbyterians—Milton—Growth of Independency—Antipathy between the Independents and Presbyterians—Death of Charles I. A. D. 1640—1650.

Various attempts were made to impose the yoke of the Common Prayer Book upon the people of Scotland, but they all proved—not merely futile, but—disastrous. In fact, the counsels of Charles appear to have been as short-sighted as they were tyrannical. The king professed to follow up the work begun by his royal father; but the times were altered, and circumstances were no longer the same. Ambition, interest, family feuds among the Scotch lords, overweening arrogance, spiritual and plebeian, in the ministers of the kirk, added to distempered fanaticism in the mass of the people, had marshalled against the crown resisting forces unknown in the late reign, and the more formidable, inasmuch as the former antipathy of the Scotch and English had now given way to the sympathies of sect and party. (1687.)

A set of canons for the Scotch church, proposed by the Scotch bishops, and revised by Laud, and Wren, bishop of Edy, were issued twelve months before the liturgy, which they professed to

regulate and enforce; and both the canons and the liturgy were prescribed without the sanction either of the church or parliament of Scotland. The new service-book was sent forth early at the commencement of the year, enjoined as "the only form his majesty thought fit to be used," and appointed to be read from the following Easter Sunday. The experiment was postponed to the 23rd of July; and archbishop Spottiswood, alarmed by the murmured horror of the people, advised further postpone-The impatient zeal of Laud, inspired less perhaps by ambition, or the love of power, than by the sense of a high and paramount duty to his spiritual office, could not brook delay. He procured the king's warrant to the Scotch bishops, commanding them to proceed, on pain of vacating their sees to men more zealous and resolute. A vast auditory assembled in St. Giles's church, recently become the cathedral of Edinburgh, on the day appointed. The archbishops, several bishops, the lords of session, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, were present. The dean of Edinburgh no sooner opened the new volume and his lips, than his voice was overpowered by clapping of hands, uncouth noises, and execrations; among the discordant cries were,-" A pape, a pape," "Antichrist," "Stone him," "Baal," "Popery," and "The mass." The bishop mounted the pulpit, and reminded them of the sanctity of the place. The storm raged still more fiercely, and he narrowly escaped a missile flung at his head, whilst his ears were assailed with cries,--" Wolf," "Fox," "Pope," "Antichrist." The magistrates cleared the church of the chief disturbers; the doors were locked, and the service re-commenced; but was again interrupted by furious cries from without, thundering at the door, and the discharge of missiles through the windows. The bishop, on his way to his residence, which was near the church, narrowly escaped being stoned to death.

At the evening service the tumult was renewed with equal fury, and the bishop's personal danger was still more imminent. Roxburgh, the lord privy seal, took him into his carriage; the carriage, the horses, and the coachman, were pelted on all sides, and both the peer and the prelate made their way, at the sword's point, to Holyrood-house.

Disturbances of this kind occurred in several places, insomuch that the public peace was endangered; but Laud persisted in his resolution, and dispatched instructions to the authorities, assuring them that the king insisted on their perseverance. The people petitioned against the liturgy, but the king, instead of listening to their voice, issued a proclamation, in which he expressed his royal displeasure, and forbad them in future to sign any petition, upon pain of the penalties of high treason.

This proclamation excited universal alarm. Great numbers of the highest rank, both among the clergy and laity, protested against it, and proceeded to still more serious measures to prevent the introduction of episcopacy. They first renewed their confession of faith and the solemn league and covenant; they then pronounced the late innovations contrary to the discipline of the kirk and to their covenant, and engaged to resist them to the utmost of their power. The king being informed of these proceedings, reluctantly consented to suspend the service-book for the present, but at the same time required them to deliver up the covenant within six weeks, adding, "that if there be not sufficient strength in the kingdom of Scotland to oblige the covenanters to return to their duty, he would come in person from England, at the head of a sufficient power, to force them. The Scots, however, inflexibly adhered to their covenant, and the king continued to threaten, saying, "that he would die rather than yield to their impertinent and damnable demands." But his threats fell like pointless arrows. Perceiving this, the unhappy king, weak as he was rash, withdrew a considerable number of his former claims; but his concessions were not satisfactory, because they did not extend to the utter abolition of episcopacy. The covenanters having become untractable and resolute, nothing but war was deemed likely to settle the dispute. The king, at length, announced his intention to oppose the Scots in person. To meet the expenses of the war, money was raised by the queen among the catholics, and as it was a war for episcopacy, a certain portion was exacted from the income of the clergy. From these and other sources the king was enabled to place himself at the head of a numerous army. The Scots, receiving intelligence of his design, levied an army, which, though illsupplied with arms and ammunition, stood ready to meet the impending storm. These preparations, however, were of little avail on either side; for the king, observing that the protestant nobility and many of the soldiers did not decidedly concur with him, was induced to accede to a treaty proposed by the Scots, on which both armies were disbanded, and all points of difference referred to a general assembly and to a parliament. But these pacific measures were of short duration, for the Scots being decided in their hostility to episcopacy, and the king as decidedly resolved to impose it, notwithstanding his late concessions, nothing but war was to be anticipated. Both Laud and Strafford united to press his majesty to commence hostilities, the latter engaging to furnish him with eight thousand Irish, and a large sum of money. To give the colour of reasonableness to this design, and to obtain supplies for the expenses of the contest, Charles summoned a parliament (the first which had assembled for twelve years), laid before them his complaints against the Scots, and demanded immediate assistance. The commons hesitated to comply; they were, in consequence, abruptly dissolved, and the principal members committed to prison. The king now, by the advice of his favourites, imagined that he was superior to the laws, and determined to exact money from his subjects by his own authority; he did so, and those who resisted his impositions were fined and imprisoned. The people could bear the yoke no longer; they rose in great numbers, attacked the archbishop's palace and the house of the pope's agent, but at length were dispersed.

Several of the English and Scots nobility, during these domestic broils, were secretly concerting measures to arrest the progress of arbitrary power in both kingdoms. The Scots, who had, previously to this, thought of placing themselves under the protection of France, being now assured of assistance from England, were encouraged to take the field. The two armies met a second time; but the king observing the same defection among the protestant nobility as was evinced before, retreated after a few skirmishes, leaving the Scots in possession of the principal counties in the north. Having reached Newcastle, they sent a petition to the king, in which, among other things, they entreated his

majesty to assemble an English parliament "to settle the peace between both kingdoms." The king being unable to continue hostilities, thought it prudent to comply with their request, and shortly after convened a parliament. This was an object on which the friends of liberty, both in England and Scotland, had anxiously fixed their eyes, as the only likely means to save the nation from total ruin. Never was the government of a country in a more abject condition. The bishops, who filled the principal offices in the state, were universally hated-by the nobility, for their ambition, and by the common people, for their oppressions. The judges were despised for betraying the laws of the realm, and for sanctioning of the council and star chamber. queen was abhorred for her intrigues, and the king was destitute of the sympathy of foreign courts. The parliament, being backed by the Scottish army, were resolved to preserve such a course as was calculated to rescue the country from the fangs of tyranny; and those who had abused their power began to tremble for the consequences of their ambition and their craeltv.

We are now arrived at one of the most eventful periods of our national history—a period pregnant with the most disastrous consequences to the principal agents of oppression, and at the same time productive of a new order of things, which, though connected with deeds of horror, laid the foundation of that civil and religious liberty which has raised Great Britain to a height of pre-eminent grandeur. Toward the close of the year 1640, the long parliament commenced its memorable operations, and continued in its important legislative capacity for more than eighteen Enemies as well as friends have spoken in terms of high commendation of the men who constituted this august assembly. They were generally members of the church of England, and are admitted by Lord Clarendon to have had among them "many great and wealthy patriots, and as eminent as any age had ever produced,-men of gravity, of wisdom, and of great and plentiful fortunes, who would have been satisfied with some few amendments in church and state." It is desirable to keep this fact in mind, as many are disposed to regard the puritans as the chief actors at that time in the house, and as having assembled with

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the intention of overthrowing the whole system of civil and ecclesiastical authority.*

But while these illustrious men were attached to the government, and were warm supporters of episcopacy, they were not so dazzled with the splendour of great names as not to perceive the abuses which had obtained in every department. Their object therefore was, as honest men, to listen to the plaintive voice of distress, and to redress, to the utmost of their power, the long-continued grievances of the suffering people. For that purpose they appointed several committees, whose business it was to enter minutely into all the abuses of authority, and to rectify whatever was injurious to the nation. The acts of the late convocation first claimed their attention, which after many severe animad-versions, were treated with the contempt they deserved, as being

"The payment of civil obedience to the king," says Mrs. Hutchinson, in the Memoirs of her husband, Colonel Hutchinson, "and the laws of the land, satisfied not; if any durst dispute impositions in the worship of God, he was presently reck. oned among the seditious and disturbers of the public peace, and accordingly persecuted; if any were aggrieved at the dishonour of the kingdom, or the griping of the poor, or the unjust oppression of the subject, by a thousand ways, invented to maintain the riots of the courtiers, he was a puritan; if any, out of mere morality and civil honesty, discountenanced the abominations of those days, he was a puritan, however he might conform to the superstitious worship; if any shewed favour to any godly, honest persons, kept their company, relieved them in want, protected them against violent or unjust oppression, he was a puritan; if any gentleman in his country maintained the good laws of the land, or stood up for any public interest, for good order or government, he was a puritan; in short, all that crossed the views of the needy courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the thievish projectors, the lewd nobility and gentry,-whoever was zealous for God's glory or worship, could not endure blasphemous oaths, ribald conversation, profane scoffs, Sabbath breach, derision of the word of God, and the like, - whoever could endure a sermon, modest habit or conversation, or anything good, -all these were puritans; and if puritans, then enemies to the king and his government, seditious, factious hypocrites, ambitious disturbers of the public peace, and, finally, the pest of the kingdom. Such false logic did the children of darkness use to argue with against the hated children of light, whom they branded beside as an illiterate, morose, melancholy, discontented, crazed sort of men, not fit for human conversation; as such, they made them, not only the sport of the pulpit, which was become but a mere solemn sort of stage, but every stage, and every table, and every puppet play, belched forth profane scoffs upon them: the drunkards made them their song; all fiddlers and mimics learnt to abuse them, as finding it the most gameful way of fooling." Memoirs, i. 122, 123. The truth and power of this passage would only be impaired by comment. The same writer remarks, "the protestants abroad were all looked upon as puritans." 131. Vaughan, vol. i.

an impudent infringement on the prerogative of parliament, as placing the king above all law, and as sentencing the nation to perpetual slavery.

While the house was employed in passing resolutions against the canons, the conduct of archbishop Laud was discussed with great freedom. He was accused as the chief author of the canons; as the cause of all the evils which oppressed the country; and as having formed the treasonable design of subverting its laws and religion. To these charges was added a long list of complaints against his grace by the Scots commissioners, which, when they were reported to the house, excited the strongest expression of indignation. Sir H. Grimstone affirmed "that the archbishop was the very sty of all the pestilential filth which had infested the government; that he was the only man who had advanced those who, together with himself, had been the authors of all the miseries the nation now groaned under." And after mentioning some instances of his meanness and tyranny, he added, "There is scarcely any grievance or complaint comes before the house wherein he is not mentioned; like an angry wasp, leaving his sting in the tail of everything." In pursuance of this speech, articles of impeachment were drawn up against the primate, which having received the sanction of the commons, were presented to the upper house by Messrs. Pym, Hampden, and Maynard. The articles were read in due form; the archbishop, who was present, briefly replied to them; but his defence was unavailing—he had filled up the measure of his iniquities, and was voted by the lords to confinement in the Tower, whither he was carried amid the insults of the people, by whom he had been long regarded as the author of all the calamities which had befallen the nation.*

The approaches of Laud towards popery may be seen in his superstitions considered in consecrating the church of St. Catherine Cree, which had been then intely repaired. On a Sabbath morning, the bishop, attended by several of the high commission and some civilians, approaching to the west door of the church, which was shut, and guarded by halberdiers, some who were appointed for that purpose cried with a loud voice, "Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the king of glory may come in!" Presently, the doors being opened, the bishop, with some doctors and principal men, entered. As soon as they were come within the place, his lordship fell down upon his knees, and, with eyes lifted up and his arms spread abroad, said,



Whilst the king was visiting Scotland (1641), one of the most tragical events occurred in Ireland that was perhaps ever known in any age or nation. The Romanists of that country, under the pretence of vindicating the cause of loyalty and religion, projected an insurrection, and, to the amount of twenty or thirty thousand, all in arms, poured like a torrent from the northern

"This place is holy: the ground is holy! In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy!" Then walking up the middle aisle towards the chancel. he took up some of the dust and threw it in the air several times. When he spproached near the rail of the communion-table, he bowed towards it five or six times; and returning, went round the church with his attendants in procession, saying the hundredth and then the nineteenth psalm, as prescribed in the Roman pontifical. He then read several collects, in one of which he prayed God to accept of this beautiful building, and concluded thus:-- "We consecrate this church, and separate it unto thee as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common use." In another, he prayed " that all who should hereafter be buried within the circuit of this holy and sacred place may rest in their sepulchres in peace till Christ's coming to judgment, and may then rise to eternal life and happiness." After this, the bishop, sitting under a cloth of state in the sisle of the church, near the communiontable, took a written book in his hand, and pronounced curses upon those who should hereafter profane that holy place by musters of soldiers, or keeping profane law-courts, or carrying burdens through it; and at the end of every curse he bowed to the east, and said, "Let all the people say amen!" When the curses were ended, which were about twenty, he pronounced a like number of blessings upon all that had any hand in framing and building that beautiful church, and on those who had given, or should hereafter give, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or other utensils; and at the end of every blessing he bowed to the east, and said, " Let all the people say amen!" After this followed the sermon, and then the sacrament, which the bishop consecrated and administered after the following manner :-

As he approached the altar, he made five or six low bows, and coming to the side of it where the bread and wine were covered, he bowed seven times. Then, after reading many prayers, he came near the bread, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin, beheld it, and immediately letting fall the napkin, he retreated a step or two, and made three low obeisances. His lordship then advanced; and having uncovered the bread, bowed three times as before. Then he laid his hand on the cup, which was full of wine, with a cover upon it, which having let go, he stepped back, and bowed three times towards it; he then came near again, and lifting up the cover of the cup, looked into it, and seing the wine, he let fall the cover again, retired back, and bowed as before. Then the elements were consecrated; and the bishop, having first received, gave it to some principal men in their surplices, hoods, and tippets; after this, many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended.

The pride of the clergy at this time had grown to such a pitch, that in the year 1636, a member of the house of commons said, that "the clergy were so exalted, that a gentleman might not come near the tail of their mules; and that one of them had declared openly, that he hoped to see the day when a clergyman should be as good a man as any upstart jack gentleman in the kingdom."

into the midland counties. This was no idle exhibition; it was not intended merely to intimidate the protestants. There was no hostile army to oppose them, and the unoffending inhabitants were totally unapprised of their design till the preceding night. Having, at the commencement of their fiend-like career, secured the principal gentlemen, and seized their effects, they advanced with terrible fury on the inferior ranks, massacreing them with every circumstance of brutal ferocity, till they had strewed the country, according to the general computation, with two hundred thousand bleeding victims—though, according to Clarendon, the number was only forty thousand!

Respecting the authors of this horrid tragedy, little need be said. Hume labours hard to exculpate the king from every imputation relating to it, but not very successfully. Charles may not have been fully acquainted with all the atrocities which the plotters meditated; nevertheless, he gave them encouragement. It is pretty certain that the English court were not ignorant of the project—that the heads of the catholic party had suggested to the queen a plan to seize the government, restore the king's prerogative, and suppress the puritans. It is ascertained, also, that letters were written to them in the queen's name, authorizing them to proceed; that the murderous band which engaged to prosecute this work of carnage, denominated themselves the queen's army, and that they professed to act under the king's commission—an imputation, from which his majesty never attempted, by any public act or declaration, to clear himself. This bloody tragedy is said to have commenced on the 23rd of October, and terminated on the 30th of the same month, 1641. But to return to our own country.

The first undisguised and serious attack upon prelacy was the "root and branch petition," which had for its object the extirpation of prelacy. It was brought into the house of commons by Sir Edward Dearing, and provided in substance for abolishing archbishops, deans, archdeacons, and their officers, out of the church of England. Nearly three weeks were employed by the commons upon the several provisions of the bill, and the new form of church government to be substituted for prelacy. Meanwhile, several ministers of the church of England, so

calling themselves, presented a petition and remonstrance against alleged irregularities in the government and discipline of the church. A petition from the county of Kent complained of the "lordly power" of bishops. Some remarkable speeches, to which the subject gave rise, about the middle of February, have been preserved. It is observable that the advocates of prelacy admitted and stigmatized some gross abuses. "If I thought," says lord Digby, "there were no further design in the desires. of some, that this London petition should be committed, than merely make use of it as an index of grievances, I should wink at the faults of it and not much oppose it......There is no man within these walls more sensible of the heavy grievances of church government than myself, nor whose affections are keener to the clipping of these wings of the prelates, whereby they have mounted to such insolences; nor whose zeni is more ardent to the searing them so as they may never spring. He, however, condemned the petition as a snggestion of the Scots; "I profess I looked upon it then with terror, as upon a comet or blazing star raised and kindled out of the stench, out of the poisonous exhalations of a corrupted hierarchy: methought, the comet had a terrible tail with it, sir, and pointed to the north; the same fears dwell with me still concerning it, (and I beseech God they may not prove prophetical;.) I fear all the prudence, all the forecast, all the virtue of this house, how unitedly soever collected, how vigorously soever applied, will have a hard work of it yet to hinder this meteor from eausing such distempers and combustions by its influence as it then portended by its appearance.......Contemptible things, sir, swarm in the 8th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th articles of this petition. Did ever anybody think that the gaieties of Ovid or Tom Coryat's Muse, should by 15,000 persons have been presented to a parliament as a motive for the extirpation of bishops? The scandal of the rochet, the lawn sleeves, the four-corner cap, the cope, the surplice, the tippet, the hood, the canonical coat, &c., may pass with arguments of the same weight; only thus much let me observe upon it (Mr. Speaker), that one would swear the penners of the article had the pluming of some bishops already, they are so acquainted with every feather of them; in a word, I know not whether it be

more preposterous to infer the extirpation of bishops from such weak arguments, or to attribute, as they do, to church government all the civil grievances. Not a patent, not a monopoly, not the price of a commodity raised, but these men make bishops the cause of it."

The great lord Falkland, as he has been called, whilst defending prelacy, was still more frank in admitting the sins of the bishops. "He" says he, "is a great stranger in Israel who knows not this kingdom hath long laboured under many and great oppressions, both in religion and liberty; and his acquaintance here is not great, or his ingenuity less, who doth not both know and acknowledge that a great, if not a principal, cause of both these have been some bishops and their adherents." Alluding to their imputed inclination to popery, he says,-" Mr. Speaker, to go yet further, some of them have so industriously laboured to deduce themselves from Rome that they have given great suspicion, that in gratitude they desire to return thither, or at least to meet it half-way. Some have evidently laboured to bring in an English though not a Roman popery; I mean, not only the outside and dress of it, but, equally absolute, a blind dependence of the people upon the clergy, and of the clergy upon themselves; and have opposed the papacy beyond the seas that they might settle one beyond the water." The following are the ideas of church reform thrown out by one memorable for his attachment to the church and to the king:-" I am content to take away all those things from them which, to any considerable degree of probability, may again beget the like mischiefs if they be not taken away. If their temporal title, power, and employment, appear likely to distract them from the care of, or make them look down with contempt upon, their spiritual duty, and the too great distance between them and those they govern will hinder the free and fit recourse of their inferiors to them, and occasion insolence from them to their inferiors, let that be considered and cared for. I am sure neither their lordships, their judging of tithes, wills, and marriages, so not their voices in parliments, are jure divino; and I am sure that these titles and this power are not necessary to their authority, as appears by the little they have had with us by them, and the much that others have

had without them...... If their revenue shall appear likely to produce the same effects,—for it hath been anciently observed. that Religio peperit divitias et filia devoravit matrem,-let so much of that as was in all probability intended for an attendant upon their temporal dignities, wait upon them out of doors. Let us only take care to leave them such proportions as may serve in some good degree to the dignity of learning and the encouragement of students." Fiennes, Bagshaw, and Grimstone, supported the petition; but the "root and branch men," so denominated, were as yet a minority of the house. The committee on the petition was, however, continued, and reinforced with many others,—Fiennes, Holles, and the younger Vane,—and petitions were abundantly supplied for the consideration of another standing committee, called "The committee for scandalous ministers," The trial of Strafford had intervened, and diverted the attention of the commons from the church. In the beginning of June, the subject was revived, a vote passed the commons that the bishops should not sit in parliament, and the grounds of their vote made known to the lords in a conference. The lords resolved, in opposition to the commons, that the bishops should retain their seats and votes in parliament.

This is the first sign of division between the houses. The majority of the lords had no affection for the prelates, and would willingly exclude them, if the vote of the commons were not viewed by them as a step to degrade and subjugate their house. The commons, however, did not rest here; they transformed their resolution into a bill. It proposed to disable the bishops and clergy for all temporal functions, whether as peers, privy-counsellors, judges, or justices of peace. The lords having passed the bill through its first and second reading, amended it in committee by restoring the bishops' votes, and after two conferences with the commons, threw it out altogether. They declared the bill an invasion of their rights, and said the commons might, with equal reason, cut off the barons, or any other class of the peerage.

(1644.) A civil war now ravaged the country, but the details of it belong to civil history rather than ecclesiastical, and must therefore be declined by me.

In the meantime, blood was flowing upon the scaffold as well as in the field. The execution of the Hothams, father and son, now took place. Sir Alexander Carew, of Cornwall, was condemned and executed, for an attempt to procure the admission of the king's troops by secret treachery into Plymouth. There was another death on the scaffold, which cannot excite surprise, though it may regret,—it is that of archbishop Land. That he deserved punishment in the eye of man, and, if it be not presumptuous to say so, in the eye of God, few will dispute; but to take away the old man's life was atrocious.

Laud had now lain near three years in prison under a charge of treason. He was past seventy, and the painful infirmities of disease were added to those of age. His trial was precipitated by his refusal to collete to a living against the express command of the king. The lords, who claimed the right of naming to the benefice, called upon the commons to proceed with his trial as a punishment for his disobedience, and the latter immediately appointed a committee to manage the impeachment. The getting up of the prosecution was confided to Prynne. It was like placing the archbishop under the claws and fangs of a tiger. Prynne had injuries the most deep and dreadful to avenge, and the reproach lies upon those who admitted or selected him. He began by ransacking and conveying away the archbishop's papers, even to his means of defence. Land was accused, in various articles, of endeavouring to subvert the privileges of parliament, and the laws and religion of the realm. The substantive sets charged upon him are those which have been mentioned in the preceding pages. His written diary was carried away by Prynne; his expressions in conversation were also brought against him; and the horrible doctrine of accumulative treason was urged in his case, -with the barbarity of lawyers and the bigotry of the presbyterians of that day,-by Wild and Maynard. He defended himself with courage, capacity, moderation, and humbleness. His speech on the scaffold, his bearing, his death, are said by some to form a noble picture of elevation of soul. Sir John Colworthy, a presbyterian, disturbed his last moments on the scaffold by catechising him in a spirit of malignant bigotry. It is said that a ray of the sun falling on his face

shewed his cheek florid and his eye serenely bright, as he was about to lay his head upon the block. His death may be ascribed to the persecuting spirit of the presbyterians, including the particular hatred of the Scotch covenanters. The independents were by this time a party, but they are clear of this stain upon the parliamentary cause.

Laud was attainted by ordinance,—the proceeding by impeachment having been abandoned in his case, as in Strafford's. The archbishop was guilty of cruel persecution; he made an odious use of the star-chamber, and its chief minister, the public executioner; but Laud only mutilated, whilst his presbyterian adversaries decapitated. He carried his notions of church power to an intolerable height; but he was probably sincere; there was more of religious zeal than spiritual ambition in his proceedings. He laboured to invest the public worship with external pomp. This was called idolatry, and his creed was Arminianism. Laud was despotic rather than intolerant. His great misfortune was, that his talents were wholly unequal to his situation and his views. He was declared guilty by a small majority of a thin house, on the 4th of December, and executed on the 10th of the following January.

His death is said to have deeply affected the king, whose prohibition was indirectly the cause of it; but of the grief of Charles in the case of Laud, or any other, even that of Strafford, there are reasons to question at least the extent. The selfish sense of privation seems, in both cases, to have been predominant with him. This is expressly shewn in the case of Laud. He drew from the death of the ill-fated prelate the selfish consolation that he had no share in it; and that the crime would call down God's wrath upon the rebels, as he called them, for his benefit.

From this time the affairs of the monarch himself began to decline. In the following year his army was defeated by the parliamentary forces commanded by Cromwell, at Naseby, and afterwards at Chester. Distressed beyond measure after this last catastrophe, he fled in disguise to Newark, where he put himself into the hands of the Scottish army. After many fruitless proposals, he was delivered up to the English commissioners, and conducted to Holdenby. At length, he was seized by one Joyce,

a cornet, and conveyed to the English army, which brought him to Hampton Court. Despairing of succeeding in any treaties with the officers, and apprehensive of closer confinement, he fled to the Isle of Wight, but was again seized by the army, and carried to Hurst Castle. The parliament remonstrated against this gross instance of military usurpation, and voted that it was without their consent, maintaining also that the king's concessions were a foundation for the two houses of parliament to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom. The parliament, however, were overawed by the army; the majority of its members were excluded from the house by main force, and only about fifty or sixty, who were disposed to go all lengths, were retained. These men, by the support of the armed faction who held the king's person in custody, erected a court of justice, brought their sovereign to trial, and condemned him to death. In pursuance of this dreadful sentence, a scaffold was erected before Whitehall, where the unfortunate Charles was behended, on the 90th January, 1649.

Nothing is more common than for high-churchmen to charge the puritans with this foul act; but the puritans were able to spurn the charge with indignation and conscious innocence. Instead, however, of contesting the matter in this place, I shall content myself with producing one testimony which will sufficiently exonerate them from that atrocious deed. Dr. Lewis da Moulin, professor of history in the University of Oxford, who lived through those times, says, "That no party of men as a religious body were the actors of this tragedy, but that it was the contrivance of an army, which, like that of king David's in the wilderness, was a medley or collection of all parties that were discontented; some courtiers, some presbyterians, some episcopalians, few of any sort, but most of none."

Religion had a profound influence upon the contests, civil and military, between Charles I. and the long parliament. There was sitting, in Henry VIIth's chapel, in Westminster Abbey, during the preceding military operations and parliamentary proceedings, an assembly or synod of divines for the reformation of religion. The assembly commenced its sitting in midsummer of the preceding year. It consisted of one-hundred-and-twenty

divines, selected by both houses, with the addition of ten lords and twenty commoners, sitting as lay members. Upon one point the assembly may be said to be agreed,-the abolition of prelacy. Some prelates had been named,—among them were, Browning, bishop of Exeter; Prideaux, of Worcester; Westfield, of Bristol; Usher, primate of Ireland; Morley, of Winchester; Saunderson, of Lincoln; Hacket, of Lichfield; and Hammond, one of the royal chaplains. Few of those attended the summons, and those few, perceiving the prevailing spirit of the assembly, soon withdrew. Episcopacy was now unrepresented. The points in dispute were between the presbyterians and the independents, -that is, whether church government, with the gradations and machinery of prelacy, should be exchanged for the organization of presbytery in classes, synods, and assemblies, with all the power arrogated by prelacy, whether popish or protestant, of censuring, suspending, depriving, and excommunicating; or whether religious conscience, the communion of the soul with God, should be wholly emancipated from the secular power. Such is the principle of independency. No word is more variously employed than the word church. With some, it means the mere edifice; with others, the temporal revenues of the priesthood; with the presbyterians of that age it meant a certain iron formula of doctrine, to which conscience must screw itself or perish. With the independents the church was an assembly of believers, voluntarily agreeing and meeting together for public worship and the observance of divine ordinances, and so constituted, they maintained that the temporal authority had no right to interfere.

There were in this communion, called independents, men of admirable genius; men whose minds were enlightened and exercised; men who gazed with an unwinking eye upon the highest and brightest principles of religious toleration. These men maintained that difference of opinion on religious, as on other subjects, was the inevitable result of the infirmity of human judgment, the influence of education, the accidents of the men and the books with which each individual had been most conversant through life, and that conscience, therefore, should be as free as the air. They, upon this principle, frankly conceded to others the

liberty which they claimed for themselves; and their sect, if it should be so called, admitted great varieties of opinion in its bosom; they contended, in short, that man is accountable to his Maker alone for the soundness or unsoundness of his creed, and that the state should guarantee the freedom of speech and of the press.

It is obvious that the harsh, rude, and naked tyranny of presbyterianism must be quite as revolting as the more gorgeous yoke of prelacy to these free minds. The impression of presbyterianism likely to be entertained by them is sketched with congenial eloquence, by Mr. Godwin: "Next comes the presbyterian system, not less exclusive and intolerant, and impressed with no less horror of the blasphemy and perniciousness of sects than the former. Its chief distinctions are, the comparative moderation of its empluments, and the plainness of its garb. The clergy of the church of Scotland were habited with something of the same unambitious sadness as we see in paintings of the fathers of the inquisition. But this is, in certain respects, a disadvantage. that lords it over me, and would persuade me that he is not of the same ignoble kind as myself, ought, perhaps, to be clad in robes, and covered with ermines and gold. It is some mitigation of my sufferings. I should be glad to be deluded and dazzled at It seems natural that human beings should prefer, like the widow of Benares, to die amidst the clangour of trumpets and the soft breathing of recorders, to the perishing by the deformed and withering blow of undisguised cruelty."*

Among the chiefs of the independents were, St. John, the younger Vane, Selden, Whitelock, and Cromwell. To them also belongs the glorious name of Milton. It was at this period, and in this controversy, that he wrote his immortal treatise on unlicensed printing, under the name of Areopagetica. It would be almost presumptuous to attempt to characterize, even by a passing epithet, the image which he presents of the agitation—the commotion of mind, at this moment in the capital. "Behold," says he, "behold now this vast city—a city of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty—encompassed and surrounded with his (God's) protection; the shop of war bath not there more assets

and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice, in defence of beleagued truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas, wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation; others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement. What could a man require more from a nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies?"

The following image of the nation has been frequently quoted, but should never be omitted in any portraiture of this heroic age:—" Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself, like a strong man after sleep, and shaking his invincible locks. Methinks I see her, as an eagle, mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam, purging and unscaling her long-abused light at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble, would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms."*

The independents in parliament were a minority in number. They were a still smaller minority in the assembly of divines. Their number is stated, by an eye-witness, to have been only ten or twelve. The overwhelming majority was presbyterian, rendered still more rancorously intolerant by the four commissioners of the church of Scotland, who again were emboldened by the reverses of the parliament, and the presence of the Scotth army of the covenant. "We purpose," says Baillie, one of the commissioners, "not to meddle in haste with a point of such high consequence, (the establishment of uniformity in church government,) till it please God to advance our army, which we expect will much assist our arguments!" It is easy to perceive how hopeless was the cause of religious liberty and unlicensed printing, so cherished by the independents in the assembly of divines.

• Milton, 115, fol. 1834. Ibid. 116.

Nothing remained to them but dextrous talents and the force of reason. They presented to the assembly a plea for tender consciences, and a similar "plea" was urged at the same time in the commons, by Cromwell, in the house of lords, by lord Say, supported by Vane, St. John, and Lord Wharton. The presbyterians in the assembly of divines were distracted and alarmed by this manœuvre of the independents, with Cromwell at its head, and the army (that of Manchester, at least, all independents) in his train. After eighteen months' sitting, the liturgy was abolished, and a "directory for public worship" established in its place. The directory was a compromise, which left much to the humour or capacity of the minister who prayed and preached. The ordinance of parliament abolishing the one and establishing the other was published four days before the execution of archbishop Laud.

There was another sign of the growing strength of the independents at this period. Charles entered into a secret negotiation with Vane and St. John. It was discovered by Essex, who was a presbyterian, and the two negotiators denounced by him in the house of lords as traitors. Two such men as St. John and Vane were little likely to commit either their safety or their fidelity. They conducted the intrigue with the knowledge of a committee of the house of commons, and were honourably acquitted, whilst Essex was thanked for his vigilance and zeal.

LECTURE LXXX.

Notice of religious parties—The Puritans—Brownists—Their loyalty—Protest against the authority of the magistrate in ecclesiastical matters—Separatists—Account of Robert Brown—Number of the Brownists—Reasons of their dissent from the church of England—They plead for toleration—Henry Ainsworth—Rise of the Independents—And Baptists—Writings of Ainsworth—Brownists retire to Amsterdam. A.D. 1604—1650.

THE religious parties of this kingdom, in the reign of James I., as in the preceding, consisted, first, of the persons who were opposed to all change in the ecclesiastical establishment; secondly, of the puritans, who called for a further reformation; and lastly, the catholics, who regarded the supporters of the established order of things, and those who merely charged it with imperfection, as equally in a state of separation from the true church, and who, in consequence, made no secret of being the enemy of both. was another class of professors increasing at this time in England, who sought nothing less than a separation of religion from the control of the state, upon the principles at present maintained by the protestant dissenters. But these, while they remained in England, were not allowed to carry their opinions into practice; and they accordingly became exiles in great numbers, some passing over into the New World, now called the United States of America, and others finding an asylum in Holland.

With regard to the catholics during the reign of James, the discussions in parliament respecting them, and the measures there

adopted to diminish their numbers and influence, shew sufficiently that the feeling of the nation was never more opposed to that body. It is obvious, that had the laws revived, and those enacted to put down the Romish worship, been carried into effect, the whole party would have been left to choose between exile and a state of suffering, which, in the case of most men, would have been more intolerable.

The writers, however, who have been careful to preserve, and to give due prominence to, every severe enactment against popish recusants, and other delinquents of that communion, are not so careful to notice that whatever may have been the intention of the law-makers, the men required to administer the law had clearly determined that such requisition should be rarely enforced. This determination was not peculiar to the court, but evidently extended to a large portion of the magistracy through the kingdom. The neutralizing effect of this state of feeling must have been unquestionable, before James himself would have been induced to admit its truth, and to make it a matter of public lamentation. We have remarked that among the things adverted to by the sovereign, in the parliament of 1614, as evils for which an immediate remedy should be provided, was this indisposition to execute the laws against popish offenders. This feeling was declared to be such, that while, in many instances, the officers appointed to report the names of delinquents were notoriously negligent of their duty; in others, the magistrates were as notoriously opposed to proceeding against such as were legally presented to them. "A lieutenant of mine, in oue county," said James, "hath informed me he could not procure three of the peace, except some of his own friends and servants, that would assist him in the due execution of my laws." The effect of this double consivence is said to have been an increase of the catholic body. and a boldness of manner, which led them everywhere to boast of their growing numbers.

When we find laws of so much severity adopted against this people, and adopted almost without opposition, it is sourcely to be supposed that the members of both houses were fully satisfied as to their justice or their policy. The unanimity, we may hope, was often more apparent than real. It may have arisen, in part,

from a consciousness that what was harsh in the letter of the statute would become tempered in the administration of it; and there was an evident fitness in such proceedings to express the national repugnance to the proposed alliance with Spain—that master error in a scheme of policy where nearly everything was erroneous.

The discussions, which were meant to determine the claims of the sovereign with regard to his catholic subjects, were not more fruitless than his contentions with the puritans. In every parliament his nerves were shaken by this party, and to their influence his most bitter disappointments were generally attributed. The temper with which the most moderate of the puritan clergy had been treated by the king, in the conference at Hampton Court, had placed the most gloomy prospects before the whole body; and that pretended examination of ecclesiastical grievances was followed by the elevation of Bancroft, the most relentless adversary of all religious malcontents, to the see of Canterbury. From such a king, and such a primate, much was to be expected that would tend to exasperate the feeling of disaffection. Nor should it be forgotten, that these distinguished persons were by no means ignorant of the hostility which their policy, in relation to the nonconformist clergy, would certainly provoke.

We have already noticed the motives which influenced the conduct of James towards the puritans; and Bancroft had committed himself too seriously against them, and had suffered too much from their resentment, to be capable of giving any dispassionate attention to their claims. Long before the king's accession this prelate had distinguished himself as their opponent, and through two quarto volumes had assailed them in a style which assured them that he saw much more to apprehend from their ascendancy than from a return of popery. Some of his adver-

[&]quot;Dangerous Positions and Proceedings, published and practised within this island of Britaine, under pretence of Reformation, and for the Presbyterall Discipline." A Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline; containing the beginnings, success, parts, proceedings, authority, and doctrine of it, with some of the manifold and material repuguances, varieties, and uncertainties in that behalf. Faithfully gathered, by way of Historical Narration, out of the books and writings of the principal favourers of that Platform."—Anno 1593. Edition 1663.



saries dared to accuse him of being secretly favourable to popish pretensions; and though the charge was, in some respects, ill founded, it was one which ought not to have excited either indignation or surprise. His conduct was in the style of his writings, and these were distinguished chiefly by their spirit of intolerance and abuse. The Scottish reformers, he affirmed, had done more injury to their country, in thirty years, than had resulted from popery in five centuries.* In the protestant churches of the Continent he saw scarcely anything to approve, much to condemn. and more to deride. The base means resorted to by Dr. Cox and his adherents, for the purpose of procuring the expulsion of John Knox from Frankfort, are described by this polemic as strictly honourable, and as shewing "their dutiful hearts to queen Mary."+ With regard to that princess he also writes: "Queen Mary was of nature and disposition very mild and pitiful; and yet because she suffered such cruelty and superstition to be practised and maintained in her days, you have heard what was resolved by Goodman, Whittingham, Gilby, and the rest of the Genevans, against her."1

These indirect apologies for the most atrocious acts of tyranny deserved all the censure that was bestowed upon them. But in such a man they were only consistent. The volume containing them is ushered upon the attention of the reader with a collection of texts, gathered from every part of scripture, and meant to establish the doctrine of passive obedience in the most absolute form. It will not be easy to discover anything in the writings of this distinguished churchman, bespeaking any true sense of religion, or anything in his conduct, which may be ascribed to causes distinct from it, and often very far beneath it. Whitgift's con-

^{*} Dangerous Positions, &c., p. 30. † Ibid. 39, 46.

[‡] Ibid. The following sentence succeeds the passage above cited, and may be taken as a fair specimen of the temper and ingenuousness of this disputant. "Which fact," he observes, "is a matter that should be well considered of, and in time provided for accordingly, considering that these, our home-bred sycophants, men of the Geneva mould, as proud and presumptuous as any that ever lived, do charge the present state, under her majesty (as before it is noted) with such great impiety, corruption, idolatry, superstition, and barbarous persecution; which may touch her highness as nearly (by their doctrine) for maintaining the present state, as queen Mary was for defending of popery."—pp. 63, 64.

tests, as a theologian, had embittered his temper as an archbishop-Bancroft, as a writer, had exceeded him in asperity, and when raised to the same dignity, went beyond him in the severe exercise of his authority.

The church of England was regarded by the Brownists more as a creation of the civil power than a scriptural church. Their conscience, accordingly, was perfectly tranquil, while meditating on the established dogmas respecting the guilt and consequences of schism. With the majority of the puritans, the claims of the religious establishment were differently estimated. In their view, the English church was apostolic in her doctrines and her sacraments, though defective in discipline and superstitious in ceremonies. To complain of these matters was their duty, and it was equally their duty to seek a reformation of them, but so long as the communion in which such were discovered was still an acknowledged portion of the Christian church, it was thought, that to separate, must be to incur the anathema pronounced on the schismatic.

There were others, however, to whom much of the reasoning employed by the Brownists appeared to be conclusive, and who, when ejected from the pulpits of the hierarchy, would willingly have assembled upon unconsecrated ground, and have conducted the worship of God according to their own principles. The controversy between these parties, who are sometimes described as the conforming and non-conforming puritans, was carried on with much warmth, their common adversaries often enjoying their contentions, and being apparently insensible to the tendency of such collisions to bring out the truth, and to separate it from the falsehood with which it had become blended.

Against the more moderate of these parties, it was urged by the prelates, that, persisting in their singularities, they had annexed the guilt of disloyalty to that of schism; and that instead of deserving praise for their temperance, they were unworthy of toleration, either in the church or the commonwealth. But to this it was replied, that while their disobedience extended to such things only as were contrary to the word of God, there was nothing in their conduct which should be described as schismatical, or as opposed to the supremacy of the crown in ecclesi-

astical affairs. They accordingly challenged their opponents to a public discussion on the propriety of kneeling at the sucrament, of using the sign of the cross in baptism, and of wearing the surplice. They ventured also to express their willingness to extend the debate to the lawfulness of imposing ceremonies in But this mode of adjustment was cautiously declined; and the puritan clergy of Lincolnshire presented a petition to the king, explaining the motives of that nonconformity which had exposed themselves and their brethren to so much inconvenience and suffering. The petitioners commenced with professing their assent to the doctrine of his majesty's supremacy. But they soon proceeded to notice a variety of matters in discipline and worship, with which, though enjoined by the monarch as head of the church, their conscience would not allow them to comply. They complained that the lessons appointed to be read from the apocrypha were described as from holy scripture, and were in proportion more numerous than those from the canonical books, while the selections which were made from those books were much too limited, were by no means the most judicious, and were often read from translations, which, in the judgments of the most learned protestants, frequently obscured, and sometimes destroyed, the meaning of the original. With respect to ceremonies, they state it as a maxim revered by the most enlightened among the fathers in the ancient church, and by the most venerable among the reformers in the modern, that every religious practice introduced by human authority, if made to subserve idolatry or superstition, should be discountenanced. The surplice, the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the communion, are all said to have their origin from the officious wisdom of man, and to have been subject to these abuses from the beginning.

To prove the correctness of these statements, many authorities are adduced, both from the earlier and the latter history of the church. It was further objected, that no ceremony should be imposed as necessary, which does not very obviously tend to edification, and still less if it be known to offend the consciences of devout men. And while it is presumed to be evident that the forms above adverted to have no such tendency, they are opposed, on the ground of perplexing the conscience of the

larger half of the preaching clergy through the kingdom. This is inferred from the readiness with which so great a number had long since availed themselves of every possible means of evading them; and from the frequent concessions of the conforming part of the clergy, as well as from the firmness with which others were daily exposing themselves to the most serious evils, rather than yield the obedience required. "God," the petitioners observed, "is the only appointer of his own worship, and condemns all human inventions so far forth as they are made parts of it. Now, all the ceremonies in question are thus imposed, for divine service, is not supposed to be rightly performed without the surplice, nor baptism to be rightly administered without the cross, nor the half of the conformal of the cross, nor the malawful."

The controversy between this class of puritans and the orthomodox was warmly conducted. Cowel, who became notorious in the early part of this reign from the seal with which he supported the arbitrary pretensions of the monarch, employed his pen in favour of the ceremonies. Six divines followed his example; Baynes, Bradshaw, and Ames, equally distinguished themselves on the opposite side. Many of the clergy, who at this time practised the conformity required, were called upon by the primate to subscribe anew to the disputed ceremonies, and such as refused were imprudently added to the number of secaders. These were described as the brethren of the second separation, and they appear to have relinquished the communion of the established church with much pain and hesitation.

But if such was the fate of the more moderate puritans, those who are described as of "the rigidest sort," would be still greater strangers to tranquillity. A treatise was published during this interval by the nonconformist, Bradshaw, the design of which was, to make known the real opinions of these persons. The work consisted of aix chapters; and a summary of these will place the nature of the controversy between this less compromising body and their opponents in the fullest light.

The first chapter maintained the absolute sufficiency of the scriptures as a directory of faith and worship. It rejects all observances not evidently founded on the principles or examples

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contained in that volume, as the offspring of superstition or artifice, and condemns, with peculiar emphasis, all such religious inventions as had been found conducive to the practice of idolatry.

The second affirms every Christian assembly to be a church, and declares all such assemblies to be possessed of the same authority. Their officers, it is contended, should be chosen by the people, and if the members of any church should err in this election, "none but the civil magistrate has power to control them, or oblige them to make a better choice." Should the ministers so appointed be unjustly silenced, or suspended, the congregation thus bereft is humbly "to pray the magistrate to restore them; and if they cannot obtain it, they are to avow them to be their spiritual guides to the death, though they are rigorously deprived of their ministry and service." It is, in conclusion, denied that there is anything in this branch of their polity opposed to the aristocracy or the monarchy of secular states, since the men who adhere to it acknowledge the authority of the civil magistrate to be of God, and supreme on earth, by whatever name he may be designated.

The third chapter is concerning "ministers of the word," and describes the pastor of a Christian congregation as sustaining the highest office in the church; as subject to no authority in the exercise of his functions, save that expressed by the Redeemer in the scriptures; and as being, in consequence, free to decline the performance of any service which had not obtained the sanction of his spiritual sovereign, whether urged in the name of the priesthood, of the magistrate, or of the people. Every such person should also be strictly separated from secular occupation; should be qualified, not merely to read publicly, but to preach to the congregation, and to lead their devotions by prayer, the andible exercise of the assembly, at such times, being limited to a mere expression of approbation, as in repeating the word amen-The people were also to choose from among themselves certain elders,-men of gravity and discretion,-who should aid the pastor in watching over the manners of the congregation, and in preserving discipline.

On spiritual censures, to which the fifth chapter is devoted, it is remarked, that the keys respecting them are entrusted to the

hands of the pastor and elders of the church, exclusive of any foreign jurisdiction. But they are not to attempt, in virtue of this authority, a judgment of the heart, or to proceed against their brethren on the ground of mere suspicion or uncertain Every supposed delinquent, it is observed, should be treated with the most cautious tenderness, in the hope that, if guilty, he may be brought to repentance; and should penitence follow, his restoration is regarded as an event to ensue without intervention of fines, or any public exposure. But should his guilt be proved, should the offence also be such as to require the censure of the church, and should the offender continue impenitent, the pastor and the elders of the church, with the consent of the congregation, shall separate such a delinquent from their religious fellowship. Beyond this act of religious exclusion, no ecclesiastical censure should ever proceed. And should the offender be a civil superior, his offence is not to prevent his receiving the respect due to his station, the manner of submitting to him the representation of his fault being regulated by the honour due to his civil rank, and his simply withdrawing from the communion of the church being always understood as rendering any further proceeding unnecessary.

But the oath ex-officio is the special object of resentment. The use of this test is declared to be "most damnable and ty-rannous, against the very law of nature, devised by antichrist, through the inspiration of the devil."

The last chapter relates to the power of the magistrate, and attributes to the king supreme authority over the churches within his dominions. It treats the appointment and removal of the prelates, and of all dignitaries above the rank of ordinary pastors as depending solely on the pleasure of the sovereign. To oppose this doctrine was to oppose the king's supremacy. And the same guilt was said to be inseparable from pleading for the toleration of papists, so long as their chief should continue to assert his superiority over secular princes.

No language could be more emphatic than that in which even this class of puritans professed their submission to the supremacy of the crown, with regard to the church as well as the state. But this attribute, as explained by these persons, was subject to material limitations. Their obedience they never failed to describe as an obedience to be rendered in such matters only as should be, in their judgment, "agreeable to the word of God." This clause, like the memorable exception, "saving my order," so pertinaciously repeated by Thomas à Becket, was carefully marked by the conforming clergy, and was described as what must render the obedience promised a thing to be regulated more by individual caprice, than by the mandates of the sovereign. Nor were the same opponents slow to observe, that if some important points, with respect to which the king's supremacy should be exercised, were defined, there were others that should be equally subject to it, but from which it was wholly excluded.

The religious party which became known in this country by the name of Brownists, had existence so early as the time of Edward VI. We know but little, however, of their character or proceedings, before the latter half of the reign of Elizabeth. From that period, their principles appear to have assumed more of the nature of a system, and to have been generally understood. They considered every properly-constituted church in the light of a strictly voluntary association, and, in consequence, were opposed to the use of any means in the cause of their principles, save those of reason and persuasion. And as every Christian association, or church, was to include such persons only as made a credible profession of the gospel, and as the object of the union so formed was purely religious, they claimed for themselves an entire independence of the magistrate, and also of that kind of furisdiction which had been conceded to the established priesthood. To the magistrate they looked for protection from injury on account of their religious opinions, but for nothing more; and with respect to the prelates, their great solicitude was, to be freed, in all respects, from the interference of such authorities. They chose from among themselves the pastors or elders who should administer the word and the ordinances of the New Testament, and the deacons, who should manage the few temporal matters connected with their proceedings. They discarded forms of prayer, but retained the practice of church censures, and

^{*} See vol. ii., Lect. xxxiii. p. 69, &c.

appealed to the inspired volume, as the only acknowledged rule of their faith and obedience; they spoke of their peculiarities as those which had distinguished the first Christian societies, as adapted to every conceivable state of the church on earth, and as sanctioned by the direct statements of the gospel, or by the example of inspired men. They were, in short, with some slight exceptions, what the churches of protestant dissenters in this country have long been, and the arguments employed by them in vindication of their tenets and conduct will be found, upon examination, to be in substance the same with those which influence the body of professors who have separated themselves from our ecclesiastical establishment.

That the feeling of the Brownists, with regard to the ruling clergy, was sometimes strongly indignant, can occasion no surprise to those who know anything of their character, and of the severity of their sufferings. They have been represented by their enemies, and by some nonconformist writers, as a people who questioned the Christianity of all parties opposed to their doctrine. The following passage will vindicate them from this charge:--" The next calumny," says Barrow, "whereby Mr. Gifford endeavoureth to bring us into hatred with the whole land, is, that we condemn all the persons, both men and women, of England, which are not of one mind, and pluck them up as tures. Wherein methinks he doth us open wrong, if not against his own conscience, yet against our express writings everywhere. Have we not commended the faith of the English martyrs, and deemed them saved, notwithstanding the false offices and great corruptions in the worship they exercised, not doubting but the mercy of God, through their sincere faith in Jesus Christ, extended and superabounded above all their sins, seen and unseen? And what now should let, that we should not have the same hope, where the same precious faith in sincerity and simplicity is found."* That the men whose views respecting the constitution of a Christian church were what we have described, should regard the ecclesiastical state of England as not entitled to that distinction, was inevitable. From this fact, however, their adver-

An Apologie or Defence of such True Christians as are commonly, but unjustly, called Brownists, 1604.



saries proceeded to reason by way of inference, and, in conclusion, described the Brownists as teaching, not only that the church of England was not a true or proper church, but, as a consequence, that her ministers were unauthorized, and her sucraments invalid. Against these conclusions the unhappy sectaries protested most loudly, but their voice was almost lost amid the louder cry that was raised against them.

The puritans might be content with the reformation of the ecclesiastical constitution; the tenets of the Brownists certainly went to its destruction. Yet they were not to be reproached as disloyal. From their place of exile, they delivered the following protest on this subject: "First, we desire thee, good reader, to understand and mind that we have not in any dislike of the civil estate in that commonwealth (England), which we much like and love, separated ourselves from that church. Neither have we shaken off our allegiance and dutiful obedience to our sovereign prince Elizabeth, her honourable counsellors, and other magistrates set over us, but have always, and still do, reverence, love, and obey them every one in the Lord; opposing ourselves against all enemies, foreign or domestic, against all invasions, insurrections, treasons, or conspiracies, by whomsoever intended, against her majesty and the state, and are ready to adventure our lives in their defence, if need require. Neither have our greatest adversaries ever been able to attaint us of the least disloyalty in this regard. And although now we be exiled, yet do we daily pray, and will, for the preservation, peace, and prosperity of her majesty, and all her dominions."*

These professions of loyalty were made by expatriated men. Similar language was uttered by the most obnoxious leaders of this party, and under circumstances which should preclude the least suspicion as to their sincerity. In 1593, Barrow and Greenwood, two of the Brownist teachers, were condemned to die. The charges against them were various—in substance, that they had not bowed to the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy; but had dared to form churches, and conduct religious exercises, in a manner different from that prescribed by state authority; and

^{*} Apologie or Defence, p. 96, and Pref., p. vii.

moreover, that when grossly calumniated, they have dared to reply-not indeed with all the asperity of their assailants, but with more than was acceptable to their ecclesiastical superiors. A morning arrived, in which, at an early hour, these delinquents were conveyed from their cells to the place of execution. The rope, being fastened to the tree, was placed on their necks, and in this state they were allowed, for a few moments, to address the people who were collected round them. These awful moments were employed in avowing their unfeigned loyalty to the queen, and submission to the civil government of their country. They affirmed, that in what they had published, they were far from meaning evil towards her majesty, or the magistracy of the realm; and if aught had escaped them which partook of irreverence as to any man's person, they confessed their sorrow, and implored forgiveness of the injured party. They acknowledged what they had written in support of their doctrine, but admonished the people to adopt their opinions only as they should "find sound proof of the same in the holy scripture;" and concluded with exhorting them not only to support the civil power, but, if need be, to submit to an unjust death, rather than resist it. When they had prayed for the queen, for their country, and for their enemies, and were in the act of closing their eyes upon the world, they were told that a reprieve had been sent by her majesty. "This message," the prisoners observed, "was not only thankfully received of us, but with exceeding rejoicing of all the people, both at the place of execution, and in the ways, streets, and houses, as we returned." On that day, Barrow sent a statement of these occurrences to a distinguished relative, having access to Elizabeth, and urged, that as his attachment to the queen's person and government could be no longer doubtful, he might be set at liberty, or, at least, be removed from the "loathsome gayle" of Newgate. On the morning, however, of the following day, these deluded victims were conveyed secretly to the place of slaughter, and were there put death. The humane reader will, perhaps, forgive the exiled survivors of Barrow and Greenwood, in speaking of them as martyrs.

It was the frequent remark of James, concerning his catholic subjects, that their bodies only were his, their souls were the

pope's; but it was obvious to James, and not less so to his illustrious predecessor, that this was not more true of the English catholics than of the puritans, and especially of such as presumed to desert the pale of the established church. In both cases there was a principle of divided allegiance. In the one, it referred to an authority believed to be vested in the pope; in the other, to the same kind of homage, believed to be due to the lessons of holy writ. Both acted, though each in his own way, upon the general maxim, "Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." But as the constitution had refused to recognise this distinction between things temporal and ecclesiastical, to question the authority of the prince, when referring to the church, was to become disloyal and traitorous, no less than in opposing that authority when referred to the state. Elizabeth felt, that to lose her ecclesiastical supremacy would be to lose half, and, in her esteem, the more important half, of her empire. James not only imbibed this spirit, but improved upon it; fortunately for himself and his subjects he was more disposed to rest in theories than the last of the Tudors. That both were usurpers, with respect to the conscience of their subjects, is certain, and will be admitted by nearly every man who is not prepared to assert, that the more tolerant policy of later times is a mistaken one.

These humble professors were far from wishing to encroach on the province of the magistrate. The amount of their claim was to be left to themselves. "We have been accused," they say, "of intrusion into the magistrate's office, as going about ourselves to reform abuses. It is a mere malicious calumny, which our adversaries have forged out of their own heart. We have always, both by word and practice, shewed the contrary, neither attempted nor purposed any such thing, but have endeavoured thus only to reform ourselves and our lives, according to the rules of God's word, by abstaining from all evil, and keeping the commandments of Jesus, leaving the suppressing and casting out of the remnants of idolatry unto the magistrates, to whom it belongeth."*

For some time, these small societies appear to have existed

* Apologic, Pref. vii.

without either assuming or receiving any peculiar designation. By their enemies, their conduct was generally regarded as a sort of ultra paritanism, on the same ground that puritanism itself was considered to be a sort of ultra protestantism. As secrecy afforded their only hope of avoiding persecution, they were little concerned about the distinction of a name, being well aware that should it serve to render their principles better known, it would also add to their sufferings. Penry, one of their preachers, and a martyr in their cause, assured Elizabeth, that churches of this description had existed in London and in other places during the reign of Mary, and that the arm of a protestant princess had proved more oppressive to them than that of her catholic predecessor.

It was about twenty years subsequent to Elizabeth's accession, that the individual became notorious who was to confer on this people the name by which they were to be for some time known. Robert Brown was descended from an ancient and honourable family in Rutlandshire; and what proved to him of much more importance, was nearly related to Cecil, the lord treasurer. He was educated at Cambridge, where his ardent style of address rendered him for awhile a favourite with the populace.

In 1581, he settled at Norwich, and by this time had commenced his invectives against the established church. The number of his converts in that city added to his zeal; and several churches were formed, by his means, in other places. Harassed, however, by the ecclesiastical courts, the new apostle fled to Middleburgh, in Zealand; and while pastor of a church which he had collected in that place, published his Treatise on Reformation. The design of this publication was to urge the people to act upon their own views of church polity, without tarrying "till the magistrate command and compel them."

But the church at Middleburgh gave umbrage to its pastor; and, in 1585, Brown appeared again in England, where he was not long without calling for the renewed vigilance of the bishop's pursuivants. Cecil interceded with Whitgift, and procured the release of his disorderly relative, who, for some three or four years afterwards, remained silent. Renewing his itinerant labours towards the close of that interval, he was publicly excom-

municated by the bishop of Peterborough. The sentence was pronounced with studied solemnity, and the offender is said to have been so much affected by it, as earnestly to implore absolution. This he obtained, according to Fuller, on easy terms, through the influence of his great kinsman, and he was even preferred to a living, which he retained to his death. The last forty years of his life were passed in security and contempt.

It was his boast, however, "that he had been committed to thirty prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon day." His religion is exceedingly doubtful. He was plainly one of that restless class of men who must ever be making or unmaking, and who, whether they become religious zealots, or political zealots, are a torture to themselves, and a serious annoyance to all sober communities.

That such a man should have given his name, even for a brief space, to a party, whose leading principles have since been advocated by some of the most enlightened men, and become the creed of millions, is a fact, which exposes the folly of reasoning indiscriminately from the character of individuals to that of their system. Such, however, is the philosophical temper with which the story of these early separatists continues to be told by our most popular writers. The little occurrences which betray individual weakness are culled with vigilance, and put forth with an air of triumph, as demonstrating the unmixed absurdity of theories, which the parties thus caricatured are said to have embraced. From this rule of proceeding, it follows, that the man who shall be aware of the atrocities of certain kings, or of the worldliness of certain bishops, must regard kingship as everywhere a curse, and bishoprics as the same. It is curious to observe how an affected superiority to vulgar natures may be thus coupled with a mode of reasoning borrowed from the veriest vulgar.

The congregation of separatists, which had been long accustomed to meet at different places in the neighbourhood of London, was at length surprised while engaged in a religious service at Islington. The apartment in which they had assembled to conduct their sabbath devotions was the very same in which a protestant congregation had secretly worshipped in the time of

Philip and Mary. More than fifty persons were taken into custody, and committed, two and two, to the several prisons of the metropolis and its vicinity. On their examination, they confessed that they had often met in fields during the summer, at an early hour on the Lord's day, and in private houses during winter. Having occupied themselves at such times in prayer and expounding the Scriptures, they generally dined together, after which, a collection was made for their imprisoned brethren. Their account of themselves was artless, intelligent, and fearless, though not perhaps sufficiently respectful. They were returned to prison, and consigned to solitary cells, where many of them died, some from the atmosphere they were compelled to breathe, and others from want.

Among the different kinds of martyrdom, this is assuredly the most terrible. In the number of those who thus perished was one Roger Rippon. The following inscription was placed on his coffin by his surviving brethren; and it is worthy of remembrance, as expressing that sacred detestation which religious persecutors never fail to create, and from which they sometimes obtain their reward. "This is the corpse of Roger Rippon, a servant of Christ, and her majesty's faithful subject, who is the last of sixteen or seventeen, which that great enemy of God, the archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift), with his high-commissioners, have murdered in Newgate, within these five years, manifestly for the testimony of Jesus Christ. His soul is now with the Lord, and his blood cries for vengeance against that great enemy of the saints, and against Mr. Richard Young, (a justice of peace in London,) who in this and many like points, hath abused his power for upholding the Roman antichrist. prelacy, and priesthood. He died, A.D. 1592."

Beside those who were punished with this lingering dissolution, there were others who were subject to confiscations, and some, as we have seen, who perished under the doom of traitors. The natural effect of these measures, on such as escaped, was to render their disaffection to the hierarchy more determined.

In 1592, this people had so far increased, that it was considered hopeless to attempt a suppression of them, or to bring about any reconciliation between them and the established church, and it

was proposed to save the country from the infection of their heresy, by transporting them to the colonies. During the debate on this subject, in the house of commons, Sir Walter Raleigh observed, that the expediency of the proposed scheme was more than doubtful, as the culprits could not be estimated at much less than twenty thousand men; and if the male offenders were disposed of, their families would remain to be provided for by some other means.*

In the course of this debate, these obnoxious fraternities are called indifferently Barrowists and Brownists. Their enemies, in describing them by these names, generally intended to identify them with what was conceived to be-reproachful in the death of the one leader, or the infirmities of the other. But all these expedients failed of their object.

But in tracing the rise of the great body of dissenters in England, of what may be called the class of Independents, it would be doing injustice to the English antipædobaptists, were we to omit all mention of them in this place, as is the case with the author of "Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty." The perceptions of this worthy gentleman appear to be so obscured by the mists of prejudice, that this respectable section of the Christian church, which can enumerate among its adherents many of the most illustrious names in point of learning and talents, and all the virtues that most adorn the Christian character, would seem to be quite beneath his notice, thus affording us a precious specimen of his impartiality and love of truth! It is therefore doubly important that a slight notice of their history should, at least, be incorporated in these lectures.

Enough, I trust, of evidence has been produced in the preceding lectures to satisfy any candid inquirer after truth, that at no period of time, from the days of the apostles to the age in which we live, has the church of Christ not had its witnesses to the truth and the purity of the divine ordinances,—persons who have borne their testimony against the baptism of infants as an antichristian innovation, a vile corruption of a divine institute. In the very darkest ages of popery, and while the man of sin sat

Parliament, Hist.

enthroned in the temple of God, "changing times and laws," and cursing the witnesses all around him, we can trace the anti-psedobaptists, among the Novatianists, the Petrobrusians, the Cathari or Puritans, the Paulicians, Paterines, Albigenses, Waldenses, and others, until the times of our countryman, Wyckliffe, and from him, through the Mennonites or Dutch Baptists, to our own day.

In the year 1589, Dr. Some, a man of great note and a violent churchman, published a treatise against some of the puritans, Greenwood. Barrow, Penry, and others. In this he attempts to shew what agreement there was between them and the English anabaptists. The opinions he charges anabaptists with, when, as Crosby says, they are stripped of the dress which he has putupon them, are as follow: "That the ministers of the gospel ought to be maintained by the voluntary contributions of the people; that the civil power has no right to make and impose ecclesiastical laws; that the high commission court was an antichristian usurpation; that those who are qualified to teach, ought not to be hindered by the civil power; that though the Lord's prayer be a rule and foundation of prayer, yet it is not to be used as a form, and that no forms of prayer ought to be imposed on the church; that the baptism administered by the church of Rome is invalid; that a true constitution and discipline are essential to a true church; and that the worship of God in the church of England is in many things defective." The Doctor touches but briefly, says Crosby, on their opinion of baptizing believers only, and brings up the rear of his accusations with saying, "they esteem it blasphemy for any man to arrogate to himself the title of doctor of divinity,"—that is, as he explains it, "to be called rabbi, or master of other men's faith."*

The baptists of the present day have no reason to be ashamed of these sentiments of their predecessors, who, at a time when the principles of dissent were so imperfectly understood, had such clear ideas on the subject, and sealed the truth with their blood.

From Dr. Some we learn, that at the time when he wrote (1589) "There were several anabaptistical conventicles in London and

^{*} Croeby, vol. i. p. 77.

other places." It seems that the baptists had, at this early period, formed distinct churches of persons of their own sentiments, both in London and in different parts of the country. He adds, "Some persons of these sentiments have been bred at our Universities;" that is to say, some of the zealous puritanical divines had pursued their principles to their legitimate consequences, and had rejected infant baptism with the other ceremonies of the church. The persons against whom Dr. Some wrote, were men of respectable talents, and their names shine with distinguished lustre in the annals of the puritans. They were eminent divines, and illustrious martyrs in the cause of our Lord Jesus Christ. Barrow and Greenwood, lately mentioned as having undergone the extreme penalty of the law for their religious principles, were antipædobaptists.

In the year 1633, the baptists, who had hitherto been intermixed with other protestant dissenters without distinction, and who, consequently, shared with the puritans in the persecutions of those times, began to separate themselves and form distinct societies of their own. Concerning the first of these, I find the following account, collected from a manuscript of Mr. William Kiffin.

"There was a congregation of protestant dissenters, of the independent persuasion, in London, gathered in the year 1616, of which Mr. Henry Jacob was the first pastor; and after him succeeded Mr. John Lathorp, who was their minister in 1683. In this society, several persons, finding that the congregation kept not its first principles of separation, and being also convinced that baptism was not to be administered to infants, but to such as profess faith in Christ, desired that they might be dismissed from that communion, and allowed to form a distinct congregation, in such order as was most agreeable to their own sentiments.

"The church, considering that they were now grown very numerous, and so more than could, in those times of persecution, conveniently meet together, and believing also that those persons acted from a principle of conscience, and not from obstinacy, agreed to allow them the liberty they desired, and that they should be constituted a distinct church; which was performed, Sept. 12, 1633. And as they believed that baptism was not rightly administered to infants, so they looked upon the baptism they had received at that age as invalid, whereupon most or all of them received a new baptism. Their minister was a Mr. John Spilsbury. What number they were is uncertain, because, in the mentioning of about twenty men and women, it is added. with divers others.

"In the year 1638, Mr. William Kiffin, Mr. Thomas Wilson, and others, being of the same judgment, were upon their request dismissed to the said Mr. Spilsbury's congregation. In the year 1639, another congregation of baptists was formed, whose place of meeting was Crutched Friars, the chief promoters of which were, Mr. Green, Mr. Paul Hobson, and Captain Spencer."

It has not been uncommon for the enemies of the baptists to reproach them with the manner in which this practice was restored. In a work, published at the close of the seventeenth century, by Mr. John Wall, entitled, "Baptism Anatomized," the writer says, "Their baptism is not from heaven, but willworship, and so to be abhorred by all Christians; for they received their baptism from one Mr. Smith, who baptized himself; one who was cast out of the church, and endeavoured to deprive the church of Christ of the use of the bible."

To this charge, made with so much asperity, Hercules Collins, a baptist minister at Wapping, replies with great indignation, in a work, entitled, "Believers' Baptism from Heaven, and of Divine Institution: Infant Baptism from Earth, and of Human Invention." Published in 1691. Mr. Collins denies that the English baptists received their baptism from Mr. John Smith, and says, "It is absolutely untrue, it being well known to some who are yet alive, how false this assertion is; and if J. W. will but give a meeting to any of us, and bring whom he please with him, we shall sufficiently show the falsity of what is asserted by him in this matter, and in many other things which he hath unchristianly asserted." At this period the baptists began to increase very rapidly. Taking advantage of the liberty which the confusion of the times, if not the disposition of the rulers, gave them, they were not backward in asserting and vindicating their sentiments, both by preaching and writing, and also by public disputations. Their courage seems to have greatly pro-

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woked their adversaries, who wrote many pamphlets against them. From one of these, published in this year, we have derived some curious information, from which it appears that another haptist church was formed in Fleet-street, by the zeal of Mr. Praise-God Barebone, a person who was afterwards of such celebrity, that he gave the name to one of Oliver Cromwell's parliaments, which was called, by way of contempt, Barebone's Parliament.

It appears from a manuscript which Crosby possessed, that the church of which Mr. Howe was pastor, after his death, chose Mr. More, a layman and citizen of London, and a person of considerable property, in whose time the affair mentioned by Fuller took place. For some cause, this church divided by mutual consent, and that just half was with Mr. P. Barebone, and the other half with Mr. Henry Jessey.* From this circumstance it is probable that this was a baptist church which admitted of mixed communion; for as Mr. Jessey had not yet been baptized, it is likely the peedobaptists joined with him, and the baptists with Mr. P. Barebone. Crosby says, he knew not whether Mr. John Canne was a baptist or not, though he found his name in a manuscript list among the gentlemen who left the established church to join the baptists, and that on his leaving England to go to Holland, Mr. Howe succeeded him as the pastor of this church, which Fuller calls "a congregation of anabaptists."

In the year 1641 was published a small piece in favour of baptism by immersion, entitled "A treatise of Baptism; or, Dipping; wherein is clearly shewn that our Lord Christ ordained dipping, and that sprinkling of children is not according to Christ's institution; also the invalidity of those arguments which are commonly brought to justify that practice." The author of this was Mr. Edward Barber, who was the minister of a congregation of baptists in London, meeting in the Spittle, Bishopsgate-street, where, it is said, "he gathered a numerous congregation, and was the means of convincing many that infant baptism had no foundation in scripture." Edwards, in his Gangræna, speaks of a minister named Bacon, who had been forced to leave Gloucestershire, "but here, in London, had been entertained in the house of a great man, one Barber, an anabaptist, about Threadneedle-street."

[•] Crosby, vol. iii. p. 42.

Though the parliament had decreed, at the abolition of the before-mentioned ecclesiastical courts, "that no court should be crected with the like powers in future," yet the spirit of persecution was not eradicated from the minds of those in authority. Mr. Barber had no sooner published his piece than he was madeto feel the weight of their high displeasure, and was committed to prison for eleven months. The church over which he was pastor was the first that practised the laying on of hands on baptized believers. He was a learned man, had been a clergyman in the established church, and died before the restoration.

There was another work, printed in London, 1642, entitled "The Vanity of Childish Baptism; wherein is proved that baptism is dipping, and dipping baptism." The writer signs himself, A. R. Who he was we are not informed; but his: work is frequently quoted by Dr. Featley, who charges him with; saying, "They that have the administration of baptism without. dipping have not the baptism of the New Testaments" and further, "The word baptize is derived from Barm, signify, ig to dip, or dye; and therefore washing or sprinkling is not haptism, but plunging the body in water." Also, "The administration of baptism which hath no express command in scripture, and. which overthrows or prevents the administration of baptism which is expressly commanded in scripture, is a mere device of man's brain, and no baptism of Christ. But the administration of baptism to infants hath no express command in scripture, and it overthrows or prevents the administration of baptism upon disciples or believers, which is expressly commanded; therefore the baptism of infants is a mere device of man's brain, and no beptism of Christ." (Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark, xvi. 16; John, iv. 1, 2; Acts, ii. 32., viii. 89.)

A disputation took place between Dr. Featley and four baptists somewhere in Southwark. October 17th, 1642, at which were present Sir John Lenthal and many others. The doctor published his disputation in 1644, and tells us, in his preface, that he could hardly dip his pen in any other liquor than that of the juice of gall,—it is therefore no wonder that it is so full of bitterness. He calls the baptists:—1. An illiterate sottish sect. 2. A lying blasphemous sect. 3. An impure and carnal sect. 4. A bloody and cruel sect. 5. A profane and sacrilegious sect.

6. He describes the fearful judgments of God inflicted upon the ringleaders of that sect. The work is entitled, "The Dippers Dipt; or, the Anabaptists Ducked, and plunged over head and ears, at a disputation in Southwark;" and is dedicated "To the most noble lords, with the honourable knights, citizens, and burgesses, now assembled in parliament." It is peculiarly gratifying that the doctor, with all his malignancy, was not able to exhibit any charge against them, except what have been commonly, but erroneously, alleged against the baptists in Germany, the disturbances at Munster being no more the effect of the principles of the baptists, than the riot in London, in 1780, were that of protestants; or those in Birmingham, of a later period, were those of episcopalians. The doctor speaks very contemptuously of his opponents. He calls one of them a brewer's clerk; this was probably Mr. Kiffin, who had been an apprentice to the famous republican, John Lilburn, of turbulent memory; -- probably the same who is called, "Quartermine, the brewer's clerk," in the pamphlet entitled, New Preachers, New.

The history of the English baptist denomination, however, is not to be given in a single lecture, and I dismiss the subject with remarking that their increase must have been very rapid about this period; for in the year 1643, they published a Confession of Faith, of a very elaborate cast, extending to fifty-two distinct articles, strictly Calvinistic in the doctrinal part, and according to the independent, or congregational plan of discipline. It ran through several editions, one of which was called for almost annually, and certainly the document is worthy of the serious consideration of the baptists, and independents also, of the present day. It is entitled, "A Confession of Faith of Seven Congregations, or Churches of Christ, in London, which are commonly, but unjustly, called Anabaptists; published for the vindication of the truth, and information of the ignorant; likewise for the taking off those aspersions which are frequently, both in pulpit and print, unjustly cast upon them." London, 1646, licensed by authority.

In a work published at Glasgow, 1646, entitled "Anabaptism, the True Fountain of Error," we are told, that "their number, till of late, in England was not great, and the most of them were not English, but Dutch strangers (exiled Mennonites); for besides

the hand of the state, which ever lay heavy upon them, the labours of their children, the separatists, were always great for their reclaiming; but under the shadow of independency, the anabaptists have lifted up their heads, and increased their number above all the sects in the land!" It seems that, besides the seven churches, or congregations, in London, which had published and subscribed this "Confession of Faith," they had increased to forty-six churches, in and about London, and that in the very short space of two or three years. This confession found its way into the hands of many of the members of parliament, on whom its effects were so powerful, that some of their greatest adversaries, and even the bitter and inveterate Dr. Featley, were compelled to acknowledge, that, except the articles which condemned the baptism of infants, it was a strictly orthodox confession.

During the last ten years of Elizabeth, the seceders were subject to the most pitiless persecutions; and many, distrusting the safety to be derived from the most cautious secrecy in England, fled to the United Provinces, where, partly from the favour of the magistrates, but still more by means of their own insignificance, they succeeded in forming and perpetuating several churches on the model which they had introduced into this country—a country, of which they ever speak with filial affection, and for which they never cease to pray in the spirit of Christian patriotism.

We have noticed that, in 1596, these exiles published a confession of faith. In the preface to that document, they stated some of the causes which had produced their separation from the Anglican church. They begin by observing, "It may seem strange to thee, Christian reader, that any of the English nation should be forced to forsake their native country, and live in exile, for the truth of the gospel, especially in these days, when the gospel seems to have free passage, and to flourish, in that land. And for this cause has our exile been hardly thought of by many, and evil spoken of by some, who know not, as it seems, either the true state of the church of England, or our causes of forsaking and separating from the same; but hearing this sect, as they call it, to be everywhere spoken against, they have, without further search, accounted and divulged us as heretics, or

schismatics at the least; yea, some, and such as least might, have sought the increase of our afflictions, even here, both secretly and openly. This hath Satan added unto all our former sorrows, envying that we should have rest in any part of the inhabited world; and though we could, for our parts, well have borne this rebuke of Christ in silence, and have left our cause to him who judgeth justly all the children of men, yet for the manifestation and clearing of the truth of God from reproach, and for the bringing of others, together with ourselves, to the kingdom and fellowship of the gospel, we have thought it needful, and our duty, to make known to the world our unfeigned faith in God, and loyal obedience towards our prince, and all governors set over us in the Lord, together with the reason of our leaving the ministry, worship, and church of England."

They protest against being described as a fastidious people, who had separated from the church of England on account of a few blemishes, which were no more than must attach to the most perfect church on earth. Separation, in such a case, they declared to be unlawful; and they proceed to shew that their chief objections to the English church did not relate to its ceremonies more than to the leading principles of its structure and policy. "First," they say, "in the planting and constituting of that church, at the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, they received at once as members the whole land, while they generally stood, for the most part, professed papists, who had revolted from the profession which they made in the days of king Edward, of happy memory, and shed the blood of many Christian martyrs in the days of queen Mary. This people, yet standing in this sinful state, in idolatry, blindness, superstition, and all manner of wickedness, without any professed repentance, and without the means thereof,-viz., the preaching of the word going before, were, by the force and authority of law, compelled, and together received into the bosom and body of the church, their seed baptized, themselves compelled to take the Lord's supper, having this ministry and service which now they use set over them; and ever since they and their seed remain in this state, being all but one body, commonly called the church of England. There are none exempt or excluded, be they never so profane or wretched. Now let the laws of God be looked into, and it will there be

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found that such persons are not fit stones for the Lord's spiritual house, nor meet members for Christ's glorious body. None of years may be received into the church, without free professed faith, repentance, and submission unto the gospel of Christ and his heavenly ordinances. Neither may any continue therein longer than they bring forth the fruits of faith, walking as becometh the gospel of Christ. Christ Jesus hath called and severed his servants out of and from the world. How, then, should this confused and mixed people be esteemed the orderly gathered, truly planted, and rightly constituted, church of God?

"Secondly, as they have received the whole route of the popish multitude, without any distinction, for members of their church, so have they set over them, as reason was, the same popish clergy and prelacy which they received from the Romish apostasy, and which is this day to be found in popish churches. These have both ecclesiastical and civil authority to reign as princes in the church, and live as lords in the commonwealth, to punish, imprison, and persecute, even to death, all that dare but once mutter against their unlawful proceedings."

In the third place, they complain more at large of the jurisdiction of the prelates, and of those puritans who, having made a noble stand against ecclesiastical impositions, had of late submitted to the yoke, on finding that the "queen and council" were not to be prevailed with "to put away these adversary prelates." They state, moreover, that the office of the parochial clergy in the church of England is, "to visit the sick, to give him the sacrament, and forgive him all his sins; and if their livings or benefices amount to a certain sum of money in the queen's book, they must preach four sermons in a year in their parish, or get some other to preach for them. Where, also, must be noted, that the most part of these priests are utterly unlearned, and cannot preach at all; whereby it cometh to pass, that most of the people are as blind as they were in the dark days of popery."

They complain, further, of the prelates having "gathered their service-book verbatim out of the mass book," and would have nearly the whole of the established ritual proscribed, either on its own account, or on account of its idolatrous origin. So much

importance, they contend, was attached to this rubric, that the preaching of the gospel was almost superseded by it, "the meanest artificers, as shoemakers, tailors, weavers, and porters," whose only competency was to read the service book, or a homily, being frequently ordained as Christian teachers. To these "churches, ministers, and services," they add, "must all the people come: vea, though they have in the next parish a preacher, and in their own a dumb, unlearned priest, yet are they all tied to their own church and minister, and must, at the least twice a year, receive the sacrament at his hands. If they refuse this, or do not ordinarily come to their parish church, then are they summoned, excommunicated, and imprisoned, till they become obedient. this bondage are our countrymen held under their priests and prelates; and such as by the word of God witness against and condemn these abominations, they hate, punish, put to death, and persecute out of the land."

Having made these statements, they remark, "thus seest thou, briefly, good Christian reader, the things which we mislike in the church of England, and for which we have separated ourselves as God commandeth. To all these, if we were among them, should we be forced to submit our bodies and souls, or else suffer violence at the hands of the prelates, and end our lives by a violent death, or by the miseries of imprisonment, as many of our brethren before us have done. How many souls have perished in their prisons through miserable usage; how many have been put to death; and how many banished; though we could, to their eternal infamy, relate to all the world, yet will we not blaze abroad their acts, (for we take no delight in laying open their shame,) but mourn for them in secret, committing our cause to God that judgeth justly, knowing that he which maketh inquisition for blood, remembereth it, and will not forget the complaint of the poor.

"And thou, Christian reader, vouchsafe to remember, before God, in thy prayers, such as yet remain in bonds and in prison amongst them for the testimony of Jesus, enduring a hard fight of afflictions, and having the sentence of death in themselves, are like, if the Lord send not unexpected deliverance, there to end their days. Concerning ourselves, who, through the mercy of

God, have found a place of rest in this land, for which we are always, and everywhere, humbly thankful; we desire thy charitable and Christian opinion of us, and holy prayer unto God for us, whose kingdom we seek, whose ordinances we desire to establish and obey, protesting with good consciences, that it is the truth of his gospel only for which we strive, against those cursed relics of antichristian apostasy unto which we dare in nowise submit ourselves-no, not for a moment. For if it be not lawful for Christians, at this day, to retain the ceremonies of Moses with the gospel, as the passover, circumcision, the priesthood, and sacrifices, which yet were once commanded by God himself, how can we think it tolerable to observe the odious ceremonies of antichrist, or submit ourselves to his laws, priesthood, hierarchy, and traditions, which the Lord never allowed, which never entered into his heart, yea, which he hath so severely forbidden."

The rare and valuable document from which these extracts are taken relates to the close of the sixteenth century, and by this time several of the teachers among these early dissenters had given proof that they were men of learning. The contributions made to the stores of our sacred literature by such men as Ainsworth and Canne, must be more than enough to save their communion from contempt. The writers, too, who have been concerned to exhibit these sufferers as a divided and insignificant sect, have appeared to forget that the more feeble and unimportant they were, the less is there to urge in excuse of the policy adopted towards them by their immaculate adversaries. The superstitious and persecuting zeal of Bancroft would supply such men with some of the most tangible of their arguments when vindicating their conduct.

They presented three petitions to James soon after his accession, earnestly soliciting "that the toleration enjoyed by the French and Dutch churches in the English metropolis might be extended to themselves as loyal subjects, leaving the suppressing, abolishing, or reforming, of the abuses against which they witnessed, to his majesty's discretion." But this suit, modest and reasonable as it was, they urged in vain.

The Oxford divines, in their public notice of the petitions preferred by the puritans, adverted also to those which had proceeded

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from this body, describing them as pestilent and blasphemous, and to be despised rather than confuted. An answer to these reflections was published in the following year by Ainsworth, together with the confession of faith that had been put forth in 1596. This confession included the doctrines held by the separatists, in common with the church of England, and those principles of ecclesiastical polity which formed the sole ground of their dissent from it; and to the whole numerous texts of scripture were annexed, along with the general reasonings on which its statements were founded.

These bereft outcasts had been challenged to this effort by their opponents, who were luxuriating within the walls of their colleges. But the only effect of their labour was to provoke the interposition of Bancroft, who, in a letter to the English ambassador in Holland, expressed it as his majesty's pleasure, that the vigilance of the states should be employed to prevent the printing of such books within their dominions.

The first pastor among the people whose reforming zeal the archbishop was thus employed to counteract—at least, the first of whom we have any knowledge, was Francis Johnson. This divine had suffered much in his native country, first as a puritan minister, and afterwards as a separatist, before his removal to Amsterdam, in 1592. These circumstances appear to have given some severity to his temper. At Amsterdam, he formed a church on the principle of the Brownists, of which he became pastor, in connexion with Ainsworth, as teacher. The confession of faith which these exiles addressed to the protestant Universities of Holland, France, and Germany, in 1598, was the joint production of Johnson and Ainsworth, as was the preface which accompanied it, when translated by them from its original Latin, and addressed to the divines of Oxford and Cambridge, in 1604.

But the harmony of the little flock over which Johnson presided was soon disturbed. The first occasion of discord was the marriage of Johnson with a lady, whose competent fortune is said to have been connected with a love of finery and indulgence, which a portion of his charge regarded as inconsistent with a profession of the gospel. Among the dissatisfied on this matter were the father and brother of the pastor. The result, however, after some years of uneasiness, was the expulsion of this

discontented minority, who, in consequence, became a separate church. This dispute was succeeded by one respecting baptism. which was followed by a second division; the baptists being led by Mr. Smyth, who removed with his followers to Leyden, where, besides his peculiarities relating to baptism, he became a teacher of the doctrines afterwards avowed by the Arminians.

To this controversy another was added, originating in some difference of judgment between Johnson and Ainsworth with respect to discipline. Johnson appears to have been more of a presbyterian than his colleague, and in a fit of resentment, proceeded so far as to excommunicate him and his adherents. It has been said that the parties excommunicated returned the censure, but of this there is no proof. The evidence arising from Ainsworth's more peaceable disposition, and from some other sources, would lead to an opposite conclusion. Johnson removed soon afterwards to Emden, where he closed his days, and his church became extinct. Ainsworth, though an Englishman, is only known as a resident in Holland. It is probable that he left this country with his brethren, who fled from the severer persecution directed against them in 1592. The exiles describe themselves as "almost consumed with deep poverty, loaded with reproaches, despised and afflicted by all." Ainsworth shared fully in their sufferings. It was in such circumstances that he produced those works which continue to render his name so familiar to biblical students, not only in England, but in a much greater degree on the continent. His most laborious production consisted of "Annotations on the Five Books of Moses, the Psalms, and the Song of Solomon;" of which Dr. Doddridge thus speaks:- "Ainsworth on the Pentateuch is a good book, full of very valuable Jewish learning, and his translation in many places to be preferred to others, especially in the Psalms." Besides some controversial pieces of less general interest, he published a treatise, entitled, "The Communion of Saints," and another, called, "An Arrow against Idolatry." The first production displays an acquaintance with scripture, an intelligence, and a devotional feeling, which to every student of puritan divinity must be peculiarly grateful. The second refers to the nature of idolatry, especially as illustrated in the defection of Jeroboam from the worship divinely instituted at Jerusalem.

The learning and spirit with which this argument is prosecuted are admirable; and excepting Lord Bacon's paper on "The Pacification of the Church," there is not, perhaps, another controversial treatise belonging to the age of James I. that discovers the same measure of acuteness. It has a section containing the substance of Middleton's celebrated "Letter" on papal idolatry. Ainsworth died about the close of 1622, and was succeeded by Mr. Canne, an individual, who, though equally known to posterity by his biblical labours, certainly wanted the calm discrimination and more sober feeling of his honoured predecessor.

While Amsterdam was the centre of these proceedings, a church was formed by another company of exiles at Leyden; and one, the movements of which were to be intimately connected with the ecclesiastical history of this country, and with the religious character of the colony bearing the name of England in the new world. The minister who collected these strangers, and became their first pastor, was Mr. John Robinson, a clergyman, who after relinquishing a benefice near Yarmouth, had preached during several years to a small congregation of dissenters in that neighbourhood. The secrecy observed in their ambulatory meetings was not sufficient to protect the minister or his friends from expensive prosecutions in the ecclesiastical courts, which, in 1608, induced some of the sufferers to abandon their country. Robinson's first views of church-government partook of the severity of the Brownist system; but his mind was studiously open to conviction, and his intercourse with several devout scholars, especially with his fellow exile, Dr. Ames, led him to adopt some milder sentiments more in agreement with the temper of his mind. He did not deny the reformed churches to be true churches, nor object to associate with them in their worship; but he contended for the strict independence of every church, with respect to external authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical. Advice might be received from any quarter, but to command was believed to be the exclusive province of the Redeemer. The scriptures were regarded as the statutebook, received from the hand of this invisible sovereign, and were the only standard of appeal. This has ever been the leading maxim of the independents, whose origin has been generally traced to the mind of Robinson.

Twelve years had passed since the settlement of these exiles at Leyden, when, from the removal of the aged by death, and the young by marriage, the church was in danger of becoming extinct. Much anxiety was felt on this account, and many fervent prayers were offered. It was at length resolved, by many of the remaining members, that to perpetuate the principles for which they had so long suffered, and to provide an asylum where their suffering countrymen, to whom these principles were equally dear, might always find liberty of conscience, they would transport themselves to the new world. Some English merchants became adventurers in the undertaking, and the exiles, converting their little property into a common stock, procured two vessels to bear themselves and the stores necessary for the proposed colony to their place of destination.

After an appropriate sermon, Robinson bade adieu to this enterprising portion of his flock, in an address, which disclosed the utmost tenderness of feeling along with the noblest elevation of character. Whether he should ever see their faces again or not was known only to God; but before that God and his blessed angels, he charged them to follow him only so far as he should be seen to have followed the Lord. Whoever their future teacher might be, it would be their solemn obligation to receive the truth as it should be disclosed to them. He lamented. deeply, that the churches of the reformation had all halted where their founders had halted. Luther and Calvin were converted by their disciples into infallible guides, though, great as they were, they saw not all things. Were those noble instruments of God's providence now living, they would doubtless become, in many things, other men, following the brighter light before them. "I beseech you," he adds, "remember, it is an article of your church covenant, that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you through the written word of God. Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must, herewithal, exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth: examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth before you receive it; for it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once. I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and

shake off, the name of *Brownists*; it is a mere nickname, and a brand for the making religion and the professors of it odious to the Christian world."

The persons thus addressed were about one hundred and twenty in number, and after passing a whole night in prayer, they committed themselves to the chances of the deep. Robinson and his remaining followers knelt on the beach, and with ardent supplications commended them to the protection of Him whom the winds and waves obey, and whose care never fails to be attendant on his own, though chased from their hearths to the wilderness by the rod of the oppressor.

Robinson meant to have accompanied the remaining portion of his charge to New England, but died in 1626, in the fiftieth year of his age. His removal was sincerely lamented, not only by his congregation, but by Christians of different professions, and by many learned men, who were numbered with his friends. Solid learning, and an unusual maturity of thought, had characterized his early life, and the excellency of both was afterwards acknowledged in the University of Leyden, where he took a conspicuous part in the disputes connected with the Arminian controversy. His life bespoke the decision of his mind; and his sufferings were such as frequently give a hardness to the temper; but Robinson lived and died with the character of an amiable His active benevolence and known integrity won the affectionate confidence of the Dutch clergy and professors in his neighbourhood, many of whom honoured him with their friendship, and attended his remains to the grave.*

But while this divine is remembered as the father of the independents, it was the zeal of a disciple which gave existence to the first church of that order in England. This disciple was Mr. Henry Jacob, a clergyman, who, before the decease of Elizabeth, had distinguished himself in the controversy respecting Christ's descent into hell. After passing some years among the expatriated Brownists, he was introduced, about 1609, to Mr. Robinson, and from that period became the steady advocate of his less rigid tenets.

It was in 1616, that Jacob relinquished his charge at Middle-

Vaughan's Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty, vol. i.—Neal's New England, and History of the Puritans.



burgh, and with the private sanction of several learned puritans, instituted the first congregational church in this country, as already mentioned in this lecture. A day was observed for solemn fasting and prayer, at the close of which, each member made a confession of his faith. Their mutual pledge was, to walk in all the ordinances of God, "as already revealed, or as he should further make them known." Mr. Jacob was chosen pastor, and several of the brethren were ordained, with imposition of hands, to the office of deacons. In the same year, a petition was addressed to the king, entreating the toleration of such professors; and a pamphlet was printed, containing a statement and defence of their principles.

During eight years this society was protected from dissolution, partly by the hurry of public affairs, but chiefly by the smallness of its numbers and the secrecy of its movements. At the close of that interval, Jacob removed to Virginia, when his office devolved on Mr. John Lathorp, from whom, in 1637, it descended to the well-known Henry Jessey.

Rarely do we meet with such lucid proof of sincerity as in the case of this once persecuted and still calumniated people No explanation of their conduct can be given, apart from that which they themselves supply—a sacred sense of duty to their God. No other motive could have sustained them under sufferings so complicated and so protracted. Their state involved a relinquishment of every tie to earth; and what could have supported this, except that religion which includes a vigorous hold on the future and the eternal? In the state of degradation to which they were reduced, they had no sensible monuments of former greatness to cheer them with that melancholy pleasure which such objects never fail to inspire. The catholic exile could point to the most powerful nations as devoted to his faith, and as adorning it with all the earthly majesty that wealth or genius could supply. And even in those countries where its dominion had ceased he could assert the extended possessions which imparted so much dignity to a new race of priests, to be possessions pertaining, of right, to his communion; and could bid those splendid temples or mouldering ruins, which connect the imagination with the ages far remote, to speak for the greatness of that empire which his creed had once possessed. Not so these professors of a system

so distinct from, and so unlike, the kingdoms of this world. No nation had adopted their policy, and the clergy, even in the only spot of Europe where they could find an asylum, were frequently their persecutors.

But they were not without reasons to assign in vindication of their conduct, nor without facts of pre-eminent grandeur to adduce in support of those peculiarities which had exposed them to so much obloquy and suffering. They could trace their favourite opinions to an antiquity with which the cathedral and the monastery had no alliance. They could find the parallel of their poverty, their reproaches, and their many wrongs, in the history of the great founder of Christianity, and in the history of the men who were endowed by him with a greatness of nature which raised them far above the common level of humanity. As to the ascendancy of creeds, they could tell of centuries through which their own maintained its ground against every conceivable kind of hostility, extending its triumphs as a system of truth, even in such circumstances, to the most distant nations. What it had done, in this respect, they were persuaded it would do again. It was their solemn conviction that the cause which, in its own native strength, had triumphed over the paganism of one empire, must prevail, in its appointed time, against the semipaganism of that which had succeeded it. Through the first two centuries, their principles were those most generally recognised; and to the age of Constantine, Christianity was, as in their case. the religion of a people everywhere slandered and proscribed. They did not live to see their principles adopted by the most powerful states of the new world, and by many myriads of their countrymen; but they had their moments, in which they could anticipate a change even thus surprising, and in which they could brave any hazard, and apply themselves to any toil, with a view to promote it.

The first party in Christendom to advocate the cause of religious liberty—we mean, to advocate it fully and consistently, was this party of outcasts. And because, in this respect, they were wiser than their generation, they were long despised by it.*

Vaughan's Stuart Dynasty, vol. i. ch. xx.

LECTURE LXXXI.

Times of the Commonwealth—Oliver Cromwell—The presbyterians mortified—Prince Charles crowned king of Scotland—Swears to the solemn league and covenant—Proceedings of the English parliament—It is dissolved by Cromwell—Who is made Lord Protector -His tolerant principles-Summons a fresh purliament-Presbyterianism still predominant—Godly ministers encouraged— Walton's Polyglot, and the Royal Society—Cromwell espouses the cause of the persecuted Waldenses-Plots against the life of the Protector-His death and character-Charles II. called to the throne—His character—Encourages episcopacy—Repeals the penal statutes against the papists-Persecuting spirit of the English bishops—Savoy conference—Presbyterianism denounced— Guthrie, of Stirling, put to death—Dissoluteness of manners in England-Act of Uniformity-St. Bartholomew's day-Ejected ministers-Conventical Act-Five-mile Act-Test and Corporation Act-Horrible result-Death of Charles II.-Short and infamous reign of James II. Conclusion. A.D. 1650-1700.

No sooner had the unfortunate Charles fallen a sacrifice to the infuriated army, than measures were adopted for placing the constitution on a different basis. The house of commons, seizing on the supreme authority, disinherited the prince of Wales, abolished monarchy, and broke up the house of lords; denominated the government a commonwealth, and instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, appointed an engagement, to be subscribed by all persons from eighteen years of age and upwards,

which obliged them to be true and faithful to the government as it was then established, without a king or house of lords.

These vigorous and arbitrary proceedings were far from being universally acceptable to the nation; several puritan ministers refused to sign the engagement, and were deprived. The levellers in the army insisted that the yoke of the new government was not less galling than that of monarchy; the agitators of this class were seized and shot. The cavaliers threatened to demolish the whole fabric of the commonwealth; these were checked by the execution of their principal leaders. But the Scots carried their opposition to a bolder height; for, being enraged at the abolition of the solemn league and covenant, they proclaimed the prince of Wales king of Scotland, and concluded a treaty with him, then residing at Breda, in the Netherlands.

The greater part of Ireland was in the hands of the royalist. Cromwell, who had displayed his prowess and military genius against the forces of the late king, was appointed to reduce that country to subjection. Elevated to the dignity of lord-lieutenant, this intrepid commander embarked for Dublin at the head of 14,000 men. His arrival was hailed with enthusiasm, and his terrible victories quickly placed the whole country at the feet of the commonwealth.

While the presbyterians were writhing under the mortification of seeing their covenant (which insisted on the establishment of uniformity) laid aside and treated with neglect, Cromwell employed all his influence to get such penal statutes expunged as related to religious opinions and forms of worship. To promote this object, he entered on a correspondence with the leaders in parliament, just before his embarkation to Ireland, and soon afterwards had the pleasure of witnessing the success of his endeavours. On the repeal of those statutes, ministers of all persuasions were allowed to declare their own sentiments, and to adopt their own modes of church-government, provided they signed the engagement; and even episcopalians, notwithstanding the abolition of the liturgy, were permitted to assemble and use their own forms, till they were detected in plotting against the government.

The engagement, which required submission to the common-

wealth, had hitherto been only partially enforced; but the presbyterians remaining inflexibly opposed to it, the parliament required it to be signed by all ministers in the realm, together with the heads and officers of the Universities, and the masters and pupils of the public schools. A severer blow could not have been given to the advocates of "the covenant" than this. They saw their venerated idol of uniformity lying prostrate in the dust, and their hopes of establishing their rigorous and persecuting system annihilated. These reverses, however, did not chill their ardour nor check their resentment. They preached and wrote against the engagement, refused to observe the fasts that were appointed by parliament, and treated their ordinances with neglect and contempt. The government was provoked by this pertinacity, and passed an act for depriving the malcontents of all ecclesiastical preferments. The presbyterians in England indulged the hope that their brethren in Scotland might be able, in a future day, to assist them in re-establishing their authority, and in arresting the hated progress of toleration. The parliament, resolving not to deviate from the plain course they had adopted, published a declaration, in which, after justly complaining of the restless and factious behaviour of their presbyterian brethren, they affirmed, that while they yielded to none in zeal for the promotion of true religion, they conceived themselves "obliged to take away all such acts and ordinances as were penal and coercive in matters of conscience."

The parliament, in addition to this remonstrance, being anxious to avoid severity, prevailed on the poet Milton, then Latin secretary to Cromwell, to vindicate their proceedings. Nothing could have been better adapted to the genius or the principles of that distinguished writer. He cheerfully addressed himself to the task, and, in a treatise on "The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates," in which he clearly defines the limits of civil authority, gives the following advice to the discontented friends of the covenant:—"As for the party called presbyterians, of whom I believe very many to be good and faithful Christians, though misled by some turbulent spirits, I wish them earnestly and calmly not to fall off from their first principles, nor to affect rigour and superiority over men not under them, nor to compel

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unforcible things,-in religion, especially, which, if not voluntary, becomes a sin,—nor to assist the clamour and malicious drifts of men whom they themselves have judged to be the worst of men, the obdurate enemies of God and his church; nor to dart against the actions of their brethren, for want of other argument, those wrested laws and scriptures thrown by prelates and malignants against their own sides, which, though they hurt not otherwise, yet taken up by them to the condemnation of their own doings, give scandal to all men, and discover in themselves either extreme passion or apostasy." He afterwards adds,-"I have something also to the divines, though brief to what were needful, not to be disturbers of the civil affairs, being in hands better able and more belonging to manage them, but to study harder and to attend the office of good pastors, knowing that he whose flock is least among them, hath a dreadful charge, not performed by mounting twice into the chair with a formal preachment huddled up at the odd hours of a whole lazy week, but by incessant pains and watching, in season and out of season, from house to house, over the souls of whom they have to feed.which, if they ever well considered, how little leisure would they find to be the most pragmatical sidesmen of every popular tumult and sedition !--and all this while are to learn what the true end and reason is of the gospel which they teach, and what a world it differs from the censorious and lording over conscience. It would be good also they lived so as might persuade the people they hated covetousness, which, worse than heresy, is idolatry; hated pluralities, and all kind of simony; left rambling from benefice to benefices, like ravenous wolves, seeking where they may devour the biggest."

These admonitions, however, severe as they were, did not prevent the presbyterians from attempting to gain the ascendancy. For this purpose a provincial assembly was held, in May, 1649, by whom a committee was chosen to draw up a treatise on the divine right of presbyterian church government. The device succeeded; and soon after an act was passed for the establishment of that mode of ecclesiastical discipline. But though, by this ordinance, the presbyterians became the dominant party, they were far from being satisfied. The check that was kept on

them by the civil power, and their consequent incapacity to punish such as dissented from their opinions, excited their most rancorous opposition to the government, and provoked them to madness. This perverse conduct awakened the resentment of parliament, and induced them to lay a heavy fine on such as indulged in acrimonious reflections on their measures. This step was shortly followed by another, still more humbling to the malcontents; for some of them, who occupied important stations in the University, persisted in their opposition to the engagement, were displaced, and their posts assigned to the independents.

The Scots having concluded a treaty with the young king, (Charles II. of England,) received him at Edinburgh, in July, The parliament, aware of their intention to assist him in recovering the crown of England, deputed Oliver Cromwell, with a considerable force, to frustrate their purpose. terrible and successful general crossed the Tweed in the following month, and marched directly into the vicinity of Edinburgh. The Scots army, amounting to 30,000 men, after acting on the defensive for several weeks, at last quitted their entrenchments and moved forward to the attack. Cromwell observing them at a distance, by means of glasses, exulted in the prospect of victory, and exclaimed,-"God is delivering them into our On the following morning he began the dreadful encounter; and having first routed the guards, brought up his whole force, rushed upon the foe with the fury of a tempest, and, like another Napoleon, bore everything before him, left 4,000 men dead on the field, and took 10,000 prisoners, besides arms and ammunition to a vast amount. After this decisive victory the conqueror marched to Edinburgh, took possession of the castle, and proceeded to adopt measures to subjugate the whole country.

Notwithstanding the perverse and hostile course of the presbyterians, the parliament continued to prosecute their liberal designs towards the several denominations of Christians. For abolishing all the penal statutes, they passed an ordinance "to employ all such in their service as would take the oaths to the civil government, without any regard to their religious prin-

ciples." To this succeeded an act of generosity, which reflects immortal honour on the parliament; I refer to the appropriation of the money arising from the sale of church lands to the support of such bishops, inferior ministers, and officers of the church, as had materially suffered by the abolition of episcopacy.

On the first day of the following year (1651), prince Charles, son of Charles I., was crowned king of Scotland, where he swore to the "Solemn league and Covenant," and signed a declaration expressing his sorrow for his father's sins and his own; engaging to adhere to the kirk with inviolable fidelity, and never to employ any in his government who shall not be devoted to its interests. Never, perhaps, was there a more shocking scene of tyranny on the one hand, and of duplicity and prevarication on the other. The presbyterians, mad with intolerance, were determined not to have a king unless he were as intolerant as themselves; and the young king, as devoid of principle as they were of liberality, took the covenant three times, with this tremendous oath,-" By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever. I will observe all that is contained therein." Such was the solemn compact between Charles and the Scots,-a compact which casts the deepest shade of dishonour on both parties; on the latter, for imposing that which they must have known could not be heartily acceded to, and on the former, for submitting to an oath which he never intended to observe; for it is notorious that his whole life (with the exception of his hypocritical compliance with the service of the kirk, during the short period of his abode among the Scots,) was one continued flagrant violation of his engagement.

Soon after this transaction, the Scots began to raise an army with the view of overturning the commonwealth. The English presbyterians were very active in making private collections to facilitate the undertaking, but they were quickly detected, and the principal agents apprehended and put to death.

The preparations for the exhibition being complete, the Scots resolved, with the young king at their head, to make a descent upon England. Cromwell was still in Scotland, but he sent an express to parliament advising them of the approaching storm, and dispatched a part of his own forces to impede the progress

of the army. King Charles marched his army to Worcester; Cromwell, rapid and terrible as the lightning, darted on the spot in a moment, and at the head of 30,000 men commenced a general battle. Both sides, having everything at stake, fought like furies, but victory again declared in favour of Cromwell. The king's army was routed with dreadful slaughter, many thousands were taken prisoners, and the royal cause was crushed at one blow. The unfortunate young king fled, and after disguising himself for several weeks as a peasant, and enduring innumerable privations, he embarked for Normandy, and eventually reached the French capital. Had Charles become wiser by these reverses, his misfortunes would have excited our sympathy, and his preservation our gratitude; but, dissolute and faithless, unthinking and flexible, he yielded to every impression but that of virtue and honour,—qualities which he ever deemed an unnecessary incumbrance to royalty, and of little value in private life.

The reduction of Scotland being completed by general Monk, whom Cromwell had left in that kingdom, the authority of parliament was exerted to humble the towering pretensions of the kirk. For this purpose, the Scots clergy were forbidden to impose oaths and covenants on any individual but by direction from Westminster, and required not to extend the punishment of offenders beyond that of exclusion from the communion. This restraint highly incensed that reverend body; they uttered the most bitter lamentations over the loss of their covenant; they exclaimed against toleration as the source of all error and heresy, and wondered how any body of men could have the impiety to prevent them from seizing the estates of offenders, and depriving them of their liberty. But these restive divines were held in too firm a grasp for their writhing to be of any avail.

The religious and moral condition of this country, notwithstanding the unsettled state of public affairs, was now greatly improved. "Justice was carefully administered, and vice was suppressed and punished; there was a great appearance of devotion; the sabbath was observed with uncommon strictness; none might walk the streets in time of divine service, nor frequent public houses; the evenings of the Lord's day were spent in catechising their children, singing psalms, and other acts of family devotion, insomuch that an acquaintance with the principles of religion, and the gift of prayer, increased prodigiously among the common people."

The parliament at this period had arrived at the highest pitch of authority and influence. It was composed of men who were as remarkable for their brilliant talents, as they were for their enterprising spirit. They saw the nation rising, under their administration, to a height of prosperity equal to that which had distinguished it in the reign of Elizabeth; and imagining themselves necessary to the public weal, they were among the last to anticipate any sudden change in their fortunes.

The army was powerful, and, in consequence of the victories it had achieved, began to feel its importance. The parliament, who were at war with the Dutch, proposed to supply the fleet with men drafted from the army. The hardy veterans opposed the measure, and insisted on receiving the arrears that were due to them, before they should be disbanded. In pursuance of this, they petitioned the parliament, who reprimanded them for their disobedience, and also for their temerity in aspiring to counsel them. Provoked at this indignity, they repeated their application, and remonstrated against the conduct of parliament; accused them of engrossing the supreme authority, to the exclusion of others, who had as great a claim to it as themselves; of aggrandizing their families and friends; and, by continuing to hold their seats, of subverting the liberties of the people.

Cromwell, who was apprehensive, if the army should be disbanded, that little chance would be afforded him of rising into power, was, no doubt, the principal agent in fomenting these hostile feelings. Conscious of his superiority both in talent and courage, persuaded that he could sway the sceptre with as much ability as he could wield the sword, this extraordinary man aspired to the supreme authority of the nation, that he might (if we may credit his own professions) prevent those who were in power from abusing their influence; restrain and overrule the several contending factions of the country; defend the protestant cause both at home and abroad; and uphold, in the eyes of foreigners, the honour of the British name. That Cromwell was

an usurper, and that he was destitute of all claim to the supreme authority, no one will deny. We are not, however, speaking of the justice of his cause, but of his talents as a ruler; with respect to the former, the exigencies of the country can furnish the only plea; but as to the latter, his government will furnish sufficient proof. But to return.

The army, dissatisfied and chagrined, marched into the neighbourhood of the metropolis. The parliament, continuing to sit, proposed to fill up their numbers, and voted, " that it should be high treason to petition for their dissolution." Cromwell being informed of this unprincipled stretch of power, summoned a council of officers at Whitehall, and finding their decision in accordance with his own views, he proceeded immediately to the house with a company of soldiers, whom, on his arrival, he placed about Entering the house alone, he sat down and heard the debates. At length he grew impatient, and rising from his seat, he told the house that he was come to put an end to their power, that they had sat long enough, and that it was time for them to retire and go away. Some of the members beginning to remonstrate, he boldly stepped into the middle of the house, and said, "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating; you are no parliament !-- I say, you are no parliament !" Upon this, stamping with his foot, a company of soldiers rushed in at the door, who, in a few minutes, cleared the house. The doors were immediately secured, and the general returned to Whitehall.

At this crisis, Cromwell had no alternative but either to assume the government himself or to leave it to others, whose title to that honour was no better than his own. Immediately after this transaction, he published a declaration, by the advice of his officers, justifying his conduct to the nation, and promising to raise men of honour and probity to the administration of public affairs, who, by their wisdom, would settle the government on a permanent basis, and secure the liberty and happiness of the people. Upon this, in conjunction with his officers, he nominated a new council of state, and soon after summoned 140 persons from the several counties, to act as representatives of the people. This assembly, however, was unequal to the mighty

task imposed on them, and feeling their insufficiency, resigned their authority in less than six months.

The supreme authority devolving again on Cromwell and his officers, it became expedient, in their view, to fix on a plan of In pursuance of their deliberations, Cromwell was government. chosen protector; a council was assigned him to assist him in the administration, and a parliament was to be raised every three years. Whatever objections may be felt to these unconstitutional measures, we cannot but regard the articles which were drawn up with respect to religion-which articles constituted a part of the instrument of government—as highly bonourable to the principles of those who framed them. They are as follows:-"That none be compelled to conform to the public religion by penal ties or otherwise......That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the profession of their faith, and the exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not this liberty, to the civil injury of others, provided this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy, or to such as under a profession hold forth and practise licentiousness. That all laws, statutes, ordinances, and clauses in any law, &c.....to the contrary of the aforesaid liberty, shall be esteemed null and void."

It is perfectly natural to suppose that these articles were far from giving satisfaction to all parties. The presbyterians wrote and preached against them with their wonted acrimony. The word toleration was so alarming to them, that the mere enunciation of it presented to their disturbed imagination a swarm of hereaies as portentous as the plagues of Egypt. Besides, what was their authority worth if they could not impose their faith upon others? And how were they to employ their time, if deprived of the amusement of sitting in judgment on heretical offenders? Or how was the kirk to be enriched, if denied the privilege of appropriating the forfeited estate of a refractory brother? Oh, it was very grievous to be forced by law to assume the meekness and gentleness of Christ, and to be prevented, by these meddling statesmen, from administering the wholesome discipline of confis-

cation and imprisonment, and to be forbidden to inflict beggary and woe on the wives and children, the widows and orphans, of those who durst question the divine right of presbyterian government! One clause of these articles, notwithstanding their general excellence, we must allow to be defective; I refer to that which excludes catholics and episcopalians from the benefits of toleration. This, however, admits of some excuse, since it arose, not from bigotry, but from the impossibility of obtaining security from those classes to conduct themselves peaceably under the new government. The episcopalians, however, notwithstanding their exclusion, were allowed to hold separate assemblies, and to worship God according to their own views, as long as they avoided political questions. "The protector," says Dr. Bates, one of the most strenuous royalists of his day, "indulged the use of the Common Prayer in families, and in private conventicles; and it cannot be denied that churchmen had a great deal more favour and indulgence than under the parliament, which would never have been interrupted had they not insulted the protector, and forfeited their liberty by their seditious practices and plotting against his person and government."

On December 16, 1653, Cromwell was raised to his new dignity, with the title "His Highness Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging." After this installation in the court of Chancery, which was observed with great splendour, he was proclaimed in the city of London and throughout the British dominions.

No human being, perhaps, ever entered on a more difficult task than that which now lay before Oliver Cromwell. The nation was divided into numerous parties, both civil and religious, each of them aspiring to exclusive authority—all agitated and restless—all secretly conspiring to lay the new system in ruins. Amidst these jarring and threatening elements sate the protector, like the genius of the storm, and by his matchless penetration and astonishing address, impressed all parties with the wisdom of his councils, and made them all feel that he was necessary to all.

In no part of his administration did the protector's wisdom shine more brightly than in the tolerant measures he pursued towards the numerous religionists of his times. This great man could not conceive that the civil magistrate had any right whatever to assume the office of dictator in matters of religious opinion. He maintained that the consciences of men were amenable to God alone, and that earthly governors could not interfere in so serious a business without incurring the guilt of persecution. His administration was in perfect accordance with these principles, excepting the cases already referred to, and the benefits resulting from it cannot be sufficiently admired; for all denominations being placed on an equal footing, they by degrees forgot their little differences, formed associations one with another, and laying aside wrath, and clamour, and evil speaking, loved as brethren, and walked as children of the light and of the day.

Having arrived at the eminence on which he had fixed his eagle eye, the protector assumed all the splendour of a sovereign prince. But this with him was no idle parade; it was an act of policy, to render his office more imposing, and to secure the obedience and veneration of the populace. Intending to govern with prudence and equity, he placed men of the first talents and character in the several departments of the state; and anxious to avoid discord with his neighbours, he speedily made peace with the Dutch, but on such terms as to convince them that he was not to be dictated to. The impression which his wisdom and valour had produced on foreign princes was so great, that his usurpation seemed forgotten in the blaze of glory that surrounded His friendship was courted by the kings of Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, France, and Spain, who vied with each other in congratulating him on his exaltation and in admiring the spirit and energy of his administration.

These advantages, however, did not secure him from domestic broils. The royalists, exasperated at his ambition, threatened to assassinate him; the presbyterians, being deprived of their church power, abhorred him for his tolerant principles; and the republicans, consisting partly of infidels, partly of fifth-monarchy men, raved against his government, as inconsistent with that universally levelling system which they regarded as essential to

liberty. But these feuds did not induce him to change his course. He threatened one class with a voice of thunder; he disarmed another with assurances of his friendship; and soothed a third by his familiarity and address. Thus he kept the curb on all, but injured none, unless they were detected in acts injurious to the state, and subversive of the peace of society.

On September 3rd, 1654, "the protector summoned a parliament, and on the following day rode to the house with all the pomp and state of the monarch; some hundreds of gentlemen went before him uncovered; his pages and lacqueys in richest liveries; the captains of his guards on each side his coach, with their attendants, all uncovered; then followed the commissioners of the treasury, master of ceremony, and other officers. The sword, the great seal, the purse, and four maces, were carried before him by their proper officers."

Being seated in a chair of state, he addressed himself in a speech to the members, in which, after noticing the violent conduct of some opposers, he reminded them of the arduousness of their duties, and assured them of his readiness to co-operate with them in promoting the interests of the country. The house having chosen a speaker, commenced business by debating on the instrument of government, which laid the foundation of the present system. This was too delicate a point. The protector summoned the members to attend him in the painted chamber, and expressed his astonishment that they should debate on the validity of that very instrument which had constituted them a parliament. Upon their return to the houses, a guard was stationed at the door to prevent the entrance of any member who should refuse to sign the following engagement:- "I do hereby freely promise and engage to be true and faithful to the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and will not propose to give my consent to alter the government as it is settled in one single person and a parliament." This engagement was signed by about three hundred members, who accordingly took their seats; but they did not retain their distinction long; for Cromwell, perceiving that their councils were destitute of energy and dispatch, dissolved them after they had sat about five months.

Presbyterianism, it will be remembered, was still the established religion of the country. The votaries of this system, however, were yet dissatisfied. So long as they were prevented from enforcing the discipline of their church, they felt themselves degraded to the level of the inferior sects. They resolved, therefore, if possible, to introduce a set of articles relating to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. The measure was submitted to the parliament, whose dissolution we have just noticed; a committee was appointed by their authority to select such points of truth as were deemed essential by the orthodox party, and hopes were entertained that the church would be able, by this specious method, to censure and punish with becoming dignity all the heretics that threatened to infest it; but the unexpected dissolution of the house put a stop to their proceedings, and extinguished their hopes for ever. The sentiments of the protector, in reference to these attempts to revive an ecclesiastical despotism, are so truly excellent, that it would be unpardonable to omit them. "How proper," said he, when he dissolved the parliament, many of whom had advocated the imposition of the articles,—" How proper it is to labour for liberty, that men should not be trampled upon for their consciences! Have we not lately laboured under the weight of persecution; and is it fit then to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy, than for those who were oppressed by the bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke is removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now also, had not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands. As for profane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition, contentious railers, evil speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners, and persons of loose conversation, punishment from the civil magistrate ought to meet with them; because, if these pretend conscience, yet walking disorderly, and not according, but contrary, to the gospel and natural light, they are judged of all, and their sins being open, make them the subject of the magistrate's sword, who ought not to bear it in vain."

While the protector acted in strict accordance with these liberal principles, he was very desirous to fill the church with

pious and laborious ministers. To promote this object, he evinced his approbation of the plan, which had hitherto been acted on by the presbyterian clergy, of examining candidates previous to their admission to the public exercise of their ministry. But while he approved of the plan, he disliked the practice of limiting the authority to the presbyterians. He therefore proposed that, in future, the commissioners, or tryers, as they were called, should be composed of suitable persons, selected from the independents and baptists, as well as from the presbyterians, that thereby candidates of either persuasion might be treated with impartiality, which he thought was scarcely to be expected if the examination devolved on one sect exclusively. Notwithstanding this laudable care to promote good understanding among the different religious classes, and to grant a fair examination to every applicant, many complaints were urged against the tryers. But still it appears, from the history of the church in those times, that many ignorant, ungodly, immoral persons, were prevented from assuming the sacred office, while many faithful and holy ministers were approved and encouraged, to the great increase and comfort of their respective congregations.

After immense solicitude and labour in providing for the religious instruction of the people, the protector's attention was turned to the Universities. He instituted a divinity professorship at Oxford, at his own expense, contributed some valuable manuscripts to the Bodleian library, and erected and endowed a college at Durham. He required the statutes of the Universities to be revised and improved, enforced the observance of seriousness, punctuality, diligence, and good conduct, on the students, and effected so salutary a change in those seats of learning, that some of the greatest ornaments of genius and literature, who flourished after the restoration, owed their superiority, under God, to the wisdom and energy of this extraordinary man. It is remarkable, also, that during this period, which has been often spoken of, contemptuously, as an age of ignorance and barbarism, the celebrated Polyglot Bible was published by Dr. Walton, and the Royal Society was founded at Oxford.

But the protector did not limit his attention to the interests of the reformed religion at home; he extended his care of it to the continent, and resolved that it should never be insulted by any power on earth without his interference. The duke of Savoy at this time, influenced by his duchess, raised a dreadful persecution against the inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont. These innocent people, amounting to many thousands, were ordered to depart from their peaceful homes, and threatened with death if they should dare to remain. This infamous mandate was published under the sanction of the pope, who advised the obsequious duke to extirpate the heretical Piedmontese, that all his subjects might be of one religion. The protector, on receiving information of this horrid transaction, was deeply affected. He appointed a fast throughout the nation, proposed a general contribution, and sent £30,000 to their relief. He then caused his secretary, the immortal Milton, to write to the several protestant powers of Europe, to engage them in the same benevolent exertions; he applied to the king of France, requesting him to use his influence with the duke; and finally, he sent a letter to the duke himself, in which he testified against the injustice and cruelty of his conduct. The thunder of his remonstrance was heard by the pope and all the princes of Italy, who stood aghast and trembled when he told them that he would send his fleet to the ecclesiastical territories, and that the sound of his cannon should be heard in I need not say that this threat produced the Rome itself. desired effect.*

This noble and generous act, by which he threw terror into the very seat of popery, was followed by a grand design to strengthen the protestant cause throughout the world. "Bishop Burnet informs us," says Neal, "that he (the protector) had projected a sort of general council, to be set up in opposition to the congregation 'de propagandá fide, at Rome. It was to consist of seven counsellors and five secretaries for different provinces: the first was for France, Switzerland, and the valleys of Piedmont; the second, for the palatinate and other Calvinists;

The reader will find this interesting narrative much more circumstantially and amply detailed in the preceding volume of these lectures, where I have given copies of several of Milton's letters, drawn up at this time as State Papers—and also the exquisite sonnet which he composed "On the late massacre in Piedmont."—See vol. ii. leet. liii. & liv., pp. 544—601.



the third, for Germany, the north of Europe, and Turkey; and the fourth, for the East and West Indies. The secretaries were to have £500 a year each, and to hold a correspondence everywhere; to acquaint themselves with the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs for the welfare of the whole, and of the several parts, might, by their means, be protected and encouraged. They were to have a fund of £10,000 a year, and to be further supplied as occasion should require. Chelsea College was to be fitted up for them. This was a noble project," says the bishop, "and must have been attended with extraordinary effects, under the protection of a power which was formidable and terrible to all nations to whom it was known."

Cromwell had hitherto held his title by military power only; wishing, however, to erect his authority on a legal basis, he summoned another parliament, but subject to such restrictions as compelled them to avoid every question prejudicial to the government as it was then established under a protector. By this parliament he was urged to assume the title of king, but he was induced, by various reasons, to reject that honour; he was, however, confirmed in his title and authority as protector, and was shortly afterwards inaugurated at Westminster Hall, with all possible magnificence. Let it not be imagined, when contemplating this extraordinary man, raised to an elevation equal to any monarch in Europe, and surrounded by all the authorities of the nation, that we behold an armed despot, resembling some of the Roman usurpers, who hesitated not to sacrifice the happiness, and liberties, and lives of the people, to their lawless ambition. It is true, he raised himself into power by unwarrantable means, and supported his dignity, not by the voice of the people, but by military force; but still his greatest enemies cannot accuse him of cruelty, or of employing his authority to the injury of the nation.

It was impossible, however, for any man to occupy the supreme place in the commonwealth on such a tenure as that of the protector, without being liable to plots and conspiracies. The fifth monarchy men on one side, and the cavaliers on the other, quickly after his inauguration, formed their respective projects to overthrow the government. The former, a set of wretched fanatics, about 300 in number, agreed to kill the protector, and to

proclaim Jesus as their king! The latter presented a more formidable aspect, being under the direction of the marquis of Ormond, who had made great preparations to effect the restoration of the king; but all these machinations were detected and frustrated, and their projectors, in some instances, punished with death.

A life of so much anxiety and labour could not long resist those infirmities to which human nature, in an advanced period of life, is liable. The protector's health began visibly to decline, and he prepared for the solemn moment which was to place him beyond the discord and agitations of the present world. Being removed from Hampton Court to Whitehall, he became delirious. At intervals he evinced a humble and devotional frame, and affirmed that he had endeavoured to promote the good of the nation, and to preserve it from anarchy and a new war. Having offered up a short prayer, in which he committed the nation and his own soul to the divine care, he expired, September 3rd, 1658, in the sixtieth year of his age.

To attempt a portraiture of the protector's character, after what has been said, is unnecessary. That he was a truly great man, no one can deny; that he was good, may require, in the estimation of some, stronger proofs than his history affords. That he was uniformly consistent in his political conduct cannot be maintained. His seizing on the government was a violent measure; and his authority over the parliament was more arbitrary than that of any sovereign either before or since his time. same time, since the government of the nation was unsettled, and since the recalling of the young king would, in all probability, have blown up the flame of a second civil war, it was necessary that the supreme authority should be lodged in some hands. Whoever, at such a crisis, had grasped the reins, would have been guilty of usurpation; consequently, the long parliament had no greater right to govern than Cromwell, nor Cromwell than they; and the only way in which either of them can be vindicated, is on the principles of self-defence, and the dreadful exigencies of the nation—a nation in a state of universal discord, and which, without the mighty ability displayed by the parliament, and afterwards by the protector, would have become a scene of general anarchy and mutual slaughter.

It must be admitted by all, that few men have understood the principles of religious liberty better than Cromwell; which is the more remarkable, since very few persons at that period seemed to have formed a single correct idea on the subject. All parties hated persecution when they felt its sting, and all employed it when they obtained the ascendant. The protector, though, for the sake of humouring the bulk of the nation, he acceded to the establishment of presbyterianism, which was the religion of the state when he assumed the government, yet declared that he was of no sect; and hence he restrained the dominant party, and guarded with a vigilant eye the liberties of the minor denomina-The puritans who, during the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles I., had been the victims of arbitrary power, were introduced by the protectorate of Cromwell to an auspicious period, which they were disposed to hail as the epoch of British liberty. The episcopal system was almost annihilated; its risual and canons, its pomp and pride, its secular authority and overwhelming influence, its scourges and anathemas, all lay in a ruined heap, or existed only in the memory of those who hadsuffered under its intolerant sway. Presbyterianism, less showy, but not less arrogant in its pretensions, with fewer ceremonies to impose, but not less rigorous in its exactions, was compelled, though supported by the statutes of the commonwealth, to yield up the power of enforcing its stern and unfeeling disciplinecompelled (alas for its departed glories!) to allow other denominations to exist as well as itself. Oaths and subscriptions, with all the odious barriers to religious liberty, being removed, the harassed puritans issued from their concealment, and beheld for once a bright and glorious day. Sitting under the shade of the protectorate, they feared not molestation, and withheld by the mighty genius that grasped the reins of government from intruding on each others rights, they were under no temptation of assuming a power which, in all probability, they would have abused. Each sect repaired to its own place of devotion, and each minister, without the dread of interruption, preached the gospel of Jesus Christ. The ministers of that day were equally eminent for their learning, their talents, their piety, and their zeal. They laboured incessantly to instruct the people, both

publicly and privately. The churches being thrown open to them, were filled with large congregations; the spirit of true religion was widely and richly diffused; the people became generally reformed; places of amusement were deserted and closed; intemperance and profaneness were frowned from the public streets; every family professing godliness (and the number of such was very great) observed the strictest decorum, and every house resounded with the voices of prayer and praise; public justice was administered with the strictest impartiality, and the moral glory of the nation shone with unexampled brightness. was natural for men, who had been put in possession of these religious privileges by a train of events which must have appeared to them almost miraculous, to indulge the hope that they were entering on an era of light and liberty, which prophets had foretold, and martyrs had anticipated—an era which should be distinguished for the universal diffusion of truth, and be bounded only by the duration of the world. But in these calculations they were deplorably mistaken, for the elements of intolerance still lurked around the skirts of the horizon, and only needed an adverse blast to set them in motion, and to spread over this hapless country the horrors of a tempestuous night.

During the life of Cromwell, the restless spirits both of cavaliers and republicans had been overawed, and if his vigorous administration had been protracted a few years, much might have been done towards the extinction of all party feeling; but the protector's death was virtually a signal for the dissolution of the government he had established. His son Richard, indeed, was proclaimed his successor, but his hand was too feeble to guide the helm in so boisterous an ocean. He was soon made sensible of his incapacity, and, unwilling to excite commotions for the support of his interests, he quietly resigned his authority, and retired to private life.

The presbyterians, after the death of Oliver, having little hope of rising into power, were disposed to concert measures with the royalists to effect the restoration of Charles II., then on the continent, and this was probably soon made known to him. General Monk too, notwithstanding his oath of abjuration, and apparent attachment to republican principles, was artfully paving

the way for that event; and for this purpose he left Scotland, where he had the command of the army transferred to his hands from those of the protector, and, with very little difficulty, threw off his professed friendship for the independents, and, to the astonishment of all, united himself to the presbyterians, whom he flattered with assurances of his high regard for their principles, and induced them to believe that, should the old government be restored, the highest respect would be shown to their "covenant" and discipline. Vain enough of their influence, the presbyterians, pleased with the thought of being courted, resolved to render themselves conspicuous in the intended change; and for this purpose used every precaution to exclude the republicans from the next parliament, and frequently conferred with the royalists, advising them to remain still, and leave the management of the affair to the wisdom that had commenced it. perceiving that his stratagem had succeeded, felt no longer the restraint which the factious state of the country had imposed on He commenced a correspondence with the king, and assured his majesty of his readiness to serve him. Charles addressed letters to both houses of parliament, inviting them to return to their duty, and assuring them that in doing so, it should be his highest ambition to promote the prosperity and happiness of the nation, by granting a general pardon to all his subjects, and liberty of conscience to all classes of religionists. liament were foolish enough to believe these professions, and in the exuberance of their zeal, having voted that the government of this kingdom is, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons, invited his majesty to return to his dominions—and this, without proposing any conditions. Accordingly, on the 29th of May, 1660, the king entered London, amidst the acclamations and rejoicings of the people.

Charles II. was affable and refined in his address, but in his habits exceedingly dissipated and profligate. In his temper he was easy and humane, but he was utterly destitute of religious principle. His extravagances rendered him poor, and of course dependent, so that he became a pensioner of France, the dupe of his ministers, and the tool of episcopal artifice.

His majesty being disposed to adopt the most lenient measures

towards all parties, the nation fondly hoped to realize such a government as should secure their liberties, both civil and religious. The former, it must be confessed, were considerably improved, but the latter were again quickly abridged, through prelatical dominion and intolerance. The episcopalian clergy being regarded as component parts of a monarchical administration, at once regained their former elevation; and on their return to their former power, instead of that lenity which their adversity should have taught them, they evinced the same ambition, jealousy, and severity, as before. They soothed the king, and first deceived, and then destroyed, the puritans.

The parliament, as we have observed, consisted chiefly of prebyterians. By their influence the king was restored, and consequently a cheering prospect was thrown open to the episcopal party. Rivalry, in the estimation of this party, was akin to treason, and to remove it no effort must be spared, though duplicity, intrigue, and the blackest ingratitude, should be necessary to ensure a successful result.

The first step for this purpose was the dissolution of parliament; ostensibly, because it was not legally chosen, but really, because it was presbyterian. This plan was concerted by chancellor Hyde (afterwards lord Clarendon), in conjunction with the bishops, in order to give strength to their own party, and to annihilate the power of their benefactors.

The presbyterians began now to open their eyes, and to apprehend the most serious effects of their misplaced and ill-timed confidence. Only a few days previously, they held the destines of the nation in their hands, and might have made such stipulations with the king as would have secured and perpetuated their ascendancy; but, trusting to promises, without demanding any security for their fulfilment, they parted with their own liberties, and those of the nation too, and became abject supplicants at the feet of those very men whom they had raised from the dust to honour and authority.

The mortification which the presbyterians now began to feel was almost insufferable, but it was only the beginning of their sorrows; for though the episcopalians, in the days of their humiliation, had made ample professions of lenity and moderation,

and had given the presbyterians reason to hope, at least, for a comprehension in the establishment, yet no sooner had they fixed themselves in the seat of power, than they asserted, "that prelacy was still the legal establishment, and the common prayer the legal form of worship, and that they were punishable by the laws of the land who officiated in any other." Upon this followed the restoration of the old sequestered clergy to their livings (great numbers of whom had been expelled for immorality), and the consequent ejection of the presbyterians. Similar measures were pursued in the Universities; but the court party had not provided for the vacancies occasioned by these expulsions. evil, however, was quickly remedied; for as hatred to presbyterianism and attachment to episcopacy were regarded as sufficient qualifications for almost any ecclesiastical honours, the several departments of the church were speedily filled by those who did little credit to their patrons, and less to the establishment.

The king from the beginning appears to have been favourable to universal toleration. The oath which he had taken to the solemn league and covenant in Scotland, his profession of popery while he continued on the continent, and his subsequent declarations in favour of episcopacy, seemed at least to require some show of liberality towards his subjects on this head. Charles had engaged, while an exile in Breda, to remove, on his restoration to the British throne, the penal statutes that existed against the papists, for which service they proposed to present him with a hundred thousand pounds; and we may suppose that he felt himself under some obligations to the presbyterians. Besides, he possessed an habitual indolence of temper, which was far from being compatible with the fierce and ruthless heart of a perse-These considerations united, induced the king to prefer tolerant measures, and frequently to recommend them to parlia-Previous to his restoration, he said, in his message to the house, "We do also declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." The design of the king, in this declaration, was to bring in the papists, and to unite them with the episcopalians under his government. Nor was he less disposed to favour the presbyterians; for when it was debated in council whether concessions should be made to them, the king gave his consent to it, but he was opposed by Clarendon and the bishops.

The prelates, having succeeded in crushing the hopes of the presbyterians, began now to push their cruel principles to extremity. They advocated the preferment of men in the church who were as bitter and as ambitious as themselves. The doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance were echoed from pulpit to pulpit. Spies, under their direction, were sent all over the country, that they might listen to the sermons of the presbyterians, who, if they uttered a sentence that was capable of receiving an unfavourable construction, or officiated in public without a surplice, were reported to the bishops, deprived of their livings, heavily fined, and sentenced to imprisonment. Among these were Mr. Crofton, minister of Aldgate, Mr. Parsons, rector of Wem, and the celebrated Mr. John Howe, who for great learning, for profound and original thought, for deep and fervent piety, and for correct and intimate knowledge of divine truth, was unequalled in his day, and may be regarded as one of the greatest men that any age whatever has produced. But what were talents, and piety, and usefulness, in the estimation of the court bishops-men so arrogant, so selfish, so relentless, that they would have felt no hesitation in sacrificing all the moral and literary worth of the nation to a single leaf of the liturgy, or, more correctly speaking, to their own dominion? Their arbitrary measures, in the preceding reign, had laid the foundation of all the mischief that overwhelmed the kingdom—had provoked and blown up the clouded horrors of civil discord-had laid the church in ruin, and brought their master's head to the block! But yet they learned nothing from past experience; and their adversity, instead of rendering them wiser, only tended to exasperate them, so that when they regained their elevation they returned to their old practices with redoubled vigour. words of Lord Castlemain, a catholic nobleman, on the conduct of the English prelates during this reign, are very striking. "It was never known," says he, "that Rome persecuted, as the bishops now do, those who adhere to the same faith as themselves, and

established an inquisition against the professors of the strictest piety among themselves; and however the prelates complain of the bloody persecution of queen Mary, it is manifest that their persecution exceeds it; for under her there were not more than two or three hundred put to death, whereas, under their persecution, above treble that number have been rifled, destroyed, and ruined in their estates, lives, and liberties, being men, for the most part, of the same spirit with those protestants who suffered under the prelates in queen Mary's time."

In pursuance of a declaration of his Majesty, some time previously to this, a conference was held at the Savoy, between the bishops and the presbyterian ministers, to make such alterations in the liturgy as might give satisfaction to tender consciences, and heal the breach between the two contending parties. The presbyterians stated their objections to several places in the prayerbook, but were borne down, and the conference broke up without lessening the distance of the opponents. The liturgy was indeed revised at this time, and received, according to Tennison, about six hundred improvements, but they were of such a nature that if they had amounted to twelve hundred, or twelve thousand, the cause of charity would not have been promoted; a merely verbal correction, or an occasional softening of an expression, tends very little to the relief of the aggrieved, if the spirit of a persecuting requisition be still preserved.

The Prayer Book, in this amended form, was presented to his Majesty, and having received his sanction, was transmitted to the house of lords, and afterwards to the commons, by whom the alterations were highly commended. This circumstance would scarcely have deserved notice but for the events connected with it; for, inconsiderable as it was in itself, it was introductory to that merciless act, the Act of Uniformity, which occasioned more distress to the country, and a greater sacrifice of human life, than even the wild and bigoted persecutions of Mary.

In Scotland, the kirk was in the full enjoyment of its rights, and thought, perhaps, that the English prelates had not sufficient leisure to concern themselves with ecclesiastical affairs beyond the Tweed; but they were wofully mistaken; for the court and bishops were so bewitched with their love of authority, that pres-

byterianism was denounced as incompatible with monarchy. A Scots parliament was assembled, suited to give effect to these views, who, with earl Middleton at their head, a notoriously wicked man, destroyed all the barriers of the kirk, and left it to the mercy of the king, who, in a letter which he sent to the house, affirmed "that from his respect to the glory of God, the good and interest of the protestant religion, and the better harmony of the church of England, he had firmly resolved to interpose his royal authority for restoring the church of Scotland to its right government by bishops, as it was before the late troubles." The consequences of this foolish and tyrannical measure were disastrous in the extreme. The Scots ministers, seeing nothing before them but expulsion from their churches, with poverty and imprisonment, preached against the change, for which they were convicted of sedition and treason. Mr. Guthrie, a minister of Stirling, was one of this class, who having been accused and tried, was condemned to death. Bishop Burnet, who saw him suffer, says, that he expressed a contempt of death; that he spoke an hour upon the ladder, with the composure of a man who was delivering a sermon rather than his last words; that he justified all he had done, exhorting all people to adhere to the covenant, which he magnified highly. He concluded with these words:-"I take God to record upon my soul that I would not exchange this scaffold with the palace or mitre of the greatest prelate in Britain. Blessed be God who hath shewed mercy to such a wretch, and has revealed his Son in me, and made me a minister of the everlasting gospel, and that he has deigned, in the midst of much contradiction from Satan and the world, to seal my ministry upon the hearts of not a few of this people, and especially in the congregation and presbytery of Stirling." Captain Govan suffered with this heroic martyr, and faced death with the same holy intrepidity. This, however, was only the sprinkling of the storm, the worst was to come; for, not long after this, all the ministers were silenced, and many were put to death, and were succeeded by a set of men who were "vicious in their morals, idle and negligent in their cures, and detested by the people;" but they were conformists, and that counterbalanced every disqualification!

Serious religion at this time in England fell into universal disrepute. The court was dissolute beyond all example; the inferior ranks, ever disposed to imitate the manners of their superiors, drank deeply into the profligate spirit of the age. Sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, swearing, and debauchery, prevailed to an alarming degree, while those persons who discountenanced these growing enormities were loaded with reproaches. and branded with the most opprobrious epithets. In addition to this, the puritan ministers of every denomination were silenced and persecuted, and their bereaved people left destitute of the word of life. Even the quakers, who were as little disposed as any to disturb the public tranquillity, were treated with the A narrative which they published at the greatest barbarity. time, affirms that more than 4,200 of that denomination were cast into prison, and of them 500 were in and about London and its suburbs, several of whom died in the gaols.

But the greatest blow aimed at the liberties of the puritans was yet to come; that was, the Act of Uniformity, to the occasion of which we have just adverted. By this act the terms of conformity were as follow:—1. Re-ordination; if they had not been episcopally ordained before. 2. A declaration of their unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything prescribed and contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the church of England, together with the Psalter, and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons. 3. To take the oath of canonical obedience. 4. To abjure "the solemn league and covenant," which many conscientious ministers could not disentangle themselves from. 5. To abjure the lawfulness of taking arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatever.

It will be remembered that the Prayer Book had just before this undergone some alterations, but in this amended form it had only been partially distributed, and could not be otherwise than partially distributed by the time in which subscription was required,—namely, the 24th of August, called emphatically "Black Bartholomew-day." But whether they could see it or not, all the clergy were required to give their assent and consent to

all and everything contained in it. Now, not "one divine in ten, who lived at any considerable distance from London.....did peruse it within that time. But the matter was driven on with so much precipitancy," says Burnet, "that it seems implied that the clergy should subscribe implicitly to a book they had never seen; and this was done by too many, as the bishops themselves confessed."

At length the fatal Bartholomew-day came, when about 2,000 ministers relinquished their preferments in the church, or refused to accept of any upon the terms of the Act of Uniformity—an example hardly to be paralleled in the Christian world! "It raised a grievous cry over the nation, for there were many men much valued," says Burnet, "and distinguished by their abilities and zeal, now cast out ignominiously, reduced to great poverty, provoked by much spiteful usage, and cast upon those popular practices which both their principles and their circumstances seemed to justify, of forming separate congregations, and of diverting men from the public worship in the establishment. Treated with far greater severity than even their predecessors in suffering in the reign of Elizabeth, they were driven from their houses, from the society of their friends, and, what was yet more affecting, from all their usefulness, thought hey had merited much of the king, and laboured indefatigably for his restoration." And who were to fill the places of these men? A writer of that age complains that above 3,000 ministers were admitted into the church who were unfit to teach because of their youth; that 1,500 men were ordained who were of immoral habits, besides many of no education! These were the men who stood in the places of Gilpin, and Bates, and Manton, and Owen, and Goodwin, and Baxter, and Calamy, and Pool, and Charnock, and Gouge, and Jenkins, and Gale, and Mead, and Howe, and Flavel, and Philip Henry, and many other burning and shining lights, whose names will be dear to the Christian church as long as it exists,-names that are immortalized by monuments of laborious piety, and that will be acknowledged at the last day, amidst the plaudits of the universe.

The name of puritans was now changed into that of non-conformists, who were subdivided into Presbyterians, Independents,

Baptists, and Quakers; all scornfully excluded from the establishment, and having no hope of existing as religious bodies, except by obtaining toleration.

About the latter end of the year, 1663, another sham plot was set on foot, to which wicked artifices the lives of about twenty persons were sacrificed by public executions at York and Leeds. This gave rise to a new act in the following year, called the Conventicle Act, "by which any person, at any meeting for any religious exercise not according to the church of England, where there were five or more persons besides the household, was, for the first offence, to suffer three months imprisonment, or pay five pounds; for the second, six months or ten pounds; and for the third, to be banished for seven years, or pay one hundred pounds; and in case of return or escape, to suffer death without benefit of clergy."

To this act was added another, called the Oxford, or Five-Mile Act, which "prohibited all dissenting ministers who would not take a most unreasonable oath therein specified, from coming within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough, or any place where they had exercised their ministry, and from teaching in any school." This act was passed when the plague was raging in London to so awful a degree that it carried off eight or ten thousand persons in a week. The non-conformist ministers, deploring the wretched state of the city, visited the sick and dying, and preached in the churches that had been deserted by the conforming clergy; but their activity at this calamitous period gave such offence, that it was a motive to the passing of this scandalous act.

The king, however, still discovered an inclination to tolerate the dissenters, but the bishops opposed it. They were no changelings; plundering and imprisoning had become to them second nature; if they had been prevented from persecution they would have died of melancholy; they preferred the madness of intolerance, and they kept up the horrid excitement to the last. Learning and piety sighing in the grated dungeon awakened no sympathy in their bosoms. Deserted flocks—hungry and perishing children—exiled families, driven to the swamps of Holland, or the wilds of America, drew no tear of pity from their

eye of stone, or softened the rigour of a single statute. Well, they are gone to give their account!

The principal of these persecutors were archbishop Sheldon and bishop Ward. The parliament, who were their creatures, instead of seconding the views of the king, petitioned for the rigorous execution of the penal laws; and besides reviving the Conventicle Act, which had now expired, they added two clauses to it, which empowered any justices of the peace, or other officers, to break open any places where they should be informed of a conventicle, and inflicted a penalty of five pounds on any justice that refused to execute the act.

The commons, being greatly alarmed lest the papists should get into power, in the next place brought in the Test Act, "which required all persons taking any office under government to receive the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the church of England, within three months after their appointment." The dissenter, anxious to keep the catholics in the back ground, seconded the efforts of parliament in this affair, and were disposed rather to bear the loss of their own privileges than suffer the catholics to enjoy theirs. The act passed, and the church, completely engarrisoned by acts of parliament, and guarded by thundering penalties, bid defiance to all her foes. The dissenters, however, obtained no advantage from their officiousness in assisting the church against the papists, for they were thrust off with them, and condemned to still greater hardships; for the papists, at all times during this reign, could hide themselves under the wing of the prerogative, but the dissenters, on account of their activity with relation to the Test Act, brought on themselves the displeasure of the king, who issued a proclamation for giving full effect to the penal statutes; so that what he did at first reluctantly, he engaged in at last with all his heart; he was at first a persecutor by compulsion, and at last from choice.

The effects of these several acts on the non-conformists were dreadful. Sixty thousand families were ruined; vast numbers fled beyond the seas; 8,000 persons perished in prison, and the property of which they were plundered, consisting of money and estates, is said to have amounted to twelve or fourteen millions. And all this for what? To establish uniformity in

ecclesiastical matters. Judge ye, my brethren, whether, if the object had been realized, it would have been worth the expense.

Such were the sufferings of our forefathers in the cause of religious liberty—in defence of those principles and those privileges which we enjoy in such rich profusion. May we never undervalue them! May our posterity never have occasion to censure us for forfeiting them by our supineness or negligence, but may our zeal for God, our love to Christ, and our regard for the interests of religion, both at home and abroad, shine with increasing lustre, and afford convincing proof that we know how to value the blessings which have been transmitted to us at the cost of fasting and prayer, watching and tears, exile and imprisonment, the loss of all things, and death itself!

Terminating a life of dissipation and sloth, Charles II. breathed his last, after an illness of a few days, on the 6th of February, 1685, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, regretted by none but those who dreaded the accession of his papistical successor. following account of the manner in which he passed his last Sabbath on earth, is not from the pen of an adversary:—"I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and as if it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening), which this day sen'night I was witness of; — the king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, &c.; a French boy singing love songs, in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least £2,000 in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen, who were with me, made reflections with astonishment. Six days after was all in the dust."#

The duke of York, who now ascended the throne by the title of James II., began his reign with an honest avowal of popery; and now the dissenters were persecuted with tenfold fury. The king, availing himself of Monmouth's rebellion to crush the enemies of popery and arbitrary power, converted the whole kingdom into a slaughter-house, of which judge Jeffreys was the

Evelyn, iii. 137.

grand butcher. He went the western circuit, and after finishing it, the quarters of several hundred persons were hung up all over the country for fifty or sixty miles. This fiery persecution produced an effect most honourable to the subjects of his vengeance and the cause of the poor sufferers; for, disgusted with such atrocities, and those that sanctioned them, many ministers of the establishment forsook it as unworthy the name of a Christian church, since it was stained with the blood of the saints.*

Pursuing his infatuated councils for the space of three years, the patience of the nation became exhausted, and to redress their grievances, they invited over William, prince of Orange, who had married James's daughter, to rescue them and their liberties from the galling yoke of such a despot. The sequel is well known, and need not here be enlarged on. James abdicated the throne and quitted the kingdom, having occasioned about eight thousand persons to perish in prison, or by other means, for the sole crime of dissenting from the church of England.

And here I bring my Lectures to a close. On the 4th of November, 1688, William landed at Torbay, and a new dynasty took possession of the British throne; the consequence of which was an entire revolution in the political transactions of the kingdom. On the 24th of May, 1689, the Act of Toleration received the royal assent—the first legal toleration that England ever knew. From this period it became legalized as a principle of the legislature, that Christians, living peaceably under the government of the country, and holding no principle contrary to its welfare, ought to be allowed to worship God in a manner agreeable to the dictates of their own conscience!

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 101, line 9, last word, read abuses.

Page 473, line 3 of the note, for put, read but.

Page 558, line penult, for persuate persuat, read persuate persuat.

Burnet's Own Times, vol. ii.; Warner's England, pp. 630-633; Peirce, 263, 4.

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